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ABSTRACT

This comprehensive document includes 47 papers on historical aspects of curriculum practice, theory, research, and leaders presented at meetings of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History (SSCH) between 1978 and 1991. Following a compiler's introduction, the document is organized into six parts: part 1 provides copies of the official printed programs for all meetings of SSCH from 1978 to 1991; part 2 contains the Index of Available Papers from SSCH from 1978-1991, listing papers by title and author, and indicating where each paper may be found; part 3 contains a document produced for SSCH in 1981 which reproduced 14 papers from the 1978 and 1979 meetings; part 4 contains a document produced for SSCH in 1983 which reproduced 12 papers from the 1978, the 1980, and the 1981 meetings; part 5 consists of a table of contents listing 23 papers published in the book, "Curriculum History," Craig Kridel, editor (Lanham, Maryland, University Press of America, 1989); part 6 contains 22 miscellaneous papers not previously available, assembled alphabetically by author. (LL)

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ED342736

The Society for the Study of Curriculum History: Meetings and Papers 1977-1991

Compiled for the Society

May 1991

by

Edmund C. Short
The Pennsylvania State University
College of Education

SP 033 594

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COMPLIER'S INTRODUCTION

From its beginning in 1977 the Society for the Study of Curriculum History met annually to share work written by its members on historical aspects of curriculum practice, theory, research, and leaders. The Society decided after a few years to compile and distribute to its members collections of papers presented at its annual meetings. Two such documents were produced (in 1981 and 1983), but a regular means of producing and distributing such work could not be found and did not continue. Efforts to make papers from the Society available to a larger audience were explored, including dissemination through the ERIC system and by other means. Several years passed without finding either an adequate outlet for archival reference and retrival purposes or for systematic distribution of papers among the Society's members.

In 1989, twenty-three papers were compiled and published in a book entitled, Curriculum History, edited by Craig Kridel, in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Society. In the process of preparing this book, Professor Kridel gathered copies of most of the papers presented at Society meetings from 1978 forward, and soon afterwards the Society decided to organize this material and to seek the help of officials of the ERIC system in introducing a single document into the ERIC system which would contain all the

Society's papers that could be assembled from 1978 to the most recent meeting.

Professor Edmund Short, who served as president of the Society in 1989-90, undertook the task of organizing the papers, including those gathered by Professor Kridel, those previously missing papers that could be recovered, and those papers from current years. In consultation with Mary E. Dilworth, Director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education, Professor Short proceeded to compile a comprehensive document in a format which would be appropriate for inclusion in ERIC and for indexing in its Resources in Education and in the ERIC database. He then submitted this document to ERIC for their consideration.

It is the Society's intention to periodically present collections of its papers in the future to the ERIC system and thereby provide continuous public access to its scholarly work.

This 1991 compilation includes copies of forty-seven of the papers presented at meetings of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History (SSCH) between 1978 and 1991. It cites the location of many other of those papers that have been published elsewhere or are available for scholarly study in various locations.

Specifically, this 1991 compilation provides in Part I copies of the official printed programs for all the meetings of SSCH from 1978 to 1991.

Part II contains the "Index of Available Papers from SSCH: from 1978-1991." This index lists papers by title and author as presented at each year's meeting and indicates where each paper may be found. Some titles may vary slightly from the title given in the presented program; the title actually used in the finished paper is the one used in this index. Many papers are noted as being unavailable for this compilation or from their authors.

Part III contains a document produced for SSCH in 1981 which reproduced thirteen papers from the 1978 and the 1979 meetings.

Part IV contains a document produced for SSCH in 1983 which reproduced twelve papers from the 1978, the 1980, and the 1981 meetings.

Part V contains the list of twenty-three papers published in the 1989 book, Curriculum History, edited by Craig Kridel, and published by the University Press of America.

Part VI contains twenty-two papers not previously available in either the 1981 or the 1983 SSCH documents, in the Kridel book, or elsewhere. The papers in Part VI are referred to in the index (Part II) as "1991 Miscellaneous Papers." They are assembled alphabetically by author.

The authors of these papers have permitted their work to be included in this compilation of SSCH papers (or in an earlier one) in the form that was on paper at the time of the annual meeting at which they were presented. Authors should be consulted for any subsequent refinement they may have made in their work after the date of these papers.

The Society for the Study of Curriculum History is pleased to be able to offer not only copies of many of its papers but most especially the complete index of its papers given in Part II. An examination of the whole array of topics addressed between 1978 and 1991, as listed in this index, shows the rich and varied material that has emerged from the work of historical inquiry in the curriculum field. The importance of this work has yet to be felt on a wide scale. The gaps in it are likewise not yet recognized nor addressed. Still, the value of doing curriculum inquiry using historical research methods is increasing year by year as evidenced by more frequent reference to this work in the literature of curriculum and of education more generally and by the development of greater historical consciousness among educational professionals with respect to curriculum matters. It is with this prospect of enhanced value and influence that SSCH continues to do curriculum history.

Edmund C. Short
May 1991

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PROGRAMS FROM THE YEARLY MEETINGS OF SSCH: 1978-1991

PART II

INDEX OF AVAILABLE PAPERS FROM SSCH: 1978-1991

PART III

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PART IV

1983 SSCH PAPERS: A DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTED TO SSCH MEMBERS

PART V

1989 LIST OF SSCH PAPERS PUBLISHED IN KRIDEL (ED.), CURRICULUM HISTORY: A BOOK PUBLISHED BY UNIVERSITY PRESS OF AMERICA

PART VI

1991 MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS: SSCH PAPERS ASSEMBLED ALPHABETICALLY BY AUTHOR

PART I

PROGRAMS FROM THE YEARLY MEETINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY:
1978-1991

FOUNDING MEMBERS

Arthur N. Applebee, National Council of Teachers of English
Arno A. Bellack, Teachers College, Columbia University
Hollis L. Caswell, Teachers College, Columbia University
Lawrence A. Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia University
WilliamCutler, Temple University
O.L. Davis, Jr., University of Texas, Austin
Arthur W. Foshay, Teachers College, Columbia University
J. Stephen Hazlett, University of Texas, Austin
Hazel Hertzberg, Teachers College, Columbia University
Willard J. Jacobson, Teachers College, Columbia University
Philip W. Jackson, University of Chicago
Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University
Paul R. Klohr, The Ohio State University
James B. Macdonald, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
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William H. Schubert, University of Illinois, Chicago
Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University
Steven Selden, University of Pennsylvania
Edmund C. Short, The Pennsylvania State University
H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo
Douglas Sloan, Teachers College, Columbia University
Kate Strickland, University of Texas; San Antonio
Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University
Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates
George Willis, University of Rhode Island
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University
Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

Society for the study of Curriculum History

First Annual Meeting

Monday, March 27, 1978
Algoma Room
Sheraton Centre Hotel
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Society for the study of Curriculum History
First Annual Meeting

Monday, March 27, 1978
Algoma Room
Sheraton Centre Hotel
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

PROGRAM

9:00 a.m.
Coffee

9:30 a.m.
What We Can Learn from Our Experience with the Deweyan Tradition
(Invited Address)

CHAIR: Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University

10:15 a.m.
Curriculum History and the History of Education

PARTICIPANTS:
Conceptions of the History of the Curriculum:
J.Stephen Hazlett, University of Texas at Austin
Conceptualizing Method: A History:
Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University
An Historical Review of Curriculum Research:
Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio

11:45 a.m.
Break for Lunch

1:30 p.m.
Sociopolitical Context of Curriculum

PARTICIPANTS:

The Problem of Purpose in American Education:
The Rise and Fall of the Educational Policies Commission:
Paul J. Ortenzio, Rutgers University

FBI Surveillance of Three Progressive Educators: Curricular Aspects:
Murray R. Nelson, The Pennsylvania State University
and H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo

2:30 p.m.
Working with Students in Curriculum History

(Panel Discussion)

PARTICIPANTS:

O.L.Davis, University of Texas at Austin
Paul R. Klohr, The Ohio State University
Gerald A. Ponder, North Texas State University
Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University

3:15 p.m.
Strategies and Structure: Program of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History

(Business Meeting)

Discussion

4:30 p.m.
Adjourn Until 1979

(See you in San Francisco!)

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FOUNDING MEMBERS

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Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates
George Willis, University of Rhode Island
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University
Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Second Annual Meeting

Sunday, April 8, 1979

Olympic Room North
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Second Annual Meeting

Sunday, April 8, 1979
Olympic Room North
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

PROGRAM

9:00 a.m.
Coffee

9:30 a.m.
The Curriculum and Social Control
CHAIR: Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
PRESENTER: Educational Control for Crazy-Making:
Notes Toward an Alternative
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University

10:15 a.m.
General Education: Progressive Patterns of Development
INTRODUCTIONS: Hollis L. Caswell,
President Emeritus, Teachers College,
Columbia University
PARTICIPANTS:
Development of the General Education Program
at San Francisco State College
J. Paul Leonard, President Emeritus,
San Francisco State University
The Experience of the Experimental College
at the University of Wisconsin:
R. Freeman Butts, Distinguished Professor of Education,
San Jose State University
DISCUSSANT: Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University

11:30 a.m.
Lunch

Society for the Study of Curriculum History
Second Annual Meeting
Sunday, April 8, 1979
Olympic Room North
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

PROGRAM

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11:30 a.m.
Lunch

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Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates
George Willis, University of Rhode Island
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University
Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

Society for the study of Curriculum History

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

Monday
April 7, 1980

LIBERTY D
SHERATON HOTEL
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Society for the study of Curriculum History

Monday, April 7, 1980
Liberty D
Sheraton Hotel
Boston, Massachusetts

9:00 a.m.

A TEACHER AND PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: TEACHING AMERICAN HISTORY AT BREWSTER SCHOOL ON CAPE COD, 1911
(Invited Address)

L. Thomas Hopkins, Professor Emeritus
Teachers College, Columbia University
Chair: O.L. Davis, University of Texas, Austin
Acting Chair: Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio

10:45 a.m.

CURRICULUM KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Participants:
"Reflections on the Process of Portraying Eighty Years of Curriculum Literature"
William Schubert, University of Illinois, Chicago

"The Merger of Curriculum Journal and Educational Method"
Murry R. Nelson, Pennsylvania State University, and H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo

11:45 a.m.

Break for Lunch

1:00 p.m.

REFLECTIONS ON THE EIGHT-YEAR STUDY
(Invited Remarks)

Ralph W. Tyler, Director Emeritus,
Center for the Advanced Study in
Behavioral Sciences

1:45 p.m.

CURRICULUM PROJECTS AT SPECIFIC SITES

Participants:

"Curriculum Change, Southern Style,
Atlanta, 1895-1925"
Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

"Three Chicago Schools"
Kate Strickland, University of Texas
at San Antonio

"Bobbitt's 1914 San Antonio Survey
Revisited: Much Ado About Nothing"
Janet L. Hood-Hanchy, University of
Texas at Arlington

3:15 p.m.

Business Meeting

4:00 p.m.

Adjourn Until 1981
(Los Angeles, California)

FOUNDING MEMBERS

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Douglas Sloan, Teachers College, Columbia University
Kate Strickland, University of Texas; San Antonio
Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University
Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates
George Willis, University of Rhode Island
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University
Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

Society for the study of Curriculum History

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

RALPH W. TYLER IN RETROSPECT: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CURRICULUM FIELD

Monday, April 13, 1981
Los Angeles Hilton, Buffalo Room
Los Angeles, California

Society for the study of Curriculum History

Monday, April 13, 1981
Los Angeles Hilton, Buffalo Room
Los Angeles, California
Chair: Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio

8:30 a.m.

Coffee and Danish

8:45 a.m.

HISTORICAL CONCEPTS OF THE CURRICULUM

"GEORGE S. COUNTS AND THE IDEOLOGY OF CURRICULUM"
Bruce Romanish, Rutgers University

"THE GROWTH OF THE CONCEPT OF CURRICULUM AS EVIDENCED BY TWO EARLY CONTENT SPECIFIC EDUCATION JOURNALS"
Murry R. Nelson, Pennsylvania State University and
H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo

9:30 a.m.

RALPH W. TYLER IN RETROSPECT: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CURRICULUM FIELD

"RALPH W. TYLER: IN REVIEW"
William and Ann Schubert, University of Illinois,
Chicago Circle

"THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF RALPH W. TYLER TO THE CURRICULUM FIELD"
Vivian Edmiston Todd, Curriculum Consultant,
Long Beach, California

"EVALUATION: THE HERITAGE OF RALPH TYLER"
Frank Roberts, Control Data Corporation

11:00 a.m.

THE EIGHT-YEAR STUDY

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EIGHT-YEAR STUDY"
Laurel Tanner, Temple University

"CURRICULUM REVISION IN THE DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS"
Theodore and Chandos Rice, Boulder, Colorado

"QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS"
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates

11:40 a.m.

"DISSERTATION OF THE YEAR"
Murry R. Nelson, Pennsylvania State University
Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University
Wayne Urban, Georgia State University

Lunch

1:00 p.m.

"THE IMPACT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION ON THE CURRICULUM FIELD"
John I. Goodlad, University of California at Los Angeles

2:00 p.m.

"RALPH W. TYLER: IMPACT ON EVALUATION THEORY AND PRACTICE"
Benjamin Bloom, University of Chicago

3:00 p.m.

"CURRICULUM: REFLECTIONS ON THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS"
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates

"RALPH W. TYLER IN RETROSPECT:
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CURRICULUM FIELD"
Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio

SOCIETY
FOR THE STUDY OF
CURRICULUM HISTORY

Fifth Annual Meeting

Friday, March 19, 1982

New York Hilton

New York, New York

Society for the Study of Curriculum History
Fifth Annual Meeting
Friday, March 19, 1982
New York Hilton
New York, New York

PROGRAM

8:00 a.m.
Coffee

8:30 a.m.
Introductory Comments
Murry R. Nelson, The Pennsylvania State University

9:00 a.m.
Rewards and Frustrations of Empirical Work in Curriculum History
Chair: Murry R. Nelson, The Pennsylvania State University
Barry Franklin, Augsburg College
Edmund Short, The Pennsylvania State University
H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo

10:00 a.m.
Teachers College and Curriculum over the past 40 years--
Three Deans' Perspectives

Participants

Maurice Eash, University of Illinois - Chicago
Robert Harder, Washington State University
Henry J. Hermanowicz, The Pennsylvania State University

11:00 a.m.
Israeli Curriculum Retrospective

Participants

The Israel High School Biology Project
  Pinchas Tamir, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Three Generations of Curriculum in Israel: A Retrospective Analysis
  Miriam Ben-Peretz, University of Haifa

11:45 a.m.
Lunch

1:30 p.m.
The Society for the Study of Curriculum History Assessment and Directions

Participants

Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University
William H. Schubert, University of Illinois - Chicago
Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University

(Society members are encouraged to actively participate in this session. It will be followed by a brief business meeting and a sharing of research in progress.)

3:00 p.m.
Issues in Curriculum History

Participants

Henry Johnson and His Progeny: The History Teaching Curriculum at Teachers College, D. Paul Robinson, University of Arizona
The Myth of Patriotism and the Preservation of Economic Control: A Theory for the Censure of Educator Harold Rugg, Donald W. Robinson, Rutgers University
Grade Schools, Textbook Instruction and the Curriculum Field, Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University

4:30 p.m.
Adjourn until 1983

We are jointly sponsoring with the Creation and Utilization of Curriculum Knowledge SIG and the Philosophy of Education group a session on Sunday from 12:25 to 1:55 p.m., 30.20, "How Might John Dewey Respond to Educational Research Today?" Chair is Bill Shubert and participants are Joe Burnett of the University of Illinois, Mary Anne Raywid of Hofstra University and George Willis of the University of Rhode Island.

Please try to attend.

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Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

The
Society for the
Study of
Curriculum
History

The purposes of The Society for the Study of Curriculum History are to encourage scholarly study of curriculum history and to provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of reports and inquiries into curriculum history.

Membership in The Society is designed for individuals who manifest scholarly interest in curriculum history by active engagement in that field. Individuals who seek membership may be nominated by members or may nominate themselves by submitting their vita.

The Society was founded in April of 1977 at Teachers College, Columbia University. Attendance at the Annual Meetings is open to all who are interested. Dues are five dollars per year.

Sixth Annual Meeting

Sunday, APRIL 10
Monday, APRIL 11

1983

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY
SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING
MONTREAL

April 10, 1983
Salon 4, 2nd Floor, Le Centre Sheraton
3:00 to 7:00 PM

Sunday

3:00 Informal Conversation, Tea, Coffee

3:25 Introductory Remarks by President, William H. Schubert, University of Illinois at Chicago

3:30 Global Education: Historical Precedent, Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University

4:00 Variations on a Theme: An Historical Analysis of IGE, Mastery Learning, and IPI, Gerald Jorgenson, John Carroll University

4:30 The Transformation of Experience: An Historic Perspective on the Work of Edgar Dale. Janet Leigh Hood-Hanchey, Finalist in The Society for the Study of Curriculum History Biennial Outstanding Dissertation Awards Competition

5:00 Dialogue with Three Former Recipients of the AERA Division B (Curriculum Studies) Award for Outstanding Contributions to Curriculum:
A. Wells Foshay, Teachers College, Columbia University (1982)
J. Galen Saylor, University of Nebraska (1982)
Ralph W. Tyler, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1981)

6:00 An Open Discussion on the Uses of Curriculum History (a suggested starting point for discussion is Laurel Tanner's article in Curriculum Inquiry (Winter 1982) entitled, "Curriculum History as Usable Knowledge"

6:30 Adjourn for Dinner

7:00 Dinner, continuing conversation on uses of curriculum history (restaurant within walking distance to be announced at meeting; will try for a moderately priced place recommended by those among us who know Montreal).

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#####April 11, 1983
St. Pierre Room, Le Bonaventure
8:00 AM to 5:00 PM

Monday

8:30 Conversation, Sweet Rolls, Coffee, Tea

9:00 Introductory Remarks by President, William H. Schubert, University of Illinois at Chicago

9:10 Historical Reflections on the American Curriculum Impact in Canada, George S. Tomkins, University of British Columbia

The Pattern of Development in Twentieth Century Curriculum, William F. Connell, University of Sydney, Australia

An Historical Look at Curriculum Evaluation, Barry J. Fraser, Western Australian Institute of Technology

11:15 Lunch Break (individualized and small group)

12:25 *Research in Curriculum History: A Discussion; Barry Franklin, Augsburg College, Herbert M. Kliebard, University of Wisconsin, Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University, and Wayne Urban, Georgia State University (This is an AERA session jointly sponsored by The SSCH, and Divisions F & B of AERA; it meets 12:25 to 1:55 in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, Marquette Room. Following this session we will reconvene in the St. Pierre Room of the Le Bonaventure to continue our afternoon session.)*

2:15 *A Philosophical and Historical Overview of Change in Irish Secondary Curriculum, 1962-82, Daniel G. Mulcahy, University College, Cork, Ireland*

3:30 *Business Meeting*
William H. Schubert, President
Mary Louise Seguel, Secretary-Treasurer
Agenda: Secretary-Treasurer's Report; SSCH Newsletter; Membership; Information Brochure; Proceedings; Recognition of Outstanding Dissertation Review Committee; Other Business; Election of Officers

4:00 *An Examination of Castiglione and Elyot as 16th Century Curriculum Theorists, Craig Kridel, Ohio State University*

Noah Webster's Speller, 1783-1843: Causes of Its Success as Reading Text. E. Jennifer Monaghan, Finalist in The Society for the Study of Curriculum History Biennial Outstanding Dissertation Awards Competition

5:00 *Adjournment*

$$$$$$$$$$$$

Additional Sessions Co-sponsored by The Society for the Study of Curriculum History at AERA Later in the Week:

***April 12**, Tuesday, 10:35-12:05, Queen Elizabeth Hotel (Mackenzie Room)*
Curriculum Theorists of the 19th and 20th Century: A Slide Presentation by Craig Kridel, Ohio State University; Chaired by Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio (Co-sponsored by the AERA Student Division, Division B, and SSCH as AERA Session 13.14).

***April 13**, Wednesday, 8:15-10:15, Sheraton Hotel (Ballroom Center)*
Codes of Culture and the Order of Schooling: A Symposium
Thomas S. Popkewitz, University of Wisconsin, Chair/Critic
Barry Franklin, Augsburg College, Social Control and Curriculum Change
Jose Rosario, High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, School Change and the Shift to a Process Metaphysics
Millard Clements, New York University, Gregory Bateson's Conception of Science and the Study of How Schools Work
Jane J. White, University of Maryland, Baltimore, Politeness Strategies and Power: The Control of Knowledge and People Through "Niceness"
(Co-sponsored by AERA Division B, SIG on Philosophical Studies in Education, and SSCH as AERA session 23.36).

***April 15**, Friday, 2:15-3:45, Sheraton Hotel (Ballroom Center)*
Dewey and DeGarmo: A Curious Anomaly in the History of Teacher Education
Rodney P. Riegle, Illinois State University, Chair
Dent Rhodes, Illinois State University,
The Strange Case of Charles DeGarmo
Chris Eisele, Illinois State University,
The Strange Case of John Dewey
Discussants: Philip Jackson, University of Chicago
Henry Johnson, Pennsylvania State University
Wayne Urban, Georgia State University
(Co-sponsored by AERA Division B and SSCH as AERA session 57.12).

$$$$$$$

FOUNDING MEMBERS

Arthur N. Applebee	Murry R. Nelson
Arno A. Bellack	Paul J. Ortenzio
Hollis L. Caswell	A. Harry Passow
Lawrence A. Cremin	Gerald A. Ponder
William Cutler	William H. Schubert
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Gerald Jorgenson	Daniel Tanner
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James B. Macdonald	Ralph W. Tyler
George L. Mehaffy	George H. Willis .
Alice Miel	Arthur G. Wirth

Wayne J. Urban

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President: William H. Schubert
University of Illinois at Chicago
College of Education
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Secretary-Treaurer: Mary Louise Seguel
Northern Illinois University
College of Education
Dekalb, Illinois 60115

PAST PRESIDENTS

Laurel N. Tanner
O.L. Davis, Jr.
Kate Strickland
Nurry R. Nelson

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

The Society For
The Study Of
Curriculum History

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The Society was founded in April of 1977 at Teachers College, Columbia University. Attendance at the Annual Meetings is open to all who are interested. Dues are five dollars per year.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Sunday, April 22
Monday, April 23
1984

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY
SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
NEW ORLEANS

Rampart Room, Sheraton Hotel

Tentative Program
(may be changed; members will receive an
official program by mail)

Sunday, April 22, 1984

3:00 Coffee - Tea - Social hour

3:20 Introductory remarks by president, Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University.

3:30 "Origins of the Concept of Curriculum Planning" - Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio.

4:00 Conversation with leaders in curriculum development. "Reflections on the Past Fifty Years" - Alice Miel, Paul Hanna. Appreciative comments by O. L. Davis, University of Texas at Austin, and Maurice Eash, University of Illinois at Chicago and members of the Society.

5:00 "Before and After Tyler" - Carol Thigpen, Emory University.

6:00 Adjourn for dinner.

7:00 Dinner, continuing conversation on curriculum development (restaurant within walking distance to be announced at meeting; will try for a moderately priced place recommended by local members).

Monday, April 23, 1984

8:30 Coffee - Tea - Sweet rolls, Social hour

9:00 Introductory remarks by president.

9:30 "The Emergence of the Curriculum Specialist" - Richard Noonan, New York City.

10:00 "The Social Studies Curriculum During Two World Wars" - George Mehaffy, Eastern New Mexico University and Murry Nelson, Pennsylvania State University.

10:30 "Where did W. W. Chart Us: Reinterpreting W(errett) W(allace) Charters" - Sheldon Rosenstock, University of Manitoba.

11:00	"Origins and Development of Principles of Curriculum Planning in Kibbutz Education" - Miriam Ben-Peretz, University of Haifa.
11:30	Lunch Break (individualized and small group at will)
1:30	"A Study of the Media Movement" - Charles Suhor, Eric Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills.
2:00	"Relationships between the Harvard Student Council and the Publication General Education in a Free Society - Craig Kridel, University of South Carolina.
2:30	"The Significance of the Work of Celestin Freinet to Curriculum Development" - William Lee, University of Southern California.
4:00	Business Meeting
5:00	Adjournment

CO-SPONSORSHIPS

The following sessions at AERA will be co-sponsored by a division of the AERA and by the Society for the Study of Curriculum History:

April 23, Monday, 2:15-3:45, Marriott-Mardi Gras D, 3rd Floor.
3.02 - (Co-sponsored by Division B and the Society).

Critic: Barry Franklin, Augsburg College
Conflicting Traditions of Reform: Responses of Language and Mathematics Educators to Reform Ideas on the General Curriculum Field, 1890-1940.
Chair/Critic--
Herbert M. Kliebard, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
Participants--
The Growing "Crisis" in Mathematics Education in the Years Leading Up to World War II, George Stanic, University of Georgia.
Changes Real and Imagined: An Historical Examination of Secondary School Literature Teaching and Texts. Kay Salter, University of Georgia.
The Composition Curriculum: Reaction and Accommodation to Reform Ideas in the General Curriculum Field, 1890-1940. Kenneth Kantor, University of Georgia.

April 24, Tuesday, 8:45-10:15, Sheraton-Southdown, 4th Floor.
10.06 - (Co-sponsored by Division F and Society).

Studies in the History of Education.
Chair/Critic--
Donald Warren, University of Maryland
Participants--
Mission Impossible? Canadian History and American Schools. Harold Troper, O.I.S.E.
The New Revisionists and the History of Higher Education. Robert Blackburn, University of Michigan; Clifton Conrad, University of Arizona.
Tales Out of School: Reports of East European Jewish Immigrants in New york City Schools, 1900-1917. Stephen Brumberg, Brooklyn College.
The Nature of Human Ability: An Historical Perspective on Intelligence. Kathryn M. Johnson, Indiana University Northwest; Edsel Erickson, Western Michigan University; Robert Bilby, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse; Alan McEvoy, Wittenberg University.

April 25, Wednesday, 10:35-12:05, Marriott-Mardi Gras K, 4th Floor.
27.19 - (Co-sponsored by Division F and Society).

Making of Pillars of the Republic.
Chair--
William Reese, Indiana University
Speaker--
Carl F. Kaestle, University of Wisconsin

April 25, Wednesday, 12:25-1:55, Marriott-Mardi Gras E, 3rd Floor.
29.03 - (Co-sponsored by Divisions B and F and Society).

Chair--
Arthur Woodward, EPIE Institute.
Participants--
From Mental Training to Socialization: The Secondary School Curriculum of St. Paul, Minnesota, 1900-1940.
Barry Franklin, Augsburg College.
Curricular topics as Institutional Categories: Implications for Curriculum Theory and Research in the History of School Subjects. William A. Reid, University of Birmingham, England.
The Invention of Curricula, Ian Westbury, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
Critics: T. Stephen Hazlett, Indiana State University; Ivor Goodson, University of Sussex, England.

April 25, Wednesday, 2:15-3:45, Marriott-La Galerie 3, 2nd Floor.
31.46 - (Co-sponsored by Division B and Society).

Curriculum Theorists of the 20th Century Remembered.
Chair-Discussant--
Paul R. Klohr, Ohio State University.
Presenter--
More Curriculum Theorists of the 20th Century: A Slide Presentation. Craig Kridel, University of South Carolina.
Discussants--
Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University.
William Schubert, University of Illinois, Chicago.
Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University.

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April 27, Friday, 2:15-3:45, Marriott-La Galerie 2, 2nd Floor.
56.03 - (Co-sponsored by Divisions B and F and Society).

Chair--

Ian Westbury, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Participants--

The Organizing of Human Betterment 1903-1932: Hereditarian Thought and Curriculum - From the American Breeders Association to the Fitter Families Contests. Steven Selden, University of Maryland, College Park.

Vocational Education for Young Women in the Progressive Era: Home Economics Versus Trade Training in Federal Policy Debates. Jane Bernard-Powers, Stanford University.

The Effective Teacher: Educational Testing and Measurement as a Curriculum Concern. Frances S. Bolin, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Go Directly to Life: The Campaign for a Life Adjustment Curriculum. Richard T. Ognibene, College of St. Rose.

Critic--

Barry Franklin, Augsburg College.

FOUNDING MEMBERS

Arthur N. Applebee
Arno A. Bellack
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Wayne J. Urban
George H. Willis
Arthur G. Wirth

PRESIDENT: MARY LOUISE SEGUEL
DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION
NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
DEKALB, ILLINOIS 60115

SECRETARY-TREASURER: GERALD JORGENSON
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
JOHN CARROLL UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS,
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44118

PAST PRESIDENTS

Laurel N. Tanner
O. L. Davis, Jr.
Kate Strickland
Murry R. Nelson
William H. Schubert

Founding Members

Arthur N. Applebee, National Council of Teachers of English
Arno A. Bellack, Teachers College, Columbia University
Hollis L. Caswell, Teachers College, Columbia University
Lawrence A. Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia University
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O.L. Davis, Jr., University of Texas, Austin
Arthur W. Foshay, Teachers College, Columbia University
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Douglas Sloan, Teachers College, Columbia University
Kate Strickland, University of Texas, San Antonio
Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University
Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
Ralph W. Tyler, Science Research Associates
George Willis, University of Rhode Island
Arthur G. Wirth, Washington University
Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University

Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Eighth Annual Meeting

The purposes of The Society for the Study of Curriculum History are to encourage scholarly study of curriculum history and to provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of reports and inquiries into curriculum history.

Membership in The Society is designed for individuals who manifest scholarly interest in curriculum history by active engagement in that field. Individuals who seek membership may be nominated by members or may nominate themselves by submitting their vita.

Saturday March 30, 1985

Sunday March 31, 1985

Palmer House

Chicago, Illinois

SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1985

12:00
Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University, President, SSCH. Welcoming Remarks.

12:05
Sheldon Rosenstock, The University of Manitoba. "W.W. Charters: The University of Chicago Years."

Winner: Outstanding Dissertation Award

12:30
Richard Noonan, The New York City Schools. "The Society for Curriculum Study and the Conventionalities of Curriculum Theorizing and Practice."

1:00
Bruce Romanish, St. Cloud State University. "Educational Criticism During the Post WW II - Cold War Period and the 1980's."

1:30
Steven Selden, The University of Maryland. "Scientific Knowledge and Curriculum Theory, from Darwin to DNA."

2:00
BREAK

2:30
Philip W. Jackson, The University of Chicago. "The Poetry of John Dewey."

3:00
Ralph W. Tyler, Systems Development Foundation. "Reflections on Writing Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction."

4:00
Karl Frey, University of Kiel, Germany. "History of the Project Method in the United States and Europe: A Comparative View."

5:00

Bjorg Gundem, University of Oslo. "Curriculum Reform and the School Subject 'English' in the Norwegian Common School."

5:30

Business Meeting

8:00

Dinner and Conversation; The Cantina Room, The Italian Village, 71 West Monroe Street

SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 1985

8:00

Coffee and Danish

9:00

H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo; **Paul Robinson**, University of Arizona. "The Rise and Fall of World History."

9:45

Ulf Lungren, The Stockholm Institute of Education. "Progressive Education in Sweden."

10:30

Wayne Urban, Georgia State University, "Horace Mann Bond at the University of Chicago."

11:15

Murry Nelson, The Pennsylvania State University; **George Mehaffy**, Eastern New Mexico University. "Science and Math Curriculum During WW II."

11:55

Introduction of New Officers; Adjournment.

FOUNDING MEMBERS

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Wayne J. Urban
George H. Willis
Arthur G. Wirth

PRESIDENT: George Willis, University of Rhode Island

SECRETARY-TREASURER: Craig Kridel,
University of South Carolina

PAST PRESIDENTS

Laurel N. Tanner
O. L. Davis, Jr.
Kate Strickland
Murry R. Nelson
William H. Schubert
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Gerald Jorgenson

Society
for the Study of
Curriculum History

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

The purposes of The Society for the Study of Curriculum History are to encourage scholarly study of curriculum history and to provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of reports and inquiries into curriculum history.

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APRIL 14-16, 1986

SAN FRANCISCO HILTON

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY

Ninth Annual Meeting
April 14-16, 1986
Toyon Suite, San Francisco Hilton
San Francisco, California

Monday, April 14

5:00 - 6:30 p.m.	Informal Social Hour

Tuesday, April 15

Noon	Conversation
12:20	Introductory Remarks by President George Willis, University of Rhode Island
12:30	Teacher-made Curricular Materials --A French Version, William B. Lee, University of Southern California
1:30	Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: Does the Metaphor App to Education? Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University
2:30	Break
3:00	A Conversation on The Curriculum Field: Its Formative Years, Twenty Years After Mary Louise Seguel, Northern Illinois University Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University Edmund C. Short, Pennsylvania State University
4:00	What Curriculum Textbook Writers Have to Say About Their Books: Examples from USA, UK, and Australia, 1949-1982, Colin J. Marsh, Murdoch University, Australia
5:00	Business Meeting
5:30	Adjourn for Dinner
7:00	Dinner and continuing conversation at a local restaurant

Wednesday, April 16

8:15 a.m.	Conversation, Sweet Rolls, Coffee, Tea
8:40	Introductory Remarks by President George Willis, University of Rhode Island
8.45	Is There a Trans-Atlantic Flow of American and German Educational Concepts? The Case of Frobel, Dewey and the Project Pedagoges, Karl Frey and Michael Knoll, University of Kiel, Federal Republic of Germany

9:30	The Legitimation of Social Inequality: A Study of the Commodified Culture of the Science Curriculum, Steven Selden, University of Maryland
10:15	Break
10:40	Publication of the 1981 Tyler Papers in the Journal of Thought, Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio
10:50	Writing Curriculum History Books Today Curriculum History Through the Monographic Study, Barry M. Franklin, Kennesaw College Curriculum History Through the Synoptic Text, William H. Schubert, University of Illinois at Chicago
11:50	Introduction of New Officers
Noon	Adjournment

* * * * * * * * * *

AERA sessions co-sponsored by the Society for the Study of Curriculum History:

Wednesday, April 16, 4:05 - 6:05 p.m., Moscone Center, Room 206E, Session 4.10

The Making of Curriculum History: Three Authors Respond

Participants:	Herbert M. Kliebard, University of Wisconsin, Madison Barry M. Franklin, Kennesaw College Ivor Goodson, University of Sussex, England
Critics:	Wayne Urban, Georgia State University Chris Eisele, Illinois State University

Sunday, April 20, 12:25-1:55 p.m., Moscone Center, Room 212E, Session 48.09

Curriculum History

Chair:	William E. Doll, Jr., University of Redlands
Participants:	Steven Selden, University of Maryland Jenny T. Wojcik, University of Illinois at Chicago Mary Thomas Farrar, Social Sciences Research Council of Canada Craig Kridel, University of South Carolina James T. Sears, University of South Carolina
Critic:	Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio

Society for the Study of Curriculum History
Tenth Anniversary Meeting
April 19-20, 1987
The Idaho Room, Sheraton Washington
Washington, D. C.

Sunday, April 19th

1:30 refreshments and conversation

2:00 Introductory Remarks by President Craig Kridel, University of South Carolina

Curriculum History Research

2:10 Educational Innovation at the University of Chicago
Thomas Roby, Socratic Inquiry

2:30 Scientism, Mechanism and the "Blueprinting" of Children for Citizenship: The Social Education Theories of Charles Clinton Peters
Spencer Maxcy, Louisiana State University

2:50 Historical Influences of Curriculum Models on the Teaching of Writing
Ken Kantor, National College of Education

3:10 Curriculum Formation in the Milwaukee Public Schools: 1836-1876
Rolland Callaway, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

3:30 break

3:40 Formative Years of the Project Method
Michael Knoll, University of Kiel

4:00 Action Research and Curriculum Development
Jim McKernan, National University of Ireland

4:20 Choosing Texas Textbooks
John D. Marshall, National College of Education

4:40 Current Status of Curriculum Research
Edmund Short, Pennsylvania State University

5:00 Curriculum Transformation as Social History: Eau Claire High School, 1890-1915
Roger Tlusty, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire
S.S.C.H. Outstanding Dissertation Award Recipient

(Doctoral Institution: University of Wisconsin-Madison; Advisor Dr. Thomas S. Popkewitz; Department: Curriculum and Instruction; Ph.D., December 1986)

5:30 break

6:00 **Curriculum History: Past, Present and Future Directions**
S.S.C.H. 10th Anniversary Banquet

Personal Events and General Events: The Founding of S.S.C.H.
Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University

The Current Status of Curriculum History Research
O. L. Davis, Jr., University of Texas at Austin

Curriculum History: Future Directions
Kate Strickland, University of Texas at San Antonio
Murry R. Nelson, Pennsylvania State University
William H. Schubert, University of Illinois, Chicago
Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University
George Willis, University of Rhode Island

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6:00 **Curriculum History: Past, Present and Future Directions**
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Personal Events and General Events: The Founding of S.S.C.H.
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The Current Status of Curriculum History Research
O. L. Davis, Jr., University of Texas at Austin

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Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University
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Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Editors: Nelson L. Haggerson
Paul Robinson

Newsletter

Volume 6, No. 2
March 5, 1988

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY PROGRAM

April 4th, 2:00 -6:00 pm
and April 5th, 1988, 8:00-11:30 am

The Poydras Room, Sheraton New Orleans Hotel
500 Canal Street, New Orleans, LA 70130
(504) 525-2500

MONDAY, APRIL 4TH, 1988 (Refreshment table throughout the day)

2:00-2:15 Introductory remarks, Nelson L. Haggerson, Pres. 1987-88.

2:15-2:35 Rufus King: Editor, General, and Milwaukee's First Superintendent of Schools. Rolland Gallaway, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

2:35-2:55 Language Across the Curriculum: A Short History. Joyce Honeychurch, University of Alaska Anchorage.

2:55-3:15 Formative Years in the Psychology and Curriculum Fields: Contrasts and Consequences. Kate Strickland, The University of Texas at San Antonio.

3:15-3:35 Discussion, refreshment break.

3:35-3:55 Ideology, Pedagogy and Literary Theory: The Development of Hebrew Literature Curriculum in Israel: 1939-79. Yaacov Iram, Tufts University. (not here)

3:55-4:15 The Metamorphosis of a Professor of Curriculum. Virginia Macagnoni, University of Georgia.

4:15-4:35 The Origin of "Social Efficiency." Michael Knoll, Institut Fur Die Padagogik Der Naturwissenschaften an Der Universitat Kiel.

4:35-4:55 Discussion, refreshment break

4:55-6:00 INVITED ADDRESS AND DISCUSSION

Further Thoughts About the Curriculum Matrix. A. Wells Foshay, Professor Emeritus, Teachers College, Columbia.

(over)

Tuesday, April 5, 1988, 8:00-8:30 Continental Breakfast and Conversation

8:30-8:50 The Book of Sermons of Reverend William H. Kilpatrick. Craig Kridel and Thomas H. Norrell, University of South Carolina.

8:50-9:10 Restructuring Virginia: Radical Politics and Virginia's Schools, 1931-41. Michael E. James, California State University, Los Angeles.

9:10-9:30 ASCD in Retrospect. Paper by William Van Til. Presented by Robert Morris, Northern Illinois University.

9:30-9:45 Discussion and Refreshment break

9:45-11:10 Swedish Schooling and Social Transformation. Sigbrit Franke-Wilberg, University of Umea, Chair.

The Introduction of Career Guidance into the Curriculum: Late 18th Century to the Early 20th Century. Kerstin Mattsson, Stockholm Institute of Education.

Political Affiliation and Organization Among Radical Teachers in Sweden, 1920-1940. Daniel Kallos, University of Umea.

Pedagogy as an Historical Problem. Ulf Lundgren, Stockholm Institute of Education.

Swedish Political Parties and the Formation of School Policy: An Example of the Conservative Party, 1904-1940. Lisbeth Lundahl, University of Lund.

The Educational Policy of the Sweedish Communist Party, 1917-1950. Mats Andersson, University of Lund.

The History of Teacher Education in Sweden. Chestin Skog-Oselin, Stockholm Institute of Education and Berit Askling.

11:10-11:30 Business Meeting.
Secretary-Treasurer's Report; Reports from Ad Hoc Committees--Membership and Publication; Election of Secretary-Treasurer; Introduction of New Officers.

Joint AERA,Division B/SSCH: The Impact of Major Curriculum Reforms: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Eight Year Study (USA) and the Humanities Curriculum Project (UK). George Willis et al. See AERA Program for details.

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

MARCH 25-26, 1989

LOMBARD ROOM, HILTON HOTEL

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

SUNDAY, MARCH 25

2:00 Refreshments and conversation

2:30 Introductory remarks. Paul Robinson, University of Arizona, President

2:40 *The Social Contexts of the Committee on Social Studies Report of 1916*. Murry Nelson, Pennsylvania State University.

3:10 Discussion, potential SSCH project concerning key historical curriculum documents

3:30 *British and American Influences on the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language from the 1950s till the 1970s, Mediated by the British Council and the Council of Europe*. Bjoerg B. Gunden, Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo

4:00 Discussion, the future of SSCH *Proceedings*

MONDAY, MARCH 26

8:00 a.m. Coffee and conversation

8:30 *Voices from the Past*. Craig Kridel, McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina

9:00 *Using Curriculum History for Curriculum Development*. Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University/Visiting Scholar, University of Chicago

9:30 *The Platoon School: An Old Plan for a New Age*? Donald R. Ferris, Purdue University

10:00 Break

10:15 Business meeting. Edmund Short, Pennsylvania State University, President-Elect

11:00 Introduction of new officers

10 : 00

Coffee Break

10 : 30

More than 10,000 Teachers: Hollis Caswell and the Virginia Curriculum Revision Program

Lynn M. Burlbaw, Texas A&M University

11: 15

Business Meeting

11: 45

Close

Officers 1989-1990

President : Edmund C. Short,
The Pennsylvania State University

Secretary - Treasurer : William H. Watkins,
University of Utah

Past Presidents

Laurel N. Tanner
O. L. Davis, Jr.
Kate Strickland
Murry R. Nelson
William H. Schubert
Mary Louise Seguel
Gerald Jorgenson
George Willis
Craig Kridel
Nelson L. Haggerson
Paul Robinson

Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Thirteenth Annual Meeting

The purposes of The Society for the Study of Curriculum History are to encourage the scholarly study of curriculum history and to provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of reports and inquiries into curriculum history.

Membership in the Society is designed for individuals who manifest scholarly interest in curriculum history by active engagement in that field. Individuals who seek membership may be nominated by members or may nominate themselves by submitting their vita.

Sunday April 15, 1990
Monday April 16, 1990

Beacon Room
Midtown Hotel

Boston, Massachusetts

Sunday, April 15, 1990

1 : 30
Conversation and Coffee

2 : 00

Albert E. Winship: "Never Look Back, Always Forward"
Bonnie S. Handler, Central Connecticut State University

2 : 45

Shaping Influences on the Tyler Rationale
Joseph O'Shea, Illinois Department of Public Health

3 : 30
Coffee Break

3 : 45

The Guinea Pigs After 50 Years: 1988 OSU Laboratory School Reunion
Craig Kridel, University of South Carolina

4 : 15
Brief Reports

Reforming Graded Schools: Are We Tinkering with an Anachronism?
Gerald W. Jorgenson, John Carroll University

Curriculum Wars in Black Colleges: Social and Political Foundations
William H. Watkins, University of Utah

Women of Science: The Mount Holyoke College Project
Carole Shmurak, Mount Holyoke College
Bonnie Handler, Central Connecticut State University

The Curriculum Documents Project
Murry Nelson, Edmund Short
The Pennsylvania State University

Handbook of Methods
Mary Louise Seguel, Dekalb, Illinois

6 : 00
Dinner in the Beacon Room

7 : 30
Two Different Dreams-Two Different Schools:
Pine Mountain (KY) Settlement School & The
South Carolina Sea Island Citizenship Schools

(Presentation and Slides)

Sandra B. Oldendorf, Western Carolina University
Walter P. Oldendorf, North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching

Monday, April 16, 1990

8 : 30
Conversation and Coffee

9 : 00
First Efforts Towards a National Curriculum:
The Committee of Ten Report on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy
Murry Nelson, The Pennsylvania State University

9 : 30
Looking at History of the School Curriculum
Daniel Tanner, Rutgers University
Laurel Tanner, University of Houston

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Paul Robinson
Edmund C. Short

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Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Fourteenth Annual Meeting

April 2, 1991
April 3, 1991

Great America Room
Chicago Marriott Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Tuesday, April 2, 1991

9:00
Conversation and Coffee

10:00
Shaping Influences on the Tyler Rationale
Joseph O'Shea - Illinois Department of Public Health

10:45
Thomas Jesse Jones: A Portrait
Stephen T. Correia - Pennsylvania State University
and
William H. Watkins - University of Utah

11:30
By Female Hands, By Female Tongues,
By Female Prayers:
Reverend Joseph Emerson and Female Education
Bonnie Handler - Central Connecticut State University

12:15
Lunch-On Your Own

1:15
Curriculum Leadership: Balanced Service Oriented
Problem Solving with Postmodernist Inquiry
James G. Henderson - Kent State University
2:00
The Panopticism of Tracking: Desegregation and
Curriculum Change in a Southern School 1968 - 1972
Bryan Deever - Georgia Southern University

2:45
Country School Curriculum: The One Room School Experience in the States of the Middle West
Paul Theobold - Texas A&M University

3:30
Harold Rugg's Ideas on Cognition: Their Origin and Development in His Social Studies Series
Diane Puklin - University of Illinois at Chicago

4:15
A Curriculum Interlude: The Rise of Rock Lyrics 1968-1973
Charles Suhor - National Council of Teachers of English

5:45
Dinner - Chelsea Restaurant, Westin Hotel

Wednesday, April 3, 1991

8:30
Conversation and Coffee

9:00
Lawrence Cremin Remembered

Panel Discussion
Phillip Jackson - University of Chicago
Herbert M. Kliebard - University of Wisconsin
Harry Passow - Teachers College, Columbia University
Laurel Tanner - University of Houston
Donald Warren - University of Indiana

10:45 - Business Meeting **11:30** - Adjourn

PART II

INDEX OF AVAILABLE PAPERS
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THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY:
1978-1991

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from
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O. L. Davis, Jr./George L. Mehaffy: An Elusive Quarry: On the Trail of Curriculum History	1981 SSCH Papers, p. 47; Kridel, ed., *Curriculum History* (1989), p. 40

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PART III

1981 SSCH PAPERS:
A DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTED TO SSCH MEMBERS

1981

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Presidents of the Society

1978 - 80	Laurel M. Tanner
1980 - 81	O. L. Davis, Jr.
1981 - 82	Kate Strickland

Managing Editor
Edmund C. Short

assisted by
Murry R. Nelson

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Spring, 1981

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Additional copies may be obtained from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society: Professor Murry R. Nelson, College of Education, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802.

INTRODUCTION

The papers that comprise this collection were, with certain exceptions, presented at the First and Second Annual Meetings of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History. This first meeting was held on March 27, 1978, in Toronto and the second on April 8-9, 1979, in San Francisco.

A brief word should be devoted to the founding of the Society. In April, 1977, a group of educators gathered at Teachers College, Columbia University, to explore the possibility of forming an organization concerned with the study of the history of the curriculum. The problem that brought them together was the ahistorical and atheoretical character of curriculum reform efforts. Witness the open classroom movement which was a recycled version of an earlier educational movement, with all of the glaring mistakes of the earlier version. As Ralph W. Tyler pointed out in a letter to President Lawrence A. Cremin, who was the host for the gathering, those who work in curriculum development have an inadequate understanding of curriculum efforts in the past. The problem was recast by the meeting as the need to address pervasive educational problems from the vantage points of curriculum history. Since no other organization has this focus, the Society for the Study of Curriculum History was born. Its purpose is to generate good historical studies and to serve as a means of building on past experience with an ever-increasing effectiveness.

Fittingly, the Society was initiated at Teachers College, for if a place can be called the birthplace of the curriculum field, it would surely be Teachers College. More importantly, the Society represents the first organized effort toward more disciplined inquiry into the history of the curriculum.

It goes without saying that we cannot determine everything about the history of the curriculum. We have to decide what aspects are relevant to our present problems and interests, what questions we want answered rather than what information can be dredged up. With the exception of the papers by Professors Butts, Caswell, Leonard, and Violas, which were prepared for a symposium presented at the 1979 Annual Meeting of AERA jointly by the Society and Division B of AERA, the papers presented before the Society reflect a range of independent interests and concerns. Judging from their titles, they appear relatively unrelated. Yet there are certain common concerns that can be discerned. For example, both Professors Seguel and Wirth see the teacher as caught between two conflicting traditions -- progressivism and efforts to model schooling on the managerial-efficiency model. This is particularly intriguing because Seguel and Wirth started with such different research problems; Seguel with the decline of "the idea of method as residing in the teacher" (instead it is in the material), and Wirth with "What We Can Learn from Our Experience with the Deweyan Tradition." Wirth contends that what many educators have called Dewey's "curriculum vagueness" (his failure to furnish detailed pedagogical prescriptions) was not vagueness at all but fully consonant with Dewey's view of the teacher as a professional rather than a technician. Dewey believed that teachers must be "moved by their own intelligence" (pp. 27-28 in The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers, 1904). But the point is that no other position is conceivable for those who have an understanding of curriculum reform efforts in the past. Wirth's analysis of crazy-making institutions reflects a similar issue.

The conflicting traditions are to be found within progressivism itself, as Professor Butts points out in addressing the contention of revisionist historians that progressive education was conservative in intent and outcome. Butts is concerned with the "continuing conflict between the social-reform oriented progressives and the efficiency- oriented progressives," whom Butts calls conservatives. In Butts' view (and, I might add, in my own as well) revisionist historians who call for a curriculum confined to the "basic academic skills" are promoting a very conservative view of the curriculum. A curriculum denuded of values and divorced from the urgent social problems that face our society is a curriculum for social control.

A concern for academic freedom, one of the most difficult of our present problems, marks the papers of Professors Butts, Nelson and Singleton who write of the liberal educators who sought to bring the curriculum to bear on societal problems. Their papers deal directly with what liberal progressives like Counts, Rugg, Childs and Kilpatrick went through during the McCarthy era. "I assure you that we who worked in the curriculum field after the first World War did not sell our souls to the company store," writes Professor Leonard (whose "present" is considerably larger than that of revisionist historians). Professor Leonard sets forth the principles under which the curriculum leadership worked during the 1920's through the 1950's.

Professor Butts, Caswell and Leonard are the scholars and activists of the period under radical criticism. Their ideas on how they experienced curriculum reform are indispensable to a sound analysis of the conflicting points of view that exist in the present on their intentions and achievements. Professor Violas responds to their challenges to revisionist history from the perspective of the "challenged".

How did persons in the curriculum field go about confronting the problems they faced? It was this question that led Professor Bullough to undertake persons-centered history and his paper is concerned with the problems that he has found in this approach. Professor Kate Strickland examines efforts of curriculum research and, in historical perspective, suggests much is to be learned from reviewing and evaluating those efforts. The same question is approached differently by Professors Nelson and Singleton who use school surveys and reports to determine what city school districts did and why in curriculum development. As Professor Caswell writes in his paper, "there is an abundance of material to draw on. Curriculum materials of many types, illustrative teaching units, accounts of curriculum programs and the like were published by a large number of city and state school systems." And he cautions that without attention to these materials, no understanding of the kind of change sought by leadership in the field is possible. This problem is clearly recognized by Professor Hazlett, who points to the vast store of prescriptions, plans, and projects that curriculum historians have apparently chosen not to use because they feel that extant records are "insufficient." Hazlett finds the assumption to be untenable. "Lack of knowledge of the past is to a considerable extent the result of the simple failure to inquire," he tells us. Yet, there is a responsibility to continue to create source documents for use by later historians. Oral histories, says Professor O. L. Davis, is one such kind of document.

This set of papers does not constitute the complete proceedings of the 1978 and 1979 meetings of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History. Not included, for instance, are the panels on working with students in curriculum history. Professors Klohr, Jackson, Jorgenson, Ponder, Sloan, and Daniel Tanner all contributed invaluably with many fresh insights, and with characteristic energy and enthusiasm. The papers, here placed on public record, provide, I believe, a commenable beginning of a new era of scholarly work related to the study of curriculum history.

Laurel N. Tanner
Temple University
Editor

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM OUR EXPERIENCE WITH THE DEWEYAN TRADITION

Arthur G. Wirth
Washington University

It is no secret that we have had a love/hate relationship with the Deweyan part of our tradition. By reflecting on this phenomenon we may see something about American life which explains in part the bitterness of the debate over school programs -- a bitterness I believe we can expect to continue.

Daniel Bell has pointed to an underlying division in the society which gets reflected in debates over school policy. Bell says that there is a widening tension between the values of our economic, technical order which is oriented to functional rationality and organized on the principle of economizing -- of least costs and optimization of production and profits, and a counter set of values concerned with wholeness of persons.[1] (Bell sees hedonism in the latter while I see it more as a reflection of the democratic insistence on treating persons as ends.)

This tension may sharpen as we approach decisions about social reconstruction involving shifts from preoccupations with quantitative growth to qualitative goals. If so, the real task will be, not to choose between wholeness vs. technocratic rationality, but to search for divergent solutions which bring together our best capacities for inquiry and intellectuality with the concerns of our democratic traditions for the quality of life. In this case Dewey, read correctly, I believe, might again have relevance for social and educational planning.

Two points of comment:

(1) The Deweyan tradition won't be of value if interpreted once again as a romantic educational freedom.
(2) It contains an image of learning and teaching at odds with another 20th century American innovation: the effort to subsume school learning under business efficiency ideology.

Can we learn anything from our previous affairs with Dewey? One thing is clear, when we permit Dewey to be interpreted as nothing but a romantic aberrant we deny ourselves access to a part of our past which might be helpful. The next time we lurch away from educational system building as dehumanizing, it would be nice if we could avoid a dismal rerun of Dewey cast as an apostle for a new round of "freedom for children."

We could insist on getting to the fore some of his own reminders on that point: a classic one being his 1902 statement in The Child and the Curriculum, that the history of education reveals two educational sects -- the one with the slogans of "the child and freedom" on its banner, the other marching under the flag of "subject matter and discipline." His conclusion being that this long-standing division points to the dilemma that legitimate values are represented in both camps. Dewey's view of the fundamental nature of education requires that he attach importance to both: He defines education as a matter of helping learners to reconstruct experience so they will see their world or themselves with new meanings. Learning is primarily a meaning--seeking affair. The studies, therefore, require careful respect because they contain meanings we need that have grown out of human inquiry. In How We Think (1910) Dewey said that the teacher had to be steeped in his subject: "Unless he has mastered the subject matter . . . and is thoroughly at home in it he will not be able to attend to the pupils' intellectual reactions"[2] and to open new insights to them. In "Progressive Education and the Science of Education" (1927) he said that the teacher as the person with "the riper and fuller experience and the greater insight into the possibilities of continuous development found in any project, has not only the right but the duty to suggest lines of (educative) activity."[3]

On the other hand he emphasized, over and over, that the locus of reconstructing experience was always in the life of the individual learner. This led him to assert in Democracy and Education that, "How one person's abilities compare in quantity with those of another is none of the teacher's business. It is irrelevant to his work. What is required is that every individual shall have opportunities to employ his own powers in activities that have meaning."[4]

This part of our tradition then tells us, contrary to the educational romantics, that we are in trouble whenever we fail to win kids to the life of the mind through engagement with the intellectual power of the disciplines; but we are in trouble, too, when we get lost in complicated measurement games instead of helping each kid to find his own power to learn -- to get in touch with his unique arete or excellence.

It is true, however, that people turning to Dewey have been confounded by his vagueness about curriculum. (John Childs once said that when Dewey approached the curriculum question in Experience and Education, "He marched right up the hill and then right down again.") We might note that on occasion Dewey did urge teachers of progressive persuasion to accept "the necessity of finding projects which involve an orderly development and inter-connection of subject matter," and that they should work out, for trial and criticism, definite and organized bodies of knowledge.

I think this very way of putting it may shed light on "the curriculum vagueness" problem. It is rooted in a conception of the fundamental image of the teacher that is in marked contrast to the role of the teacher in the efficiency model.

In The Sources of a Science of Education, (1929)[5] Dewey said that the function of the scientific planning of education was not to supply the teachers with fixed objectives or ready-made rules but to provide whatever "enables the educator, whether administrator or teacher, to see and to think more clearly and deeply about whatever he is doing." "Education," he insisted, "is a mode of life and action" -- not an antiseptic delivery system. From this viewpoint there is no way to get kids to experience education as a meaning seeking way of life unless the teacher is experiencing that himself. There is no way you can combine this concept of education with teacher-proof packages nor with equating teacher efficiency with student performance on standardized test scores.

In both teacher-student relations and collegial relations it requires open communication and treating ideas about teaching as working hypotheses. If learning is to be inquiring for students, then teachers need freedom to be inquirers into the processes of their own work.

It will help to be candid about several consequences that follow from this conception:

(1) It is a lot more complex than romantic freedom. (We may note that there was curriculum design in Dewey's Lab School with a historical emphasis on the study of critical change points in the evolution of human experience -- including, for example, study of classical Greece and Rome.)

(2) It is a style that does not lend itself to mass educational engineering. Any such efforts will only pervert it. It is risky to make tries along these lines unless one is willing to create smaller learning communities, within larger systems, that assure teachers' initiative and integrity.

(3) It is an educational point of view with consequences for social philosophy.

In Reconstruction in Philosophy Dewey said, "All social institutions have a meaning, a purpose. That purpose is to set free and to develop the capacities of human individuals without respect to race, sex, class or economic status."[6] The test of all political institutions and industrial arrangements is the extent to which they educate every individual into the full stature of his possibility.

Dewey was clear that his concept of inquiry-centered, collaborative learning communities ultimately made social sense only if we made serious economic changes in the direction of industrial democracy with extensive worker participation.

This brings us back to the cultural split, described by Bell, between the drives for utilitarian, rational efficiency, and wholeness of persons. We recognize, of course, the parallel in education in the twentieth century split between progressivism and efforts to model schooling on the model of corporate business efficiency.

C. A. Bowers pointed out recently that the current concern for efficiency is manifesting itself powerfully in a sophisticated technocratic ideology rooted in the language and world view of systems analysis, which embraces the assumptions of the conservative managerial center of society. We recognize it in behavior modification, career education, and competency based education.[7]

This tradition takes for granted the values of the corporate status quo. It sees itself as concerned with a neutral goal of improving efficiency, defined as increased measurable output. It is a rationale rooted in Comtian positivism, bureaucratically channeled through decisions by experts. It tends to assume that only observable behavior is real, that anything real must be measurable, that significant learning consists of discrete components, and that the good self is operationally defined by scoring well on expert--designed tests. The individual is posited as a component in the system. His learning experiences are measured at various stages to determine the efficiency of the delivery system. As Bowers points out, this rationale makes no reference to the individual who experiences existence as problematic and it is hard to find in it the liberal concern for education as a rational emancipatory force.

Furthermore, the specialized systems vocabulary (performance objectives, sequencing instruction, pro-active decision making, discrepancy evaluation) begins to capture the way our minds think about education. We are subtly incorporated as supportive functionaries of the technocratic world view.

What can we foresee from this cultural split? The prospect is for continuing struggle within both the social and educational arenas. As long as the mainstream assumes that we can pursue quantitative "more" as if the supply of irreplaceable natural resources were limitless, the safe bet is on the side of the technocratic expansion. The lure of viewing education as a vehicle for place and consumerist advantage is taken as a self-evident good.

I personally, however, do not accept that this version of what America is about will go unchallenged. The ecological, social, and psychic costs are too heavy. We already are sharpening our awareness of critical new factors in our experience: an awareness of our planet's limited resources; an awareness that a more highly educated populace has new aspirations about life satisfactions and will not tolerate the trivialization of jobs that has pre-occupied scientific management; an awareness that urgent needs for sanity and personal growth move people to reject atomization and manipulation and to seek more integrated contact with their whole selves.

These yearnings call for a different type of rationality that breaks with the mechanistic traditions -- a rationality committed to helping establish symbiotic relations with nature and committed to the reconstruction of institutions in the interests of survival and health. If, for example, a more highly educated work force presses for redesign of work along the lines of industrial democracy, current systems analysis approaches in career education will be seen as dysfunctional.

In short, there just might be another round wherein the style of educational thought in the Deweyan tradition would deserve another look. If so, it would be a refreshing change to see it not misidentified once more with romantic freedom. An even happier prospect would be to avoid over-simplified either/or choices between our two traditions. But we also ought to face the fact that in choosing between the two we are talking about nothing less than what kinds of persons we want to become and what kind of future we want for this country.

A final note of realism. The majority of Americans, including many bluecollar workers, accept what Max Lerner called the values of a business civilization. Many endorse not only the material rewards but find personal satisfaction in the rough and tumble of the competitive corporate system. They welcome the embrace of the discipline of technocratic ideology by the schools and will resist alternative suggestions.

But we lack a general consensus; there are, in fact, deep seated doubts. Max Lerner, for example, noted how frequently civilizations have been weakened by a pathological insistence upon pushing to extremes their master institutions.[8] He thinks defensiveness about the business system may be vitiating qualities of democratic leadership "attuned at once to the life of nature and the life of the spirit." Robert Heilbroner detects "a hollowness at the center of a business civilization -- a hollowness from which the pursuit of material goods diverts our attention for a time, but that in the end insistently asserts itself."[9]

I do not need to point out to you the evidence of disaffection and psychic disarray. The clash between the disaffected and defenders of the status quo surfaced dramatically in the sixties. I believe the value issues opened then have not disappeared but will resurface as controversial issues for the rest of this century.

Dewey insisted that the alternative to rigid defensiveness of our master institutions was to explore seriously the meaning of democratic values for both our economic and educational institutions. It involves exploring how more people can live with a sense of empowered participation instead of accepting the role of functionaries in a meritocratic efficiency system. The issues have barely been joined. I expect it to be lively up ahead.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Daniel Bell, "Schools in a Communal Society," in L. Rubin, ed., *The Future of America: Perspectives on Tomorrow's Schooling*. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975), p. 44.

[2] John Dewey, *How We Think*, rev. ed., 1933. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1910), pp. 274-275.

[3] John Dewey, "Progressive Education and the Science of Education," *Progressive Education*, July, 1928, V, p. 203.

[4] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*. (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1916), p. 203.

[5] John Dewey, *The Sources of a Science of Education*. (New York: Horace Liverwright, 1929).

[6] John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*. (New York: New American Library, 1950), p. 147.

[7] C. A. Bowers, "Emergent Ideological Characteristics of Educational Policy," *Teachers College Record*, September, 1977, Vol 79, No. 1.

[8] Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 947.

[9] Robert Heilbroner, *Business Civilization in Decline*. (New York: W. W. Norton, Inc., 1976), pp. 112-113.

CONCEPTUALIZING METHOD: A HISTORY

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Several years ago I became interested in method and how American educators have thought about it past and present. Method isn't a very widely used notion today. We are especially vague on the idea of method as residing in the teacher as a skilled professional. Instead we look for method as built into instructional materials and appropriate experiences. We appear to be bemused by the notion of the curriculum as a sort of holy ghost which will if properly invoked bring about desirable educational goals. The curriculum is to be mediated through instructional materials and learning experiences, and the teacher must learn how to help pupils complete these materials and undergo these experiences. If the teacher and pupils respond correctly to materials and experiences, they will together achieve the desired goals. The teacher is, of course, the professional assigned to invoke the curriculum. It can't properly be done by an unskilled person -- or at least the proper certification won't be issued if it is. There is even doubt on the part of some critics of the schools about the role of the teacher. They think the intervention of the teacher superfluous, and by implication suggest that the materials and experiences themselves are enough.

Faith in this process has a close resemblance to other faiths current in our culture; the standardized medical treatments for illnesses; the step-by-step procedure for putting together unfamiliar equipment like unassembled Big Wheels or lawn furniture; the books advertising ways to avoid probate, or get consumer satisfaction; the psychological adjustment manuals and standardized therapies. Lyman Bryson once remarked that in a developed technology a person who knows how to do something sells his knowledge, usually in printed form, and as a result Americans think anybody can learn anything. There is an ultimate development of this faith in the curriculum as the mediator of learning; programmed materials as methods of teaching!

Instructional materials today usually come into the school in the form of packages with brand names. They are sometimes christened with the publishers' name, often with the name of their current formulator. Witness the Peabody Language Kit, SRA Reading materials, the Fernald approach to reading, the linguistic approach to spelling, Frostig's perceptual approach, or Ausubel's advance organizer. Experiences are events arranged by the teacher in which the learner is intended to be totally immersed. Directions for arranging such experiences are legion and are found in texts, manuals, and even in special technical kits. They are often classified under subject matter headings such as reading, outdoor education, or social studies. As yet no one in the profession has made the attempt to identify basic methodological elements in either materials or experiences. There is no classification scheme of method as there is of objectives. Teachers use them eclectically.

Further, theorists are reluctant even to use the word method today. All sorts of substitute terms are in vogue. The current literature shows writers prefer such terms as technique, tactic, mode, procedure, style, design, learning module, model, instructional module, instructional plan, guidance of learning experience, teaching device, teaching practice, lesson, approach, teaching technology, methodological pattern, maneuver, and finally strategy.

Yet, as late as the thirties, method was still a widely used term in educational writing. Of 135 books I have examined which were classified as being about teaching (from Hall's Lectures on School-keeping in 1829 to Cooper's Classroom Teaching Skills in 1977), a third of them or 43 appeared in print in a 15 year period from 1920 to 1935. The contents of these books show that period to be the heyday of method treated explicitly. The National Conference on Educational Method was established in 1921 and it put out a Journal of Educational Method. By 1929 it had been accepted as a department in the NEA with a new name, Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction.

I was intrigued. How had method as a concept become eclipsed? In 1927 Harold Rugg foresaw this development when he pointed out that desirably the teacher should occupy the important place of guidance which the profession had regrettably given to the materials of instruction. He deplored this phenomenon but accepted it and put his faith in the curriculum rather than the teacher as the effective educational intermediary between child and society. But why?

In my search through the card catalogue I stumbled accidentally on hundreds of entries on method and technique in fields other than education. Bryson's prediction was fulfilled in the areas of engineering, crafts, industrial processes, agriculture, and the like. The entries on these methods continued to be large up through the present. Method in a technical field differs however from method in a social field like teaching. The material with which

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the teacher works is unpredictable to a degree which cannot be well anticipated. The artist can know the nature of paint and canvas and how it will behave under certain conditions. The engineer can know the nature of steel. They can cut the unpredicatability of their materials to a minimum and the less unpredictability the greater the control. But teachers work with humans, whose behavior is predictable only within very broad limits. As a result the artist and engineer work with a technique. A technique is defined by Webster as a body of specialized procedures and methods used in any specific field. The teacher has only a method; a manner or mode of procedure, especially an orderly, logical or systematic way. The difference is subtle but lies in the difference between the material upon which each works. For the teacher, each method is much more of an adventure than for the engineer.

In spite of this difference, social engineering as a concept has caught the imagination of today's educational theorists. Bobbitt's initial formulation of the educational process in 1912 probably is responsible. He likened the development of a high type human being to the production of a quality steel rail and the power of that metaphor is still with us. Our faith in the right processes applied in the best sequence comes from that initial stage.

Histories of education are concerned with matters of greater social, political, and economic import than teaching method, so material is sketchy. I did a very hasty skimming over the history of method, touching down only on a very few outstanding peaks. I found that interesting methods, after being invented by talented educators, were usually put in practice in a school. An early method was Jesus' use of the parable. Socrates with his ironic and maiuetic modes strove to develop heuristic learning in his pupils. Catechism was the method of the early church, a memorized set of correct questions and correct answers. It was followed by the medieval use of disputation as a method of instruction, consisting of thesis, proof, objections, acceptance, or rejection. The Jesuits were among the first to record their use of emulation which followed the initial interpretation of the material by the teacher, and its repetition and discussion as supervised by monitors. Rousseau proposed a method which was essentially a lack of method; the child would be left completely without systematic intervention. Around the beginning of the 1800's the monitorial system was introduced in the United States. Pestalozzi by simplifying subject elements and grouping them psychologically sought an alphabet of every subject so that the pupil could pass from step to step in a uniform unvarying fashion. Froebel's method using his "gifts" was influential in kindergarten education in the 1870's. The American Herbartians introduced Herbart's five informal steps, an attempt to systematize the relationship between content to be learned and the development of child thought. Dewey formulated the problem-solving approach to teaching, and Kilpatrick elaborated it into the form he called the project. Related phenomena were the socialized recitation and unit organization developed and advocated by Morrison and Bagley. Helen Parkhurst with the Dalton plan and Carleton Washburne with the Winnetka plan inaugurated the contract system. Montessori methods introduced the notion of self-instruction as a result of the nature of the materials themselves. Programmed instruction was a logical outcome of earlier work on task analysis and developments in computer technology made possible programs which could be monitored by computers.

The Herbartians must be credited with having been the first to exercise important influence on American thought on method. Hall's and Page's books on school-keeping were typical of pre-Herbartian thought. Eschewing either stuffing learner's heads with rote information (pouring-in) or by passing them by the use of leading questions (a pseudo drawing-out) Page recommends waking up the learner's mind. He means stimulating the pupil's natural mental powers to work to their best capacity. The Herbartians would not have disagreed thus far. However, they pointed out that all materials were not equally apt for this waking up process. There must be selection and order in terms both of the nature of knowledge and of the orderly development of child thought. In 1892 DeGarmo urged educators to correspond the method in the subject at any stage to the stage of development in the child (DeGarmo, p. 5). He proposed an interesting pair of metaphors for the child's mind. Either it is a germ "containing by involution that which is to become by evolution," in which case the teacher is an educational gardener. Or the "mind at any given stage of its development is the resultant of the manifold forces of its environment, as a product more externally than internally produced," in which case the teacher is an educational architect (DeGarmo, p. 3). In the end, DeGarmo blends germs and scaffolding without realizing how awkward an image he invokes. That very incongruity was at the source of later difficulties in method and was to be resolved in various ways by later theorists. They were to find that they couldn't accommodate an organic image and a mechanical image in the same metaphor.

Although specific Herbartian methods such as the five formal steps did not continue to be influential, their methodological concerns did continue to shape thought on method. Charles McMurry's lifelong preoccupation was with what he called the central question, that is, "how much of concrete data (illustrative or descriptive, facts or objects, pictures, maps and diagrams) is required to bring out clearly the main organizing idea in the topic" (C. McMurry, 1914, pp. 36-37). Frank McMurry was concerned that pupils acquire methods of thought appropriate to each bit of content. For instance, how should one think about a map? One should learn to estimate distances, and to use coordinates. Their concern for method, their interest in technique, the relationship of content to the pupil's developing mental powers, the structure of subject matter fields, all were methodological concerns which continued to be worked on by the profession.

The essentially static nature of the solutions the Herbartians proposed to the problem of method was transformed as Dewey and Parker began to urge what came later to be known as the problem-solving method and still later developed by Kilpatrick as the project method. Further outgrowth of this influence were the socialized recitation, unit planning and the contract. Melvin in 1932 makes an eloquent case for switching to them entirely and discarding the dependence on the older formulations of method.

"The problems of teaching technique are the problems of bridging the gap which exists between the child and the curriculum. . . . There was a time when the gap was bridged by beginning with the subject matter and building across toward the child, by using building materials of subject matter and attempting to fit them to the child's personality . . . consequently discussions of technique . . . were concerned with such things as subject matter, units of geography or history and their mastery, the development of prearranged lesson plans, the organization of subject matter into satisfactory lesson types in accordance with its essential structure, the suggestion of devices and artificial forms of awakening the interest of children in the subject matter. . . . The teacher committed to a more modern form of procedure . . . begins with the responses of the children. Picking these up as she finds them she . . . directs the learning process in such a way that the responses of the children link naturally, and with as little friction as possible, to the values of the curriculum . . . the discussions of newer techniques of teaching are less clean-cut and definite than those to which many are accustomed. . . . Lesson patterns being more intricate, they will be less adaptable to formal analysis and description in terms of types . . . the spirit of the new teaching, . . . proceeds, not by formula, but by an understanding, interpretation and direction of the specific case; not by rules, but by principles" (Melvin, 1932, pp. 65-67). Melvin goes on to say that the key to method is to realize that "the teacher is absolutely compelled to forget ideas, knowledge, and information and persuade his pupils to do something. This is the key to method. The teacher must somehow prevail upon his pupils to act. It is the pupil acting that will recast the subject matter and give it new life. . . . There is no side-stepping this process of self-identification of the learner with what he learns" (Melvin, 1952, p. 135). Melvin declares his faith that having the pupils act is sufficient. Whether they are holding a Thanksgiving party, making a wind machine, opening and operating a restaurant, making an illuminated text on the Middle Ages, taking an old car apart, or visiting a mining town, somehow out of these vigorous actions the teacher and student will distill systematic, sequential organized knowledge.

However, others felt that there was much valuable in Herbartian method and ways must be found to harmonize the older methodology with the newer ones. An example of this effort was the formulation in 1933 by Noble Lee Garrison of what he called the two phases of teaching. The first phase, the administrative activities of teaching, is a vehicle or way to carry on the second phase, teaching techniques. For example, the project method is an administrative activity. By means of first-hand experiences, pupil self-discovery of need and purpose, and pupil direction of activities, pupils will grow in the personal traits of independence and power in work. Not however if the teacher neglects teaching techniques such as problem-solving, drill and appreciation. Unless the teacher develops, refines, and improves the pupil's problem solving within a project by leading the pupil to clarify his ideas and draw better conclusions, then the administrative activity, or the project, is not sufficient to justify itself educationally. Garrison finds that the newer methods are all administrative activities; socialized recitations, supervised study, laboratory work, contracts, units, and projects.

Garrison's and Melvin's contrasting views illustrate a growing tension between two positions on method. One, influenced by the Herbartians, emphasized the primacy of ideas. The other, influenced by Dewey, emphasized the primacy of purposing. Neither position ignored the claims of the other. It was clearly a matter of emphasis. The believers in ideas recognized the need for learners to use knowledge to sense and solve problems. They didn't however want learners to miss knowledge just because it didn't happen to come up. They also felt that learners could follow imaginatively the initial formulation of ideas by original thinkers in their original settings. In this way they could see the connection of ideas with life problems. They were taken aback, many of them, by evidence that pupils taught through purposing were sometimes ignorant of large parts of the knowledge bank. They insisted that the store of ideas one has exerts a powerful influence on the sensing of a felt need. For example, conservation of resources in the interests of future generations is difficult to establish as a felt need, as long as there is still plenty today. To turn it into a felt need some ideas have to be well established, such as concepts of resource, production, consumption and the like.

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The believers in pupil purposing recognized the need for knowledge in the solution of problems. They wanted learners to learn knowledge on the production line, so to speak. They trusted in the true problem solver to know when there was a problem, to know how to set about solving it, and in the process acquire the knowledge needed. Knowledge that wasn't needed, wasn't needed. Far too many ideas taught in the schools were irrelevant anyway, and the cultural milieu itself was a much richer and more suggestive source than traditional content.

Dewey himself proposed a resolution of this tension. He described method as basically cyclical. The problem solver first acquired psychologically organized knowledge as he solved his problem. As the child builds a rabbit cage he makes the length of boards equal by lining them up and thus he gains a crude notion of measurement. As the child is guided by the teacher he responds to these crude notions with new problems. He buys new lumber for a booth and must estimate how much to buy. He uses a standard measuring rule and becomes familiar with arbitrary standard units of measure. Again his knowledge is psychologically organized, but with a strong bias toward logically organized knowledge or the culture's funded knowledge of measurement. Eventually through a series of carefully guided problem-solving experiences, psychologically organized knowledge will become more and more like logically organized knowledge. Dewey called this process the progressive reorganization of subject matter and he insisted that it was a teaching method as well. Of course the teacher must possess a well-articulated stock of fundamental ideas which represent the funded logic of the race.

There was another notion lurking in Melvin's statement that would emerge later in Caswell's formulation of curriculum development. That was the suggestion that submitting the pupil to an experience was itself a method. As Caswell himself put it, "Experience is a process; it is the living through of actual situations. . . . Thus the process of experiencing, results in changes in an individual which are unities different from any of the elements which went to make up the experience" (Caswell & Campbell, 1935, p. 81). And he goes on to say, "Integrations of habits and knowledge which represents desired types of conduct can be developed only by guiding the child in situations which require such conduct . . . there is only one way to learn to be honest, and that is to be honest . . . and the chances increases that in all new situations he will exhibit the desired trait" (Caswell & Campbell, pp. 378-379). Although the initial concept by Caswell was that of experience, before long experience became learning experience.

Several influences served to move theorists farther away from a focus on method as a personal skill of the professional and toward method as a set of processes of a semi-autonomous character. One influence was the emphasis by Kilpatrick and others on the wider concept of method. To quote Frasier in 1924, "in the narrow sense method refers to the specific way of doing a specific thing." For instance, there is one way to build a house or one proper arrangement of the letters in spelling. He goes on to say, "The broad interpretation. . . takes into account all important factors related to the doing of the specific thing" (Frasier & Armentrout, 1924, p. 149). All enterprises must be planned. For example, a spelling conscience must be developed. Kilpatrick added that the pupil learns to like or dislike spelling as well, or perceives the gap between what teachers do and what they profess when they teach democratic ideals in an autocratically run classroom.

A second influence was the transformation of supervision from assessment and judgment based on personal teaching experiences to the application of a set of engineering criteria and procedures. Both teacher and supervisor could refer to them. The teacher became the manager of a process which was empty of any particular content but waiting to be filled. This method conceptualized the human product as being as brainless and non-unique as a steel rail. Eventually under Skinner's influence this view of method came much closer to social engineering.

A third emphasis was the subject matter specialist. Moving with the times he began to couch method in terms of learning experiences in special subject matter areas. Learning experiences often proved, however, to be other methods thinly disguised. Theorists first recommended drill in spelling as contributory to the clear expression of thought or the desired basic ideas. Later they discussd drill itself as a method and used examples from teaching spelling as illustrations of the virtue of drill. Finally theorists in the teaching of spelling itself used drill as one technique among many others to achieve the goal of producing good spellers.

Today, two parallel lines of development seem to be emerging in the field of method. One, a legacy of the earlier emphasis on the acquisition of basic knowledge makes its appearance in the form of packaged materials. Here solidified method represents the best engineering available in subject matter areas and the teacher is basically a manager of these processes. In many cases the procedures are very explicit. The title of a work, Methods that Teach, by McDonald (1965), gives a clue to the contemporary approach. Methods, frozen in this case into a set of step-by-step procedures, can be relied on to do the teaching. For teaching spelling a complete week's plan of procedure is offered, so detailed that it even includes a reminder to the teacher to remind the children to keep their spelling books closed at the onset of the lesson until she tells them to open them. The plan shows the teacher, among other things, how to divide the group by means of an initial diagnostic test, how to set the fast spellers studying their words alone, and how to put the slow spellers through another step-by-step process; hear, see, pronounce, write, compare, check. The teacher is even shown how to test. It is assumed that if the teacher follows the steps, voila, the pupils will emerge knowing how to spell. Further, methods in individualized instruction frequently take the form of instructional units or "modules" which specify options for learners, or alternative ways to study the same topic. They are planned to enable the learner to concentrate on learning activities most appropriate to his learning style. For example, the teacher constructs or purchases units for each learning, calling them unipacs or learning modules.

The other is the legacy of the emphasis on pupil purposing. The methodological form is the experience, a gestalt which the pupil undergoes and from which, presumably, many outcomes emerge. The management of both materials and experiences by the teacher entails a number of related methods to enhance the management. For example, in a manual on classroom teaching skills, drill, recitation, review and lecture have been replaced by questioning, interpersonal communication, management, and observation skills. In another manual there is a good analysis of the factors related to method, such as assessing learning styles, learning disabilities and theories of learning. At this critical point the student is then assigned to "propose specific teaching learning techniques (including specific activities and experiences, methods, materials, personal relationships, etc.) which are appropriately suited to teaching learners with four different learning styles. Time: 25 minutes." The student need not worry, however, since he will probably teach in a school system which provides him with a whole panoply of Methods that Teach (Cooper, 1977).

Method is presented as the end result of an apparently complex set of factors to be kept in mind by the teacher. It is regarded as so highly personalized that there is little or no sense in attempting to discuss it directly. As one theorist puts it, "It is important to stress that no 'how' or methodology is correct or incorrect in itself. There is no one best way to teach! Validity of method is established only in relation to its effectiveness in accomplishing a specified learning objective." And that matter has already been taken care of by the purchase of proper learning materials.

Other theorists who are becoming critical of methods today are studying what actually goes on in classrooms. To replace anecdotal accounts or distillations of the experience of gifted practitioners, the researchers study the frequency of occurrence of certain psychological functions in classrooms. Schemes are devised to study the cumulative impact of certain patterns or combinations of patterns of functions. Since these functions are primarily psychological they do not provide a way of studying the substantive drift of method, or the logic used and the product aimed at. For example, Flanders concentrated on verbal behavior and conceptualized the dynamics of the classroom as the way in which one verbal act leads to another. His items were process items, however, conceptually empty bags, independent of content. The teacher might teach erroneous content and yet retain a good interaction pattern. One is reminded of the ladylike scorn with which Alice Zimmern, a Girton scholar at Cambridge, described the history teaching about England she observed on a visit to schools in New York City, in 1894. The textbook in use made the following observations, "We [in the United States] have no King John who can imprison us at his will, or smother innocent little boys. We have no Queen Elizabeth to dictate how we shall worship the ever-living and true God." She goes on to remark, "The absence of all dates leaves the impression on the reader's mind that King John, Henry the Eighth, are all alive at the present day, ready to torture or behead anyone who annoys them" (Zimmern, p. 70).

Current use of the term strategy deserve our attention, since it implies fresh attention to certain problems of method that have been neglected. Hyman has an excellent discussion of the probable reason for the use of the term. "The concept of a strategy is used in situations where the attainment of one's goal is blocked by someone or something . . . to overcome [this] a strategist maps out his plan of attack according to the strengths of his forces and his opponent's . . . the order and timing of his actions . . . retreating and regrouping actions . . . his opponent's possible behavior . . . a plan for the most efficient and quickest victory in light of his opponent's position and the prevailing general conditions." He points out that for these reasons the term strategy is used often in war, chess, tennis, basketball, politics, diplomacy, labor-management, and race relations. Should it be applied to teaching he asks? "There are specified goals to be attained in the classroom and a variety of means can be used to attain them. Furthermore, teachers and pupils often see each other as opponents, not only for leadership control of classroom activities, but also in a battle of wits related to the topic at hand" (Hyman, 1968, p. 390). He later adds that they may also be cooperating in a common struggle against a common enemy, perhaps lack of knowledge?

Some strategies recently elaborated show promise of returning to former emphases on the needed harmony between teaching method and the mental methods of the learner. Suchman offers a step-by-step account, supported by tapes of actual protocols of his method, his basic metaphor being a commonly used parlor game, Twenty Questions (Suchman, 1961). Hilda Taba had a carefully worked out procedure on learnable, thus teachable, thought processes. Oliver and Shaver carefully describe both recitation teaching and Socratic-type teaching. And Bruce Joyce and Marsha Weil have done the profession a real service to gather together in one volume, with extended commentary, a good number of outstanding current exemplars of explicit methodology (Joyce & Weil, 1972).

In the foregoing working paper I have attempted to explore some changes in the professional treatment of method -- particularly to contrast differences between the fifteen-year period 1920-1935 and today. I feel that I have only begun to investigate this important problem. It is my hope that we as a profession are developing a new interest in method, especially as it relates to the powerful position occupied by instructional materials today. It is my hope also that we will think seriously about the possibility of a taxonomy of method or basic teaching designs to match our currently available taxonomy of objectives.

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EDUCATIONAL CONTROL FOR CRAZY-MAKING: NOTES TOWARD AN ALTERNATIVE

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I am trying to get some perspective from the early twentieth century debate over vocationalism -- and use it to distinguish harmful from hopeful developments in the present situation. I shall oversimplify and refer to the early debate as one between John Dewey and social efficiency philosophers like David Snedden.[1] I want to entertain the notion that the underlying issue, still very much with us, involves a basic difference over the idea of science as a model for the reform of institutions.

I want to focus on two institutions at the center of that debate: adult work and the schools as work places.

Both Dewey and the social efficiency philosophers assumed a close link between the design of work in industry and the quality of life in schools. Thus it is worth noting that in the Preface to Democracy and Education Dewey said his task in the book was to clarify how philosophy of education was related to the nature of science, democratic values and industrial reorganization. (The latter part has been the most neglected.)

There was agreement, too, that the effectiveness of productivity in both schools and industry would, in large measure, be determined by the type of control. Thus Dewey in his chapter in Democracy and Education on "Education as Direction" said that with formal education some form of direction is inescapable and the choice tends to be between direction "as control from without in the form of regulations" versus "a guiding assistance through cooperation."[2]

Snedden chose the former and Dewey the latter. One way of getting at the philosophical differences is to deal with their radically different images of how science could be a guide to reform: science as a model of technical control through scientific management, or science as a model or metaphor for release of human creativity.

David Snedden viewed the corporate-urban-industrial phenomenon as the foremost means for human progress. Those who bemoaned the mechanization and depersonalization of work were "simple-lifers" or "romantic impracticalists." Modern men might be subjected to fragmented, routine job tasks; but production specialization enabled them to live longer, more comfortably, and with new leisure. And the application of mass production methods to control school life could help share in the advance. As he put it, "Quantity production methods applied in education speedily give us school grades, uniform textbooks, promotional examinations . . . strictly scheduled programs, mechanical discipline and hundreds of other mechanisms . . . which are necessary if our ideals of universal education are to be realized."[3]

Snedden likened the good society to a winning "team group." A team was made stronger by specialization of functions. Some like the officers on a submarine crew would be trained to lead and coordinate; others would be trained for special functions in the ranks.[4]

The model was a Social Darwinist job efficiency approach. Jobs to be planned for kids in schools were roughly to parallel the design of jobs for adults. The rationalization of labor, rugged competition, and quantitative measurement of outcomes could increase efficiency in both realms.

John Dewey also was concerned with vocationalism but with a different perspective. Thus in Individualism Old and New Dewey held that the basic problem for the industrialized United States was a qualitative one. "Can a material, industrial civilization be converted into a distinctive agency for liberating the minds and refining the emotions of all who take part in it."[5]

Dewey was blunt about what he held to be the "fundamental defect of our civilization." We live in a culture where our technique and technology are controlled too exclusively by the "corrosive" materialism of our times. This springs, he said, from the notion cultivated by the class in power, that capacities of individuals can be developed only in a struggle for material possessions and power."[6]

> . . . (Economic) associations are fixed in ways which exclude most of the workers in them from taking part in their management. The subordination of the enterprises to pecuniary profit reacts to make the workers 'hands' only, their hearts and brains are not engaged.[7]

Elsewhere, he said,

> Much has been said about scientific management of work. It is a

> narrow view which restricts the science which secures efficiency of operation to movements of the muscles.[8]

The result is that the intellectual and moral development of both workers and management is one-sided and warped.

The alternative, Dewey said, is to know how the power of science, industry and technology can be directed toward "making a different sort of world and society."[9] Such a science, he said, would be:

> . . . at the opposite pole to science concluded as merely a means to industrial ends. A humane society would use scientific method, and intelligence with its best equipment to bring about human consequences. Such a society would meet the demand for a science that is humanistic, and not just physical and technical.[10]

And, said Dewey, "If a system of cooperative control of industry were generally substituted for the present system of exclusion -- there would be enormous liberation of mind, and the mind thus set free would have constant direction and nourishment."[11]

If Dewey rejected the scientific management model, what was his own image of science as a model for reform? Since we need a shortcut I believe it is useful to see the similarity in Dewey's tendency to see linkages between science and art and the similar stance by Jacob Bronowski in Science and Human Values. From this perspective "science/art" is a metaphor for the creative capacity of all human beings "to explore experience,"[12] to construct new meanings about themselves and their world. Science is a refined example of the capacity of every human to discover connections or unity in what had long seemed unlike. Thus Rutherford and Bohr could find a model for the atom in the planetary system, or illiterate Sherpas under guidance, could discover that two faces of Mt. Everett from different valleys are, in fact, one mountain. A preschool child can discover how to sort our blocks of different shapes.

To be human means to have the right to get in touch with our powers to construct meanings about ourselves and our own world, so our lives and our work makes sense. From this concept of science the obligation is to design both adult work and schools so that they enable all to be in touch with the wholeness of their persons as constructors of meaning.

The fact is, of course, that the scientific management model predominates. It is increasingly getting us into trouble because it denies us our basic right as humans to explore experience and to communicate honestly. If fragments us, it reduces us to parts of technically designed mechanisms.

Ernest House in the October 1978 issue of the Comparative Education Review unravelled the story of how the humanistic intentions of Title I were subverted when federal education programs were brought under the control of William Gorham and other deputies from Robert McNamara's Dept. of Defense. Their assigned task was to design and control the program so that its "goals could be stated, measured and evaluated in cost benefit terms."[13] Programs to educate children were reduced to the technical rationale of economic production functions. The debilitating effects on teachers and students has been multiplying ever since. Thus, if many kids are having trouble with reading, we harness them and their teachers to mechanical models which will yield guaranteed measurable results. We've been at that for nearly 10 years and we ought to be dazzled by the reading brilliance of our kids. It can, however, turn out otherwise. I give you an observational note of one of our graduate students who is observing first graders approaching their exciting initial experiences of "learning to read."

> T. Why aren't you doing your work, Alphonso?
> A. I thought we were going to read today.
> T. That's what we did -- you just had reading group.
> A. But, I thought we would read today.
> T. We did, Alphonso. We looked for 's' sounds in your book, did two 's' pages in your workbook and here is the worksheet you should be doing right now to find some more 's' words.
> A. But, I thought we would read today -- you know, READ read!
>
> (Journal Entry, Fall, 1978)[14]

But in the recent rush to attach schools to the technocratic ideology there is an interesting irony -- an irony that provides cause for a ray of hope. In the late Sixties, at the very time that schools were being bludgeoned into refined versions of the old Taylorist control, that model was being declared dysfunctional in advanced sectors of industry. The counter to scientific management is emerging as socio-technical design theory associated with values of industrial democracy, and it moves toward principles of the Dewey-Bronowski version of science/art.

The critique and the philosophical alternative is being developed by theorist-practitioners like Pehr Gyllenhammar of Volvo; and Einar Thorsrud, P. B. Herbst, Fred Emery and Eric Trist loosely associated with the English

Tavistock Institute and the Work Research Institutes in Oslo, Norway.

The motivation of their pragmatic reconstructionist philosophy of work was the break--down in the Sixties of the Methods Time Management model they had imported from the U.S.A. A young more highly educated Scandinavian work force was responding to the engineering model by absenteeism, apathy, sloppy work, alcholism and malicious mischief. The list transfers easily, or course, to large numbers of our school youth; to which we could add the demoralizing effects of seeing that teachers will lie and cheat when under the gun of "competency" pressures.

I can refer here only to several illustrative concepts and examples.

A basic insight of socio-technical theory is indicated by the term itself. It holds that the fundamental flaw of the cost efficiency model is that it insists on seeking purely technical solutions to systems which, in fact, are socio-technical.[15] "Socio" refers to the human part. The technical efficiency models are out of touch with the inner, personal, subjective, creative, spiritual aspects of human reality. To be out of touch with reality is to be crazy-making. It is to Gyllenhammar's credit that he saw that the mechanistic U.S. management model was harming productivity because it was lending to irrational divisions in the name of rationality.

For example, Swedish planners began to see that major problems were coming from more highly educated young workers. They began to consider the idea of replacing them with less educated Turks and Finns. The logic of staying with what purported to be a rational organization of work was leading them to reject the finest educated youth their country had produced. When they spotted this the alternative was to try something saner. Gyllenhammar's thinking developed as follows:

> People entering the work force today have received more education than ever before in history. We have educated them to regard themselves as mature adults. . . then we offer them virtually no choice in our overorganized industrial units. For eight hours a day they are regarded as children, ciphers, or potential problems and controlled accordingly.[16]

To neglect the capacities of the young is to invite trouble. To accept them as assets to be nurtured forces one into paths beyond scientific management thinking. The opening sentence in Gyllenhammar's People at Work sets the tone of the alternative chosen. "People not machines are the real basis for the spectacular growth of industry during the twentieth century."[17]

Volvo decided that it had misled itself into believing that its development was simply due to resources identified as capital, technology, and equipment. Its future now was dependent on its educated people -- education was the invisible asset. To utilize the human resources required viewing every worker as entitled to a dignified work place with opportunity for personal development and a chance to influence work commensurate with his or her ability.[18]

The basic decision had to be to reject more time and motion studies and to focus energies on creating a work process which would increase worker autonomy, initiative and collegial collaboration.

I shall limit myself to one example. At the Kalmar plant a key change was to design technology to give people the flexibility to reorganize themselves at work. Instead of attaching workers to a moving line, materials were to be brought to work stations where autonomous groups of 15-20 persons could do their own organizing. The heart of the Kalmar technology became moveable carriers, subject to a variety of controls by workers. Work teams could design their own work and rest rhythms, job rotation, and collaborative plans for trouble shooting. Responsibility for quality control was handled by asking each unit to conduct its own inspections. The unit received computer feed-back on the performance of the final test-drive of the car. (The technical part of socio-technical assumes that people will be genuinely serious about technical knowledge and skills.)

The issue as Gyllenhammar began to see it was that, "Technology can strangle people. On the other hand, if it is designed for people, technology can also be a liberator. . . It is possible to devise new solutions to combine rational technological systems with greater freedom for human choice."[19]

Furthermore, as the rate of technological change increases it becomes necessary "to build learning capacities into the organization of industrial work teams."[20] Within this framework, work teams of persons engaged in ongoing learning become capable of doing research both to find ways to improve production and to develop strategies for coping with changes.

The Scandinavians are assuming that their decision to develop a society of highly educated persons will increasingly lead to rejection of traditionally engineered technology where "hired hands" are managed by authoritarian leadership. It will lead to a demand for access to "good work."

They are moving toward a position articulated by John Bremer that the test of a democratic society's excellence is the extent to which it supports the learning of all its members in all its institutions. And that is right out of the science/art orientation of John Dewey.

I don't need to draw elaborate implications about the meaning of the socio-technical model of "good work" for teachers and students. I believe that the influence of the scientific management model is so pervasive that we cannot get significant relief from its chilling effect on schools without a simultaneous challenge to its efficacy for work itself.

There is a chance that in the decades ahead a battle on this issue could emerge. Important factors that are motivating the Swedes are present here, too. But it is foolish to underestimate the resistance. It calls for nothing less than new economic assumptions. It requires as Willard Wirtz put it, ". . . a new economics that takes the human potential as its starting point. [It] would start from a commitment to make the fullest practicable use of . . . whatever talents are inside people instead of from a consideration of the most profitable use of the elements inside the fragile crust of the planet."[22] We would begin to measure policies in terms of how much strain they placed on natural resources and how much use or misuse they made of well-educated human resources.

It would require us to see, like the Scandinavians, that the technocratic control model is leading us to create too many institutions that are crazy-making. "Crazy" comes from an old Norwegian word *krasa* meaning crushed or fragmented, while "*whole*" come from the old English *hal* from which we get words like hale, whole, health, which have to do with "being together." Crazy-making institutions are those which fragment us, keep us out of touch with the wholeness of our persons, and out of touch with our entheos -- our God within, or our personal enthusiasms. They tie up our energies in ways which deny us authentic communication and community. That way is bad for kids. It is driving our most creative and caring teachers out of the profession.

If we have self-respect, we ought to stop it.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Arthur G. Wirth, *Education in the Technological Society*. (New York: Intext, 1972).

[2] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916), p. 28.

[3] David Snedden, *Toward Better Education*. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1931), pp. 330-31.

[4] David Snedden, "Education for a World of Team Players and Team Workers," *School and Society*. (Vol. 20, Nov. 1, 1924), p. 554.

[5] John Dewey, *Individualism Old and New*. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1962, ©1929), p. 124.

[6] John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action*. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1935), p. 89.

[7] John Dewey, *Individualism Old and New*. pp. 131-132.

[8] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*. p. 98.

[9] John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action*. p. 88.

[10] John Dewey, *Individualism Old and New*. p. 138.

[11] *Ibid*., pp. 132-33.

[12] Jacob Bronowski, *Sciance and Human Values*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965, ©1956), p. 72.

[13] Ernest R. House, "Evaluation as Scientific Management in U.S. School Reform," *Comparative Education Review*. (Vol. 22, October, 1978), pp. 388-90.

[14] Rita Levant, Washington University, Fall 1978.

[15] See P. G. Herbst, *Socio-Technical Design*. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1974).

[16] Pehr Gyllenhammar, *People at Work*. (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley Publishing Co., 1977), p. 4.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 2.

[18] *Ibid*., pp. 21-23.

[19] *Ibid*., pp. 68, 159.

[20] P. G. Herbst, *Socio-Technical Design*, p. 207.

[21] John Bremer, *A Matrix for Modern Education*. (Toronto: McClellan and Stewart, Ltd., 1975), p. 27.

[22] Willard Wirtz, "Education for What?" in Dyckman W. Vermilye, ed., *Relating Work and Education*. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).

FBI SURVEILLANCE OF THREE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATORS: CURRICULAR ASPECTS

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Recent inquiries into covert activities of the several intelligence agencies of this nation have revealed the existence of detailed files on various individuals and groups in the United States. According to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, Chaired by Senator Church, "The covert relationships with the C.I.A. [and F.B.I.], 'range from academics making introductions for intelligence purposes . . . to academic research and writing where C.I.A. [and F.B.I.] sponsorship is hidden.'"[1] The areas of surveillance and influence were as broad as the relationships themselves. Agriculture, education, physics, politics, mathematics, et.al., were just a few of the areas deemed worthy of close scrutiny.

Prior to the revelations of the various investigatory committees and the subsequent Freedom of Information Act as amended in February of 1975, the general public had virtually no access to information gathered and secured by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Over the years that agency has been charged with the responsibility of maintaining surveillance within the United States. Many critics of the bureau have charged that in fulfilling that task the FBI has prevented the free exchange of ideas to the degree that, "Speakers, teachers, writers, and publications themselves were targets of the FBI's Counterintelligence program."[2] Even though much of the FBI's alleged illegal activities were concentrated in the mid-1960's and the student protest movement, recent released documents indicate that the bureau frequently engaged in such surveillance activities during prior times of national unrest and uncertainty.[3]

These periods of uncertainty were not confined to one decade. During most of the Twentieth Century history of the United States there have been outspoken critics of the path that our Nation was taking. The most consistent criticism arose during the Great Depression and this period from 1930-1940 was one of trauma, introspection and a feeling of national guilt as Americans sought answers to questions concerning this most devastating occurrence in our history.

The depression brought to the fore a new age in American education as a small but significant group of educational leaders sought changes in the structure of the curriculum in an attempt to ward off any future catastrophies of a like nature. Three of those leaders provided significant impetus to the inquiry of educational purpose. John Dewey, George Counts and Harold Rugg had all feared America's "decline" as early as 1925 and during the depression they probed for answers related to the causes of that depression.

There can be little doubt that these advocates for reform in education were espousing a radical,[4] and to a great degree, psychologically threatening departure from the previously tried and true traditional approaches. Such advocacies brought attention from pressure and special interest groups who advocated particular points of view and who were not generally able to comprehend the concepts to which progressives addressed themselves. Consequently the period 1930-1940 was one of serious repression of academic freedom as evidenced by Beale's book Are American Teachers Free (1936) and the Seventh Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies entitled Education Against Propoganda (1937).

Rugg's books were strongly defended by many school people and university professors (even those who disliked Rugg) on the basis of academic freedom. Counts and Dewey strongly supported Rugg's position and they too, were accused of Communism, socialism and Anti-Americanism in the wake of "My Country, right or wrong" fever that swept the Nation. Amidst this background, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was quietly (and in some instances, blatantly) gathering information on these educators. The intent of the authors' research was to determine how the government, represented by the FBI, regarded Dewey, Counts and Rugg and what, if anything, they did to influence popular feeling towards these educators.

The authors conceived of this study in the spring of 1976 and began what proved to be a thirteen month pursuit of the FBI files on Dewey, Counts and Rugg. A summary of the steps followed is given here to both aid other scholars in their pursuits as well as to acquaint them with the incredible amount of lag time involved when dealing with governmental agencies under the Freedom of Information Act.

March 1976 - Study conceived, requests made.
May 1976 - FBI requests additional data, third party.

June 1976 - Some additional data supplied (Mrs. Counts approval)
July 1976 - Congressional letters written
October 1976 - Final permission granted by Sidney Hook for the John Dewey Society.
January 1977 - Notice from FBI on availability of data.
May 1977 - FBI denial of data.
July 1977 - Release of all FBI files.

Nearly 400 pages of information on the three educators had been gathered. This consists of reports by the Bureau, other agencies and private groups, letters, and articles. Interestingly there is very little chronological overlap among the three individual files. The material gathered on Dewey centered primarily on his work with The People's Lobby which Dewey served as president. This material is mostly from the 1930's. Material was not gathered on Counts until the late 1940's and then only because of his support of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This latter support, and subsequent file were not started until 1963 when Counts was 74 years old. This type of paranoiac fear is more a reflection of the insecurity of FBI Director Hoover than of the involvement of George Counts in the NAACP.

Rugg's file with the Bureau was begun in 1942 and reflected the national interest in the controversy over the Rugg social studies materials. Material was continually gathered and reports filed on Rugg almost until his death in 1960 at the age of 74.

The curricular aspects of the files focus most specifically on Rugg, though the curricular ideas of Dewey and Counts might seem less credible as a result of FBI leadage on the gathering of files on these individuals.

Dewey's file initially contains a mass of information dealing with his involvement in the People's Lobby, a watchdog organization dedicated to the principles of good government and public disclosure (a Common Cause of the 1930's). Many individuals were interviewed "under pretext" about receiving mimeographed letters of the People's Lobby but all recalled that "the letter had been received at their respective offices and promptly destroyed."

Apparently the Bureau's discretion was not the most admirable since Dewey or someone associated with the People's Lobby, sent several copies of the People's Lobby Bulletin directly to J. Edgar Hoover along with an invitation, in 1934, to attend a People's Lobby Conference on "America's Public Ownership Program."

It does not seem unlikely that many others might have heard of the Dewey "secret" investigation. The leaks of the McCarthy era and of Watergate have served to reinforce this supposition. If it is so, and merely using FBI files as a resource precludes verifying that contention, then damage to Dewey's prestige may have been far reaching. This potential damage may have included a loss of respect for Dewey's educational thought and a subsequent drop in the sales of his many books on education (particularly curriculum).

A gratuitous letter from a magazine publisher listed organizations that Dewey belonged to, mostly liberal, humanitarian causes. The letter sparked an investigation into Dewey's affairs in 1943 which produced no information that suggested Dewey was a communist.

An investigation which the Director of the FBI ordered in 1957 summarized most of what the Bureau had done with John Dewey over a period of almost 30 years. Why, five years after Dewey's death, such a request for information was made by the director is not clear, although the request did state, "Let me have a summary on John Dewey, the educator who fathered the idea of "progressive education!" The Bureau listed many ideas and organizations to which Dewey subscribed over the years but no hint of Communism is ever supported and the Bureau clearly admits such.

Two personal letters sent to Hoover in 1953 and 1959, respectively, concerning Dewey and Communism were answered with a standard reply, i.e. the Bureau is not at liberty to comment positively or negatively on these personal inquiries. This did not prevent the Bureau (though not Mr. Hoover personally), from cooperating fully with a request from the Americanism Department of the general Federation of Women's Clubs who, in 1952, asked the Bureau to send to them, "whatever you have available to organizations on Dr. George S. Counts." Apparently the Bureau could stand on professional principles when it had no negative information but when it had questionable data, discussed below, the Bureau was quite cooperative.

In contrast to the material gathered on Dewey, information accumulated by the Bureau on Rugg and Counts reflects incipient McCarthyism rather than the fears of worldwide depression.

Harold Rugg's file begins in 1942 and contains initially the reprints of articles by some of Rugg's most determined enemies -- George Sokolsky of the National Association of Manufactures; Augustin Rudd, a business executive active in the American Legion and a reprint from an arch conservative magazine called The Beacon Light published by a group in California. The Bureau did not begin this file on its own but obtained the material "gratuitously" from a private citizen. One can only speculate who that might have been since the FBI has eliminated most references to people in their various reports. The material gathered is full of the half truths that marked the attacks on Rugg's books. Some of the derogatory remarks reflect much more on the times than they do on Rugg, e.g., Rugg is accused of trying to make students "extreme internationalists, if not communist minded." In an era of new isolation, an internationalist was almost synonomous with communist.

Other Rugg sins are being a member of the "Citizens' Committee of One Hundred" formed by the American Civil Liberties Union for "the purpose of getting disloyal school teachers reinstated by the School Board of New York" (FBI files) and the elimination of history, geography and civics as separate studies and their replacement by social studies. Indeed this was one act that solidified Rugg's posture as anti-American, according to many critics.

Despite collecting this information the FBI went no further at that time and they seemed to have had no direct hand in any of the Rugg textbook removals around the country.

In July 1951 Rugg, who had recently retired from Teachers College, was invited to speak at the annual Boyd Bode Educational Conference at Ohio State University in Columbus. Rugg's speech was concerned with the same ideas Rugg had espoused over the years -- social reconstruction for a better world community. He spoke out strongly on the restraint of academic freedom but these topics alone were not sufficient enough to arouse real controversy. What did arouse many people apparently was that Harold Rugg was saying them again.

Many of the critics of Rugg in the 1940's had obviously hated Rugg -- not just politically but personally. Following the Rugg controversies of the early 1940's, Rugg's texts were removed from many school shelves and sales plummeted to such a degree that Ginn and Company, the publisher, halted publication. This victory over Rugg's textbooks was viewed by many of his critics as a triumph over Harold Rugg and "anti-Americanism" ideas. Thus, Rugg's failure to totally disappear from the social scene angered these so-called patriotic Americans once again. This time, however, the specter of McCarthyism was on their side and they were able to convince the FBI that Rugg was a threat to security. This again reflects more on the times than on Rugg since he was in 1951 a 65 year old emeritus professor saying essentially the same things that he had been saying publicly for over twenty years.

This might have been the end of the FBI files on Rugg but in 1953 the New York Security Affairs Chief, apparently acting on the 1951 Cincinnati memo made a request to Director Hoover to conduct a preliminary investigation of Rugg to determine whether he should be included in the security index. Two weeks later authorization was granted and the investigators were to "be guided by instructions set forth in Section 87C of the Manual of Instructions relating to investigations of teachers." From that point until Rugg's death in 1960, he was under sporadic investigation.

In a miscellaneous file of Rugg's New York report he is also cited for "his lack of morals'," as well as his supposed sympathy for communism. Some hysterical people had briefly emerged to spew total untruths. E.g. A woman wrote a letter to J. Edgar Hoover on September 7, 1951, "in which she advised that she had known 'red professionals at Columbia.' She further declared 'I heard Harold Rugg at a mass meeting of teachers in Horace Mann auditorium, some years ago tell the group that under the Communist regime, every teacher in the United States would get at least five thousand dollars.'"

The report then focused on selected speeches and writings of Rugg, particularly the Ohio State address. Other attacks had come from Hearst papers and the aforementioned New York State Economic Council, headed by Marvin K. Hart. Another of Rugg's great sins was the mentioning and the quoting of Karl Marx in his textbooks and writings.

In June of 1954 a recommendation was made that a Security Index Card be prepared on Rugg because he was a Communist.

In July, JAJ (or J. Edgar Hoover) rejected the recommendation because of insufficient information to warrant such a recommendation. The New York office was advised to "remain alert to report any additional information indicating subject's affiliation with the Communist Party of Communist front organizations. . . ."

Three other reports were filed on Rugg in 1959, the last coming six months before his death in 1960 but no further action seemed to come of these reports.

The case of George Counts is perhaps the saddest among the three. Counts was the most radical and most outspoken in his defense of so called Communist ideals. Counts, unlike Rugg, saw social reconstruction as a political act and Counts was very political indeed. He was a union organizer serving as the first president of the AFT, a staunch defender of civil rights, fluent in Russian and a visitor to the Soviet Union. One thing that makes Counts' case so sad is his almost total disavowal of all of these things during the fear-plagued 1950's. Rugg and Dewey stuck to their views, interpretations and principles despite obvious intimidations. Counts finally "cavedin" and his case illustrates the type of destruction the FBI, in conjunction with other government personnel could cause to an individual.

During the 30's Counts was a close friend of the Soviet Union and of many Communists though he wrote in The Prospectus of American Democracy (1938) that the U.S. could successfully provide a better plan of government that is neither Communist or Fascist. Despite these acts, it appears that no file on Counts was started until 1942.

The conclusion of the report of April, 1943, was that Counts was "not sympathetic to the Communist cause. For this reason, no further investigation is being contemplated in this office, and this case is being considered closed."

In December of 1940, according to this FBI report, Counts "had conspicuously remained silent while twenty-one members of his own local (527 of the AFT), faced dismissal at Brooklyn College due to the activities of the (Rapp-Coudert) Committee." It was this type of action (or inaction) that caused Harold Rugg to lose much respect for Counts. As mentioned before Rugg was reasonably consistent in what he supported and generally that was justice. This may sound sophomoric but Rugg was neither politically motivated or concerned. Counts, on the other hand, was far more militant. Often his views were similar to Rugg's, but usually they moved more toward political action. Rugg was markedly disappointed (according to Rugg's widow) when Counts failed to support social justice. Instead Counts, in Rugg's view, placed anti-Communist feeling before such justice.

By 1942, Counts was very active in anti-Communist organizations but his guilt by association with "front organizations" in the 1930's made him still suspect, even after FBI reports that seemed to "exonerate" him. A 1947 report on the International Film Foundation mentions George Counts as "identified with Communist Front organizations."

By 1948, the Bureau, though still suspicious seemed ready to concede tht Counts was indeed not a Communist but as Treasurer of the Workers Defense League was involved with an organization HUAC (or HCUA) had cited as a Socialist organization.

In 1950, Counts was contacted by the New York office of the bureau in its investigation of another alleged Communist and Counts was the subject of as much scrutiny, it seems, as that accorded the individual being investigated.

In March of 1951, a particularly damaging report was added to Counts file. A former European Communist was interviewed in Paris in January of 1951. This person was describing a Communist party member known as a "member at large." In the course of this description he gave an example of such a member as "an important Columbia University professor, whose name was KOUNTZ or COUNTZ (phonetic)." This person stated that "It was important that such an individual be not identified as a Communist Party member. Therefore, . . . his actual membership might be hidden . . . (and he) should not be known as a Communist." This informant added that "he met KOUNTZ in 1934 . . . at which time he told (the informant) that he was a Communist Party member." The agent making the report concluded that the person mentioned was obviously George Sylvester Counts. . . .

This information caused a new investigation into the Communistic tendencies of George Counts, an investigation that stretched through December of 1951 and which proved totally inconclusive of anything relating to Counts.

In early 1952, 19 citations were placed against Counts by the House Un-American Activities Committee for Communist learnings, based on his writings in the 1930's. Not long after that, in talks at the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Institute of Technology, he repudiated his earlier advocacy for revolution and Soviet Communism. The FBI file includes the Pittsburgh Press account of Counts' talks. (These were gathered not by the Bureau but by the Rev. W. O. H. Garman, vice-president of The American Council of Christian Churches and sent to J. Edgar Hoover.) Counts explained that he wished to see Russia and the Allies joined in the 1930's "as the best deterrent to Hitler's ambitions."

Garman subsequently wrote letters of protest to the two universities and to John S. Wood, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee. In the latter note, he repeated Counts' transgressions as cited by the Committee and added some others such as favoring and approving "the use of the infamous Rugg textbooks all emanating from Columbia University, and which the Legion and other patriotic organizations were successful in having removed from 1300 school systems." Teachers College is also mentioned and charged with "having taught the teachers Socialism for thirty years."

Garman went on to "tattle" on Professor Thomas because he totally "refused to accept as evidence the findings of the Un-American Activities Committee, which committee he belittled and spoke of most disrespectfully." The conclusion of Garman's letter does note the attacks Counts made on Communism but Garman asserted that Counts was not trying "to teach Socialism to the youth of the land." The new focus of Garman's wrath was a series of UNESCO textbooks published by Teachers College. In letters to the Presidents of Pitt, Carnegie Tech., Director Hoover, Congressman J. T. Wood, J. S. Wood, and Senator Jenner, he cites these texts as an attempt to use "the classrooms of the Nation to teach Socialism."

Investigation resurfaced in 1963 out of the Philadelphia office when Counts was then a resident of New Hope, Pa. With no additional information to be found on Counts, his file seems to have been closed, though not officially. This last report was October 15, 1963 and Counts died in November of 1974. For the last eleven years of his life it appears he finally had escaped the shroud of FBI surveillance.

Probably the most dismaying conclusions that this research has indicated is the ofttimes capriciousness used by the bureau in starting files, in reacting to requests, in releasing seemingly confidential data and in maintaining surveillance in the face of almost universal denials of wrongdoing. This caprice has even extended to the release of documents under the Freedom of Information Act -- e.g., in Counts files there are far fewer deletions of Bureau "bigwig's" names than in Rugg's. In the Rugg files names are even deleted from newspaper clippings! Overall the pattern of deletions and release of data is one of no pattern. Indeed, the Bureau in our estimation appears as a reactor to minor transgressions rather than a well informed body prepared to initiate surveillance. It is not our desire to see the Bureau act this way. Rather that is the picture that the Bureau seems to paint of itself and, in our estimation, it is a shame, at least in part.

There are many gaps in the released files and we hope to fill those gaps with documents that have been withheld inexplicably. We also hope to check the sources cited in these files for accuracy in the hope of further monitoring this type of governmental surveillance.

Overall, we were astounded at the interest shown in these three educators at various points in time. Indeed, much of the data collection is more of a reflection of the times than of the Bureau itself. Nevertheless, it is our hope that by being alert to potential governmental interference in academic freedom, we can more fully exercise that freedom in all the schools of our country.

What future directions might such research take and towards what ends? For this group there are obvious biographical pursuits that might be followed. Rugg, Counts and Dewey were only three eminent educators in the forefront of educational change and analysis during the progressive years. Many others were certainly the subject of governmental scrutiny during those years and many of these individuals would have had impact on the curriculum. Potential sources of inquiry might include David Snedden, an early curriculum analyst, whose working class background might have been sufficient grounds for socialist leanings; Hollis Caswell, a still lively individual whose lucid commentary at the recent ASCD convention might signal more insight into an FBI inquiry; Jesse Newlon, another of the Teachers College group, though his untimely death might have precluded the later opening of a file on him by the FBI; Paul Hanna, the author (with James Mendenhall) of Building America, a social studies monthly that received critical acclaim in the 1930's but was later consumed by the curricular controversies that also destroyed the Rugg curriculum; William Heard Kilpatrick who lent his name to the reformist group at Teachers College; Hilda Taba; Franklin Bobbit; Carlton Washburne and others. The list is long and certainly should be pursued in some manner. Our research has indicated that the FBI did little to directly hinder the growth of specific curricula. However, they did engage in less than secret investigations of certain individuals in curriculum. By "playing favorites" with this information the FBI was able to erode the credibility of Counts and Rugg and ultimately to aid in a similar erosion of their curriculum ideas and products.

Similarly, the Bureau might have begun files on various curriculum groups that might have been viewed as "soft" on Communism because of their defense of academic freedom. These groups might include the National Council for the Social Studies which Rugg cofounded in 1920 and which constantly battled the question of censorship in the 1940's; Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; the John Dewey Society, which had most of the individuals discussed above as members; and the National Society for the Study of Education. There is no assurance of any of this surveillance but considering the pettiness involved in the files of Dewey, the Bureau apparently felt no cause too unimportant to pursue.

In conclusion, we should like to consider the question of what should be the role of governmental surveillance agencies viz-a-viz the curriculum. Our position is that the FBI and other agencies have no business in this area. If we cannot recognize the undermining of our own profession, however subtly, by internal or external forces, then we are indeed lost and the FBI can certainly not save us.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Karen Winkler, "The CIA Has Long-Developed Clandestine Relationships with the American Academic Community," Chronicle of Higher Education, May 3, 1976, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

[3] For example, a biographer of G. Bernard Shaw received tremendous data on the bureau's surveillance of that playwright. Recent files made public by the ACLU indicate the bureau kept the ACLU tightly watched from its (ACLU) inception.

[4] radical in its classical sense -- i.e., departure

THE PROGRESSIVE MALAISE OF REVISIONIST HISTORIANS -- AS SEEN BY A PROGRESSIVE

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I am assuming that this session is concerned with viewing the work of revisionist historians insofar as their research and interpretation bear on the work of the curriculum field, and as seen by those who viewed themselves as "progressives" in the period roughly from the 1920s to the 1950s. Strictly speaking, I was not, and am not now, in the "curriculum field" dealing with elementary and secondary schools. My main work in curriculum development has had to do with the courses in the foundations of education at Teachers College from the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s. But I have studied some aspects of the historical development of the curriculum in schools, and I certainly thought of myself as a "progressive" and a "liberal" even before I went to Teachers College from Wisconsin in 1935. And I have studied something of the revisionist interpretations of progressivism and liberalism in the past decade or so.

Revisionism has accompanied a gratifying revival of interest in the history of education during that time. It has stirred up a great deal of controversy among historians of education since the late 1960s. For the first half of the past decade they were on the offensive, primarily against the traditional "progressive" history of education symbolized for them by Ellwood P. Cubberley and the revisionism of Lawrence Cremin and presumably myself, although I have seldom been mentioned by name. But during the second half of the past decade an increasing criticism of the revisionists' historiography and interpretations has, I would say, definitely put them on the defensive. Now I do not intend to review in general that literature. For those who are interested in it and not completely immersed in it, I refer you to the bibliographies and discussions in my new book, Public Education in the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978).

The time is so short this afternoon that I can only give the outlines of my perspective that I think are pertinent to your interests in the history of the curriculum. I shall make it quite personal, a kind of oral history. I shall refer to a few examples to illustrate the similarities and differences of interpretation on particular problems as seen by some revisionists and by myself. If you are interested in my generalized view of the revisionists, I refer you to my paper entitled "Public Education and Political Community," (History of Education Quarterly, Summer 1974) which was the invited lecture for Division F of AERA in 1973; and to my paper "Once Again the Question for Liberal Public Education: Whose Twilight?" (Phi Delta Kappan, September 1976) which was the George S. Counts lecture at Southern Illinois University in 1976.

First, let me indicate a basic kind of agreement I have with some of the revisionists. It has to do with the relation of the present to the past in history writing. I think we agree that the historian's "present" inevitably influences his or her historical writing about the past. I believe this "presentist" view of history is still most succinctly put by Charles A. Beard:

> . . .every written history . . . is a selection and arrangement of factors, or recorded fragments of past actuality. And the selection and arrangement of facts . . . is an act of choice, conviction, and interpretation respecting values, is an act of thought.[1]
>
> . . .any selection and arrangement of facts pertaining to any large area of history . . . is controlled inexorably by the frame of reference in the mind of the selector and arranger. This frame of reference includes things deemed necessary, things deemed possible, and things deemed desirable. It may be large, informed by deep knowledge, and illuminated by wide experience; or it may be small, uninformed, and unilluminated.[2]

This is pretty close to the essence of "progressive history" as viewed by Beard, Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson, Vernon L. Parrington, and Carl Becker who also viewed conflict between the few and the many as more the stuff of American history than consensus, who believed that history writing should have relevance to the problems of the present, and who were committed to social reform, egalitarian rights and freedom, and a positive role for democratic government in achieveing a greater measure of economic and social welfare and security than could be achieved by laissez-faire capitalism. I was brought up on these liberal progressive views, and I continue in general to share them. I take it that revisionists do not share this progressive liberal outlook, but that they do agree that the frame of reference of the historian is an important factor in history writing.

For example, Clarence Karier says in the preface to his book, Shaping the Educational State:

> All history is written from a perspective that is invariably shaped out of one's existential present. . . . the questions the historian asks of the past are important not only for shaping his particular view of the past, but also for determining his contribution to the solution to present-day problems. Historical interpretation, thus, is inescapably bound up with the problems of the present as well as the possibilities for their solution.[3]

And Paul Violas and Joel Spring agree with Karier in their joint introduction to the Roots of Crisis, a book which I selected as one of "The Outstanding Foundations Books of 1973" (see Educational Studies, Spring/Summer 1974, pp. 17-18):

> History is inevitably written from a particular perspective of the present. The historian can no more divest himself of the present than he can live in the past.[4]

So, apparently this group of revisionists, at least, agree to the good progressive view of the importance of the frame of reference in history writing.

The first thing that students of curriculum history should do is examine the frame of reference of the historian in order to judge for yourselves the validity and appropriateness of the interpretation as well as the "facts." The question could be put in this way: "From what 'present' is the historian viewing the past?" And here the divergence and disagreements begin.

Let me say a word about my own "present," or if you please, "where I am coming from." I believe my first real consciousness of Progressivism was in 1925 standing in long lines of people pouring into the rotunda of the State Capitol in Madison, Wisconsin to pay their respects to Senator Robert M. LaFollette. He was "Old Bob" and I was 15 years old, a sophomore in high school in Springfield, Illinois. I soon came to sense a great deal of difference between the enlightened progressivism of Wisconsin and the corruption and reactionary Republican politics of Big Bill Thompson as mayor of Chicago and Len Small as governor of Illinois.

I went to the University of Wisconsin in 1927 and joined the first class of the Experimental College under the leadership of Alexander Meiklejohn. I began to learn about freedom from him who later became one of the most eloquent and pervasive advocates of an absolutist view of freedom of expression in the First Amendment. But I also learned first hand about the "Wisconsin Idea" which rested upon a social service view of the university in promoting the welfare of the people of the state. I think especially of John M. Gaus, later of Chicago and Harvard, in public administration, and Paul Rauschenbusch in economics. I saw the efforts to combat corruption and remove the special interest influences of big business, the effort to design government so that it would be responsive to the many rather than to the few, and the need for an expanded and positive government to battle with corporate monopolies and promote the economic and social welfare of the vast majority of people.

John L. Thomas, Brown historian, summarizes the Progressive Era this way:

> The substance of the Wisconsin idea consisted of a set of related reforms: a direct primary law, an improved civil service, a railroad rate commission, an equitable tax program, state banking controls, conservation measures, a water power franchise act, and labor legislation. At the center of LaFollette's reform complex stood the independent regulatory commission, staffed by the new experts supplied by the state university and given wide administrative latitude.[5]

What I saw was the effort to use government on behalf of social reform in the interest of the greater welfare, equality, freedom, and justice for the majority of the people. And as the Great Depression hit while I was in Madison, I found the progressive impulse flowing into the New Deal and the Fair Deal. I was further convinced that a positive, activist democratic government was necessary in order to avert economic catastrophe. So the misery, frustration, and despair of the Depression is very much part of my "present," as is the struggle against totalitarian fascism and Nazism.

And I fought the Cold War in the ranks of the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union as we tried to counterattack against McCarthyism and extend the boundaries of academic freedom and due process in schools, colleges, and universities. I was also a member of the executive committee of the Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University which sponsored the studies by Robert M. McIver and the history by Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger. And I think I helped Teachers College and Columbia to expand the boundaries of equality and freedom during the civil rights movement of the New Frontier and the Great Society, and finally during the campus movements during Vietnam andWatergate. It was this background which led me to look upon Vietnam and Watergate as perverted deviations and attacks upon the ideals of the liberal political community rather than as natural and inevitable outgrowths of the "progressive corporate liberal state" itself.

Now, I apologize for this lengthy personal report, but I believe that this was part of the purpose of this session. I will not presume to do the same for the revisionists. Their "presents" are of course much different, but I would venture to say that by and large several of them were born in the 1940s, went to school in the 1950s, were doing undergraduate and graduate work in the 1960s, and wrote their histories in the 1970s. Whatever else may be said, my "present" is larger than theirs. I believe that this is not merely a generation gap, although it is indeed that. Their "present" is very largely bounded by what Yale historian Sydney E. Ahlstrom has aptly called "The Traumatic Era" from the early 1960s to the mid 1970s "when the nation's sense of purpose fell to its lowest ebb."[6]

I need not catalog for you here the history of that decade and a half, but I feel confident it helps to explain the frame of reference of Karier, Violas, and Spring in *Roots of Crisis*:

> . . . this society is *not* structured to enhance the dignity of man but rather fosters a dehumanizing quest for status, power, and walth. . . . this society is in fact racist, fundamentally materialistic, and institutionally structured to protect vested interests. . . . The authors of these essays write from such a conception of the present, which shapes their own view of the past.[7]

Now I can agree with much of the substance of their view of this society, but where I have difficulty is their view that it was the liberal progressive tradition the *produced such a society and in turn produced a system of public education which is designed to maintain and promote such a system*. From *my* "present" it seems to me that the racism, materialism, and inhumane injustices come from conservative and reactionary sources rather than from liberal and progressive sources. This difference in historical perspective makes a world of difference to curriculum developers as well as to the profession and to the public as a whole.

I believe that what troubles me most about much of the revisionists' writing about progressivism is their failure to recognize distinctions that were exceedingly mportant to the participants of the past, and their tendency to generalize too easily. It almost takes the form of saying that *any* educators who lived in the Progressive Era were "progressives" or "liberals." These terms are very often used interchangeably and without precision. For example, Michael Katz in the final chapter of *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools* says:

> The attitudes of the men who directed educational change, city superintendents and professors of education, underlines [sic] the essentially conservative nature of progressivism. . . . the little we do know suggests that they were strongly committed to bureaucratic forms and frequently racist in outlook.[8]

But then he refers only to David Snedden Ellwood Cubberley as his examples. But whoever thought of Snedden or of Cubberley as "progressives" or as "liberals?" Now to the unwary student of curriculum development this kind of juxtaposition of names and ideas comes to mean "Beware of anything progressive because it's really conservative and racist and bureaucratic."

Karier implies something of the same sort when he argues at length in several of his articles that the "corporate liberal state" bulwarked itself with a racist testing movement originated by Henry Goddard, Louis M. Terman, and E. L. Thorndike -- as though they were all good liberal progressives. They were certainly never considered to be in either category by those of us in the Social Foundations group at Teachers College. I heard William H. Kilpatrick (by any standard a progressive)say at a Conference at T.C. that the most pernicious and destructive influence upon American education had been that of E. L. Thorndike (whose office was just down the hall).

A pervasive theme in much of revisio history traces the origin of oppressive bureaucracy to progressivism and then the easy transition to "schoolmen" or "progressive administrators" who teamed up with businessmen to make the schools safe for corporate interests. Much of this interpretation regarding *some* administrators has merit to it, and much of the early documentation goes back to George S. Counts, an authentic liberal progressive, and to Ray Callahan's *Cult of Efficiency* who was Counts' student -- and mine. But what the revisionists do is neglect to recognize what historian Robert Wiebe so clearly points out: that there were *two strains* in the growing professional class of the Progressive Era: there were the service--oriented, welfare-oriented, democratic-oriented, and social reform-oriented progressives (whom I would call liberals); and there were the business-oriented, social control-oriented, management-oriented, and efficiency-oriented "progressives" (whom I would call conservatives).[9] If you insist on calling George D. Strayer an "administrative progressive," as even Dave Tyack does, I don't believe you can put him in the category of social reformer or liberal progressive. On the other hand, Jesse Newlon was a liberal progressive administrator. If you try to lump them both together somehow as "progressives," then it must be pointed out how they battled each other.

So much for general background. Now for your term-paper assignment. I urge you to read and compare the interpretation as given in my new book, Public Education in the United States with those presented in Roots of Crisis, Karier's Shaping the Educational State, and the new book by Paul Violas, The Training of the Urban Working Class. All four are presented as general books addressed to the profession at large rather than exclusively to the history of education collegium. I suggest that you look at three or four topics of particular concern to curriculum development and try to determine which interpretation corresponds more closely to the complicated past and which gives you more insight into the present.

1. Vocational Education

Compare my treatment in Public Education (pp. 209-226) with Violas in his Chapter 6 on the rationale of vocational education. Violas argues that vocational education was designed by public schools primarily to keep working class children in their proper class by designing differentiated curriculums which in reality amounted to a working class education. It's quite true that some educators agreed with this view as I point out, but Violas does not mention the vigorous role played by John Dewey and other liberal progressives who worked hard to prevent just this eventuality and to achieve a genuinely democratic public education. I make a good deal of this with the help of Arthur Wirth's valuable study, Education in the Technological Society. Our different frames of reference were clearly at work here. What grades do you give us?

2. Academic Freedom

Compare my Chapter 10 with Karier's Chapters 1, 2, and 3 in Shaping the Educational State and Violas in Chapter 9 of Roots. Karier makes a great deal of Sidney Hook's position in the 1940s that membership in the Communist Party should be grounds for dismissal from the teaching profession. He includes one of Meiklejohn's pieces in opposition to Hook. He mentions in a footnote the decision of the Supreme Court in Keyishian v. Board of Regents (1967) which overturned its earlier Adler decision by ruling that membership in an alleged subversive organization and thus guilt by association could not constitutionally be grounds for a teacher's dismissal.

I deal with both Hook and Meiklejohn, and I regard the Keyishian decision as the culmination of a long struggle that has served to enhance the freedom of teachers over the past 50 years. Violas makes no mention of the Keyishian decision on the First Amendment, or the ACLU Academic Freedom Committee which had long fought for the Supreme Court's eventual position, but he does deal at length with the trials and tribulations, the pulling and hauling in the NEA and AFT.

I believe that it is very difficult for anyone who did not engage in the battles of the cold war to understand what Counts, Childs, Kilpatrick, V.T. Thayer, and a host of other liberal progressives went through in the 1940s and 1950s. Be very cautious about passing judgments on the liberal progressives of that period. They were not simply the bad guys and the Communists the good guys, or vice versa.

3. Americanization and Immigration

Compare my Chapters 5, 7 and 9 with Karier's Chapter 8 in Shaping the American Educational State and with Violas' Chapter 3 in The Training of the Urban Working Class. The underlying assumption they both make is that the public education was a prime agency designed to "restructure" lower class and immigrant children "so that they might better meet the labor requirements of corporate industry" (Violas, p. 66). Neither takes account of John Higham's very important point that our tradition of assimilation has had two recurring and contrasting aspects.

There was not only the narrow, often bigoted, sometimes xenophobic nativism that demanded instant Americanization by wiping immigrants clean of their traditional languages and customs in favor of a mainstream, middle class, Anglo-American, Protestant conformity. There was also a strong tradition of democratic, generous, cosmopolitanism that spoke for respect for the traditional cultures while still aiding the newcomes to cope with the mainstream of American life which they came to take part in.[10] I try to take account of both aspects in educational thought and practice.

4. Citizenship Education

Finally, I call your attention to a comparison of my views with those of three revisionists on the subject of what should we learn from the history of citizenship education in the United States. Research for Better Schools in Philadelphia sponsored a colloquium on this subject in April 1978. One paper was by Clarence Karier, one by Marvin Lazerson, and one by me. Commentators included Michael Katz, Christopher Lucas, and John Hardin Best -- all told, I suppose, a line-up of three revisionsits and three non-revisionists. I believe the papers are being published by RBS.

It would be hard to find a clearer example of the role of differing frames of reference in relation to what we found in history and what the meaning of that history is for curriculum development today. Karier reads the history as the steady victory of the totalitarian state over individual freedom, and citizenship education in the public schools has always been on the side of the positive liberal state which easily moves toward the modern totalitarian state. His conclusion is that, in the interest of individual freedom, schools should not try to teach loyalty to the government and to the Constitution. He is pessimistic about any role for schooling in citizenship education beyond the straight-forward study of political institutions and political realities.

Lazerson found that citizenship education has never come to terms with pluralism and has not permitted root differences among cultural or ethnic groups to be thought of as legitimate differences. So he is pessimistic that citizenship education can ever be improved or reconceptualized. It was never made clear just what that meant, unless it meant that the liberal state must be socialized before citizenship education can be improved. Meanwhile, the schools should concentrate on teaching analytical skills on the model of the ethnographic approach of the anthropologists.

And Katz found the essence of our educational history to be in the conflict among social classes. In this conflict the schools have always sided with the upper classes, imposing their middle class values upon the reluctant lower classes. So the schools should not be involved in teaching values at all, since those would invariably be middle class values. The schools should stick to teaching the basic academic skills and not be involved at all in deliberate programs of civic or moral education, because they are bound to be used to maintain the present exploitative class-based status quo. He hopes the RBS programs in civil education will fail, for there should be no values taught in public schools. This conforms with his views in the final chapter of Class.

So, after all, the revisionists turned out to be very pessimistic about any kind of citizenship education and to be very conservative and traditional as far as their general approach to the curriculum and pedagogy is concerned. I should think that a decade of bold attack upon the public schools for professing to be progressive but really promoting conservatism; and then themselves ending up with a very conservative view of the curriculum would result in a certain malaise among revisionist historians.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines malaise as "a condition of bodily uneasiness or discomfort, especially a condition of bodily suffering or lassitude, without the development of specific disease." It goes on to give a quotation from the St. James Gazette for 1883 to illustrate the meaning figuratively: "There will be, first, a universal malaise; then the loss of the faculties of government and self-defense." Now I don't know what the context of that sentence was, but I can readily apply it to the American body politic. There is indeed a widespread malaise about public education and public institutions and especially government. A similar uneasiness among revisionist historians helps to weaken further the "faculties of government and self-defense" in the realm of public education. I should think that this would make them very uneasy."[11]

My own view of the history of citizenship education is that civil education has been the product of a three-way tension among the value claims of a democratic political community, the value claims of sequented pluralisms, and the pressures of the world-wide modernization process. The interplay and persistent conflict among these major elements in American history have resulted in the various pushes and pulls that have buffeted citizenship education throughout our national existence.

There have been persistent dilemmas: Americans have believed that universal education was fundamental to the welfare of the Republic, but they have drawn back from political indoctrination in the schools (especially if it doesn't agree with the views of particular groups). However, the urgency to promote civil education rises in times of national crisis or very rapid social change. Progressive reformers have had one kind of prescription; conservative traditionalists have had another. My own view is that the liberal reformist trends have been more in tune with the ideals of our democratic goals and practices. But modern society requires a much different kind of civic education from that of the past. It should deal directly and explicitly with the political values, political knowledge, and skills of political participation required of citizens in a modern democratic political community.

I have indicated in several articles that I think this requires radical changes in curriculum development, not the traditional approaches that revisionists apparently hold to. I am spelling out this view in a book I am writing for Phi Delta Kappa to be called The Revival of Civic Learning. A brief preview is to be published in the May issue of Social Education.

I still believe that my reading of history based upon a larger present and my interpretation of what we may learn from it for curriculum study will lead to a frame of reference that is larger, more informed, and more illuminating than the more pessimistic mode of the revisionists based upon a foreshortened present. Once you have completed your research on these topics and turned in your papers, the verdict is in your hands and just possibly the future of public education and of the democratic political community as well.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] Charles A. Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," American Historical Review, January 1934, p. 220.

[2] Ibid., p. 227.

[3] Clarence J. Karier (ed.), Shaping the American Educational State 1900 to the Present. (New York: Free Press, 1975), p. xvi.

[4] Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, and Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973), p. 1.

[5] Bernard Bailyn, David Brian Davis, David Herbert Donald, John L. Thomas, Robert H. Wiebe, and Gordon S. Wood, The Great Republic: A History of the American People. (Boston: Little Brown, 1977), p. 916.

[6] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "National Trauma and Changing Religious Values," Daedalus, Winter 1978, p. 16.

[7] Karier, et al., Roots of Crisis, p. 5.

[8] Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America. (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 123.

[9] Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967, especially chapter 5. Curiously, Violas in The Training of the Urban Working Class refers to Wiebe's point that there were differences in outlook among business men, but makes no reference to Wiebe's distinction among business-oriented progressives and welfare-oriented progressives (see pp. 6-7). On the other hand, I make a good deal of the distinction; see Public Education in the United States, Chapter 7.

[10] John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. (New York: Atheneum, 1974); see especially Chapters 2 and 5. See also John Higham, "Another American Dilemma: Integration vs. Pluralism," The Center Magazine, July/August, 1974, pp. 67-73.

[11] I note that some of the radical revisionist economists are becoming worried that their views are being used by reactionary forces to weaken support for public education. See especially Herbert Gintis' reply at a symposium discussing the book by Sam Bowles and himself, Schooling in Capitalist America; see History of Education Quarterly, pp. 159-161. In a debate over vouchers in Palo Alto on October 19, 1978 Henry Levin (author with Martin Carnoy of The Limits of Educational Reform) opposed John Coons' proposed amendment in California to establish a state-wide system of vouchers on the grounds that it would destroy the public schools. When I asked if this represented a change in his views, he replied in effect, "When public education is threatened and the chips are down, I come down on the side of the public schools."

THE REVISIONIST HISTORIANS AND EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

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I shall make only one point. It arises primarily from my experience in working in state and city curriculum programs. It is my contention that revisionist historians have given far too little attention to educational practice in their interpretations of educational developments in the nineteen thirties and forties. They have made assumptions about practice that have little basis in fact, and they have ignored some highly significant aspects of educational development. Far too often they have simply assumed that theory reveals practice, that the ideas expounded by educational theorists accurately reflect practice in the field.

The consideration that revisionists give to educational practice is too lmited in scope. For example, they have tended to view the organized progressive education movement as the major if not exclusive expression of liberal educational thought. Many seem to assume that to evaluate the liberal influence on curriculum development in the thirties and forties they need only consider the Eight Year Study and publications of the Progressive Education Association.

The fact is that the thirties witnessed a tremendous expansion of organized curriculum work, both through State Departments of Education and local school systems. During that decade alone I participated as general consultant in seven state-wide and five city curriculum programs, and in addition directed curriculum surveys in three other cities. Such work was underway in all parts of the nation. It was those programs that influenced educational practice most widely. They involved and influenced hundreds of schools and thousands of teachers.[1]

I believe that educators defined and tested liberal educational goals and methods far more extensively in that broad curriculum movement than they did through the activities of the Progressive Education Association. For example, I never was a member of the Progressive Education Association and yet I viewed myself as a liberal and was generally so considered. Thousands of teachers, supervisors, and administrators who studied with Kilpatrick, Bode, and their like-minded colleagues incorporated changes in their practices designed to accomplish more liberal goals. The Great Depression aided this process for it created an intellectual climate in which questions previously unwelcome about our social and economic system could be raised. A natural outgrowth of this ferment and questioning was the broad movement in State Departments of Education and local school systems to improve the curriculum. It is my conviction that until educational historians study this pervasive and influential movement they cannot judge fairly how American schools responded to liberal thought during this highly significant period.

Two important conclusions arrived at by revisionist historians seem to me to be lacking in evidence drawn from educational practice. One is the contention that educators have largely ignored the part played in education by other agencies in the community than the school. No doubt there is some truth in this contention. However, my experience in curriculum programs during the thirties and forties leads me to believe that in practice there was much more concern with the community as a whole than the revisionists have recognized.

For example, the appointment by the TVA in Norris, TN, of a Superintendent of Education rather than a Superintendent of Schools was not a happenstance action. It reflected a belief that education should be viewed as a community wide undertaking which involved several agencies. In turn, this action reflected a concern that many educators and community leaders throughout the nation had for broadening the concept of education to include the influence of other community agencies than the school. Study of the publications of the Society for Curriculum Study, the national association which reflected the broad curriculum movement to which I have referred, will reveal that substantial emphasis was given to this broad community view.

The second basic conclusion advanced by radical revisionists is unusually well presented by Diane Ravitch. She states: "... radical writers have charged that American educational institutions have not played the democratic, benevolent role that educators have traditionally claimed for them. On the contrary, assert these critics, the schools are themselves oppressive institutions which regiment, indoctrinate, and sort children, either brutally or subtly. . .processing them to take their place in an unjust social order."[2] This conclusion is based on an appraisal of practice in American schools. Consequently, the question must be raised as to the soundness of their appraisal.

An adequate treatment of practice requires that it be considered from two points of view. First, there is the question of what aims, content, and methods are actually used in classrooms and what outcomes are realized. Second, there is the question of what direction is being taken by changes that are being sought and encouraged by leadership. Herein lies the best available forecast for the future.

The radical revisionists have acknowledged the difficulty of making a sound judgment about actual classroom practice with the data that are available. Nevertheless, they cite a few studies as being adequate support for their conclusion.[3] Pierce's study of the civic training of youth[4] and Gellerman's study of the influence of the American Legion[5] are illustrative.

I feel that the evidence from these studies is totally inadequate support for the sweeping conclusion they reach. These studies are largely concerned with what various organizations tried to get the schools to do. There is no convincing evidence of the extent of their influence on actual practice.

It has been my observation that practice in American schools is widely diverse. It differs markedly from classroom to classroom, school to school, and system to system. In surveys where direct observation could be made by trained personnel I found it most difficult to reach supportable generalizations about instruction in a single school system. Having had this experience I can but conclude when viewing the nation as a whole that the radical revisionists simply assert as fact what their theoretical position indicates should be the case.

The direction of change in the curriculum that field leaders sought in the thirties presents a very different situation. There is an abundance of source material to draw on. Curriculum bulletins of many types, illustrative teaching units, accounts of curriculum programs and the like were published by a large number of city and state school systems.[6] In so far as I have been able to discover the revisionists have completely ignored this material. Study of such material would reveal reasons to question the conclusion the radical revisionists have drawn. I shall give one illustration.

The State of Virginia had one of the most widely discussed curriculum programs in the thirties. The aims of education that should be accepted to guide the curriculum were widely discussed. Laymen as well as educators participated in formulation of the statement. One section dealt with broad understandings and supporting generalizations that should be developed by the students. I quote one:

THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MASSES OF MEN STRUGGLE CONSTANTLY TO GAIN FREEDOM FROM THE DOMINATION BY THE FEW.

Supporting Generalizations

1. Individuals and powerful minorities have always sought control and subjugate the masses.
2. Many of the significant movements of history have been caused by man's effort to throw off the yoke of oppression and slavery.
3. Human rights do not come inevitably and as a gift.
4. Democracy is an experiment in the effort to establish human rights and freedom for all men men.
5. Almost everywhere gains in establishing human rights have been made only after much suffering or the sacrifices of war.
6. The present social order is not permanent. Man continues to modify it in his search for justice and freedom.[7]

I submit that this does not indicate an effort to develop and strengthen a curriculum designed to oppress the masses by making them docile servants of an all-powerful elite.

This then is my one suggestion to revisionist historians. If you would honestly better understand American education in the nineteen thirties and forties give more attention to what really happened in our schools and to the kind of change that leadership in the field was seeking.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] See Hollis L. Caswell and Associates, Curriculum Improvement in Public School Systems. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.)

[2] Diane Ravitch, The Revisionists Revised. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), p. 3.

[3] Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1973), ppl. 161-162.

[4] Bessie Louise Pierce, Citizens Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, Part III, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association. (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1933).

[5] William Gellerman, The American Legion as Educator. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938).

[6] For example, see Henry Harap, A Survey of Courses of Study Published in the Last Two Years. (Western Reserve University, Curriculum Laboratory, No. 44, Cleveland, OH, May 20, 1935).

[7] Tentative Course of Study for Virginia Elementary Schools. (State Board of Education, Richmond, VA, 1935).

THE REVISIONIST HISTORIANS AND EDUCATIONAL THEORY

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Recently, I sat in a group of educated laymen who were discussing the "tragedy of modern youth," as they put it. The public schools during the thirty years following the end of the First World War were too permissive and still are today. They failed to teach responsibility, good manners, an awareness of the opportunities open to them, and the youth lacked discipline, values, or standards of behavior. The culprit, as they saw it, was the progressive educator who followed the doctrines of John Dewey. This man, who was the greatest educational philosopher of the century, led them astray. I thought of Hitler, as I heard him over the radio in 1939 berating his new found scapegoat -- the non-Aryan.

I was told that I should read some of the revisionist literature if I wanted to see how bad things were during this period. So I examined a few books, most of them saying essentially the same thing. The schools had failed to change the social conditions of our time; the power structure and elitist pressures on the schools were so great that no progress could be expected. We bored the youth with the past, with the ideals of a democratic society, and with elitist literature. To prove their point they gathered all the literature they could find to show that we failed. We produced massive dropouts, especially among the blacks and the poor. This is the Marxist approach to social change -- discredit the major social institutions, ally them with decadent institutions, and maybe hint a little intrigue with the power structure.

Nowhere did I find any recognition of the millions of children who were well served by the schools. One source I read went so far as to suggest that we should pay our youth the money it costs to educate them and turn them out on the streets to be educated by experience. Now tell me, in all honesty, what kind of education do you think they would get? I'm sure that only a few of the revisionists would condone such nonsense, but it does indicate how far the human mind can stray when it is confronted with disappointments and frustrations. It reminds me of the time I stood on the campus of UCLA and heard one of the young revolutionists of the sixties tell the students that these buildings should all be burned down. All the professors there, he said, were teaching only -----, the word he used isn't printable. When library research is selected to prove a preconceived and one-sided notion, it loses its intellectual character. I did not find anywhere any creative thought about how to rescue ourselves from the conditions exposed, nor did I find any balance of failure and success. But worst of all, you impinged our integrity. I assure you that we who worked in the curriculum field after the First World War did not sell our souls to the company store.

I would be the last to suggest that the schools were above criticism. We did have dropouts, especially among the poor and the blacks, but the schools alone were not solely to blame for this. The kind of criticism we have received tends to cause the general public to lose confidence in the schools, and we have seen to much of that during the last twenty years. One of the great problems of our time is our loss of faith in government, in business, in education, in our courts and in our professional people, and in one another. And no decent society can be built unless we have confidence and faith in each other and in our institutions. We, like all other people, have great problems to face before we can realize the society most of us want to see. As long as we believe it should be brought about within a framework of democratic structure, through representative government, and through an economic system which provides opportunities, from welfare to self fulfillment, we believe that our task is to make this system work better. We will of necessity make mistakes and, because we are human beings with freedom of choice, we will have to work within the framework of these social systems. Oscar Handlin, in his second lecture to the John Dewey Society said it well. "It was his major contribution that he progressively clarified the nature of the problems to be confronted. He engaged in exploring them in a refreshing, thought-provoking way, and reminded us constantly that the task of seeking our salutary relationships between patterns of education and the values of free men in a radically changing world is a continuing obligation."[1]

If we believe that we would be better off by changing completely our social structure, then my remarks are beside the point, and we will have to make revolutionary changes as some of our world powers have done and some of the lesser powers are doing today. But note that these changes have mostly been made by the barrel of a gun, and I see none of them that can match the quality of our society with even its present faults. I give this as an intelligent observation, not as sheer patriotism. To make the changes in society that we want made, we will need to do so, not by military force, but by the struggle to utilize the organized groups we have in our society to join together to bring about reform. By this process we have made terrific changes the last fifty years in the United States. To name only a few: the Civil Rights Act under the Johnson administration was one of the most significant social acts since Emancipation; the organization and pressures of organized labor have enriched the workers to an extent unknown anywhere else in the world; the movement to break down discriminating employment practices has opened up employment opportunities for minority groups never before known; the rights of women have been increasingly recognized, from the granting of the ballot to the present when fifty per cent of the women are working, which may or may not be a blessing; the provision of the initiative process, prevalent in a large number of states, has become a weapon in our pluralistic society against the failure of our legislative bodies to perform their duties. Now don't ask me to prove statistically that the schools had anything to do with this. I can't. But neither can you prove that without the free public schools over the last fifty years these changes would have come about. The schools by themselves cannot eliminate discrimination or achieve integration of all groups, nor can they provide equal social or political equality. They can help, but the public and our institutions will really bring about social changes.

Those of us who worked in the curriculum field during the period under criticism adopted the idea that the traditional school of the nineteenth century was too repressive of children and too limited in its offerings and in its outlook to serve the needs of the children of our time, and so we worked under a philosophy in which we believed. Let me state a few of its major tenets.

1. Education in a free society should be universal for a period of years. This meant opening the schools to all children, generally from six to sixteen years of age, and this of itself loads the schools with an extreme range of interests, desires, abilities, and social and ethnic backgrounds. Thus the curriculum must face this problem.

2. Since our American society was paying the bill for these schools with taxes collected from individuals and business, we felt that in true democratic form both groups should have some chance to express themselves about what they were buying. In order to understand the economic system we studied the character of business and industry and its opportunities. We asked for the assistance of parents to help the teachers do their job.

3. We accepted the idea of equal opportunity to learn and thus prepared programs for the handicapped, those oriented toward industrial trades and in business, those who had dreams of leadership, and those who had visions of performance in aesthetics.

4. We decided that the teacher and the materials she handled were the key to achieving our goals, and therefore we brought the teacher into the act of planning what these materials should be, and we sought to integrate substantive material and methods.

5. We believed in the democratic character of our society and were firm in the belief that since this was the only society the child knew, his younger years of experience should acquaint him with the nature of this society as an aid to his own personal opportunities and his psychological development. We did not separate the individual from his society because this is the way we live, but at the same time we tried in so far as possible to study each child with all the tools available to understand how to develop individual or unique talents. Later on we introduced him to the problems or our culture and nation, and helped him to understand the nature of change so that he would be better able to participate in bringing about improvement in an orderly way consistent with the changing conditions of his time. Get involved, we said, but don't destroy without providing a satisfying and need-fulfilling substitute.

6. Dewey said there were three phases in the growth of a human being. The first was physical, play, during which the child learned to use his body, to relate himself to others, and to communicate. The second was when he learned to use tools -- physical, social, and institutional ones. And the third was when he learned to apply the scientific method to knowledge of established conditions, to examine them, evaluate them and make decisions. Dewey added to this by saying the youth should learn "To select the new scientific, technological and cultural forces that are producing change in the old order; estimate the direction in which they are moving and ;their outcome if they are given freer play and see what can be done to make the schools their ally."

Our adversaries tell us that we have no interest in the poor, the foreigner, the oppressed, the black. They draw this conclusion from dropout figures. I did not live in India and the Middle East ten years to be unsympathetic with their condition, but I must confess that I have somewhat less concern for the wayward in our country than I do for the helpless in some other countries of the world. Many of our youth, acting in cooperation with adult groups in our country, can effect social changes. Someone has said that an aristocrat is a man who can control more than one vote. We wanted to encourage leadership in all groups to bring sufficient strength to bear upon a condition to unite the rest of us in supporting changed conditions. We wanted to reach as many individuals as we could and we wanted to create a better environment in which they might live more fully. We also wanted to extend the growth of youth into the higher reaches of the products of our social and aesthetic masterpieces, for it is the spirit of man that precedes intelligent action. You remember Shakespeare said in King Lear, "Learning is but an adjunct to ourselves."

We are proud of what we have done and regretful of our failure. We are not cowed by criticism when it is just, but we have little respect for Monday morning quarterbacks. We ask you with your perceptive minds to turn your attention to more profitable endeavors. To create or join a group of creative minds, who seeing the ever present problems before us, seek to make a better world, a better curriculum, a better school system, and a better man. This effort will bring about more productive change than whipping us who worked in the field 30 years ago.

After reading of our failures I feel like Keats said in his Ode to a Nightengale -- "My heart aches and a drowsy numbness pains my senses." I must go back to my mystery story and my Shakespeare, for one intrigues me and the other stimulates me."

FOOTNOTES

[1] Oscar Handlin, "Dewey's Challenge to Education," (Second Lecture to the John Dewey Society, 1959), p. 8.

[2] John Dewey, Creative Intelligence. (New York: Henry Holt, 1917), p. 694.

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PROGRESSIVES AND REVISIONIST HISTORY

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Professor Butts, Caswell, and Leonard were significant leaders in their fields during the middle part of this century and their work was part of the moving force of their era. I am in a somewhat uncomfortable position of responding to their papers as a "gad-fly," raising questions regarding their analysis of the educational histories written by those called "revisionists". Their papers reflect the general kind of criticism which has been directed at so-called "revisionist" history during the past half-dozen years.

Generally this criticism holds that "revisionists" are those historians who conclude that "American educational institutions have not played the democratic, benevolent role that educators have traditionally claimed for them. On the contrary, . . . the schools are themselves oppressive institutions which regiment, indoctrinate, and sort children, either brutally or subtly . . . processing them to take their place in an unjust social order."[1] The critics of revisionists' histories reject this conclusion by focusing on what they take to be the mistakes of individual historian's methodology, documentation, and analysis of sources. It is also often charged that revisionists fail to properly estimate the pragmatic political effect of their histories. Unfortunately, the critics usually fail to note the wide variety of methodologies, paradigms of analysis, and political persuasion exhibited by those historians who are considered revisionists. It is also assumed by many critics that if they expose an error in any one of these histories then they have discredited the revisionists' histories in general. Such a conclusion is, of course, unwarranted. It would be rather startling to find any single historian whose work is entirely free of error, and there clearly are errors in the revisionists' histories. The most lively debate about these histories, however, has been between revisionist historians. Few, if any, of these historians have made any claim to infallibility or even to having more than a small portion of the "whole" of educational past described in their work. Because of the wide diversity among those historians who might agree with the general conclusion quoted above and because they come to that conclusion utilizing different methodologies and often profoundly disagreeing over significant historical developments, I find the inclusive term "revisionists" both dysfunctional to a dialogue and personally distasteful. Nevertheless, I will use the term in this response simply because it is required. It is probably a mistake to attempt an analysis of revisionist history in any global sense. Rather it would be more profitable to analyze individual critical histories.

Similarly, it is probably more instructive to analyze the individual "case" made against the revisionists by each of these papers. We shall start with Professor Caswell's paper. He begins with the charge "Far too often they have simply assumed that theory reveals practice, that the ideas expounded by educational theorists accuratly reflect practice, that the ideas expounded by educational theorists accurately reflect practice in the field."[2] This is by now a familiar criticism. It stems, in part, from the reaction to much of the early work of the revisionists which was directed toward understanding the intellectual underpinings of American schools.[3] The early work of the revisionists reflected a well ingrained belief in Western social science based on the Weberian and Parsonian thesis that ideas are the bedrock of social order. When this early analysis suggested that some of the leading theoreticians in the American past were perhaps less than fully democratic and that some of their ideas were congruent with racism, then almost immediately critics of the revisionists were ready to temporarily or selectively abandon the longstanding belief in the efficacy of ideas. Professor Caswell displays this selectivity. In the very next paragraph, after he challenges the nexus between ideas and praxis, he cites his own experience in the 1930s as a college educator and curriculum consultant as evidence that illiberal practices were not ascendant in the schools of that time, and he follows this with the statement, "Thousands of teachers, supervisors, and administrators who studied with Kilpatrick, Bode and their like-minded colleagues incorporated changes in their practices designed to accomplish more liberal goals."[4] Most observers would agree that ideas and theories are rarely incorporated unaltered into practice and would probably find even less controversial that most practice is based upon some theoretical construct, although that construct may not be fully articulated by the practictioners. The point should be clear, however; critics like Professor Caswell simply cannot have it both ways. Ideas and theories cannot be discounted a priori when part of a revisionists historian's analysis and then presumptively accepted as relevant when utilized for analysis by non-revisionists historians. It is obvious that ideas and theories can't be judged as efficacious only when it suits the critics' argument. What must be done is to examine the nature of the historical analysis and the kind of claims being made from that analysis before one can judge if the historian has provided adequate evidence for the importance assigned to ideas.

Professor Caswell attempts this type of criticism in the third and fourth page of his paper when he refers to a specific documentation which he feels is inadequate for its purported task. Here he argues that reference to the work of Pierce and Gellerman in Roots of Crisis is inadequate to support the general conclusion regarding the undemocratic nature of schools attributed to revisionist's history. Indeed, Caswell would have been correct if that conclusion had been the object of the citation. It was not. Even a cursory reading of the chapter shows that it dealt almost exclusively with the 1930s debate about the issue of indoctrination. The page cited by Caswell explicitly stated that the studies cited were offered only as evidence of the successful influence of conservative pressure groups on school curriculum which, if actual, would make liberal or radical indoctrination in the schools more unlikely than conservative indoctrination.[5] Interestingly, in 1935 Professor Caswell had cited Bessie Pierce's work for evidence of the influence of conservative pressure groups on school curriculum. Of the materials prepared by such groups he said, "many times they are prepared with the deliberate purpose of propagandizing the nation through the schools for certain special interests."[6] If the Pierce work was sufficient evidence to warrant Professor Caswell's 1935 conclusions, one wonders why he now wishes to disregard its importance. This illustration points out the importance of carefully considering the claim being made by the historian and the dangers of shifting criteria for acceptable evidence.

Professor Leonard's paper also presents several of the standard criticisms of revisionists' histories. He begins with the assertion that the attempt to "discredit the major social institutions, ally them with decadent institutions and maybe hint a little intrigue with power structure" is the "radical" approach to social change. Professor Leonard then goes on to say that curriculum leaders "did not sell their souls to the company store."[7] Imbedded within these assertions are two separate, although related, charges: first, that revisionism is ideologically radical and therefore should be dismissed; and second, that revisionists' histories are founded on a conspiratorial conception of history. The former charge requires little more than to point out that it is based on a "genetic fallacy". Moreover, it is not true that all revisionists are "radicals". The conspiracy allegation is equally misleading, for it seeks to discredit an intellectual position without analysis of its argument, logic or evidence. I know of no educational historian, revisionists or any other variety, who has charged American educators with "selling out" to the company store or to corporate interests. What is often suggested, rather, is that educators and liberal reformers held a vision of the "good society" and of human nature which was very similar to that held by the corporate leaders of their time. As explicitly stated by one of the so-called revisionist historians, "This congruence of ideals does not imply that the settlements conspired to further the interests of corporate industry. It simply means that corporate leaders and settlement house residents agreed on the basic social structure necessary to fulfill the promise of American life. They also agreed that a new type man was required for this new society."[8] We might also remember William A. Williams' admonition, "consciousness of purpose is not the same as conspiracy." What has been documented is that many schoolmen and liberal reformers were conscious of their purposes and that often those purposes were congruent with the interests of corporate leaders.

The second major assertion of Professor Leonard's paper is "the kind of criticism we have received tends to cause the general public to lose confidence in public schools" at a time when such confidence is a national necessity.[9] This is a criticism previously leveled on several occasions by Professor Butts.[10] The raising of this charge, interestingly, tends to give credence to the conclusions of some revisionists regarding the elitism and the epistemological problems which inhere in the pragmatism of modern liberalism. This criticism clearly indicated that more important than the "search for truth" is the estimated pragmatic consequences of making public a critical analysis. Moreover, clearly implied in the criticism is the belief that in the presence of such histories the public would not be able to make intelligent (or perhaps "correct") decisions about education. What Professors Leonard and Butts seem to fear is that after hearing the revisionists' criticism of public schooling, the public may lose confidence in schooling as it now exists and agitate for significant kinds of change. It is important to consider why Leonard and Butts think such a turn of events would be a disaster. Is it because they are certain that the revisionists' critique is wholely wrong and that the public is not capable of understanding the errors? Or is it because they are not unwilling to submit current public schooling to an evaluation by the public, which is thought to be unable to make such difficult assessments? There are probably other reasons which Leonard and Butts might suggest to defend their concern that criticism of schooling will erode essential public support (or apathy). It is, however, difficult to ascertain how any rationale for this position can escape ultimately arguing that such criticism is destructive because when the public is agitated to make educational decisions, than the more "correct" judgments of experts will be overturned.

Thirdly, Professor Leonard charges, "Our adversaries [the revisionists] tell us that we have no interest in the poor, the foreign, the oppressed, the black. They draw these conclusions from dropout figures."[11] Indeed, this is just the contrary of what most revisionists historians have argued. Most have contended that educators were indeed profoundly concerned with just these groups and thus devised a myriad of programs specifically for them. I know of only one educational historian[12] who holds the view Leonard wishes to associate with the revisionists and the following is the response of one revisionists to the mistaken analysis: "It has been implied that public school officials, who were not particularly concerned with immigrant and working-class children, used the new industrial training programs as a way of getting them out of school as quickly and with as little expense as possible. The evidence does not support such an interpretation."[13]

An interesting and important point which Professor Leonard alludes to at various times and in somewhat disconnected way thoughout his paper is that the revisionists have failed to balance their accounts of the failures of public schooling with adequate accounts of the successes.[14] Further he argues that the quality of American society far outdistances its world competitors and ascribes much of American success to the peaceful evolutionary change in which the public schools have played a major role.[15] He is correct when pointing to the emphasis which revisionists place on the problematic aspects of American schooling and society. It is inadequate, however, to simply compare American successes with the record of other nations, for example Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Cuba or Japan. Any such comparison must include an analysis of the stated objectives and ideals of the respective nations as well as their relative material, geographic and demographic conditions. Most observers would surely agree that it is an understatement to say that America has long enjoyed advantages in its material base far superior to any other nation. Few would dispute that the stated objectives and the ideals of America have for at least two hundred years represented the single best hope for the conceptualization of a just society. We should be exceedingly unsatisfied with any evaluation of our successes which simply compares our performance with that of other nations rather than with our ideals and potential. We must compare American reality with the 'promise' of the American dream. Moreover, it seems a rather odd reading of our recent history to ascribe whatever success gained in the areas of Civil Rights legislation or equal employment for minorities and women to peaceful evolution and the effect of American schooling. Clearly in both of Professor Leonard's examples the effect of mass demonstrations, urban riots and often armed conflict has been the effective motor for change. It is also questionable how much real change has taken place even in these areas. Results of a three-year study of institutional sexism and racism by the Council on Interracial Books for Children sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation shows that women have made few real gains in the job market since the turn of the century and that while black families experienced some gains during the early 1970s the trend since 1975 has been regressive.[16].

Lastly, Professor Leonard states "We are not cowed by criticism when it is just, but we have little respect for Monday morning quarterbacking."[17] It is difficult to ascertain what he would count as "just" criticism but his plea sounds disconcertingly similar to the familiar liberal retreat from criticism during the sixties when critics were told that criticism must be "constructive" rather than "destructive" in nature. Constructive, of course, was a code word meaning criticism of the details of a policy were legitimate, but questions regarding the fundamental precepts and objectives of the policy were destructive. In any case, if we are to have "little respect for Monday morning quarterbacking" then we can have little respect for history. Indeed, the historian's task is very much that of a Monday morning quarterback. Those who object to such an enterprise will surely be doomed to repeat the failures of last Saturday's game plan.

In contrast to the Caswell and Leonard papers, Professor Butts' paper, in addition to its greater length, seems argued along a different tact. Nevertheless, he is essentially an apologist for the existing state of affairs in the public schools and the progressive liberal tradition which undergirds public schooling. Butts would have us believe that the main difference between his history and the histories of the revisionists is his longer and more mature "present" which began in the 1930s. The revisionists' "present," according to Butts, originated in the "traumatic era" of the sixties and, thus, limits their vision regarding the complexity of American history, the liberal tradition and the evolution of public schooling.[18] From his more "mature" position he sees that the "racism, materialism and inhuman injustices come from conservative and reactionary sources rather than from liberal and progressive sources."[19] He then invites us to compare his analysis of five specific educational developments with differing accounts by a variety of revisionists historians. For the sake of time let us concentrate on the first development Butts analyzes, that of the rise of vocational education.

Professor Butts asks his listeners to compare his treatment of vocational education in Public Education in the United States with that of Paul Violas in The Training of the Urban Working Class. He seems assured that his analysis not only is more correct but that it will dispel the implications drawn from Violas' work that vocational education was a curricular innovation intentionally designed to produce a working class to fit the specifications of the emerging corporate industrial workplace; that the mechanism was a differentiated curriculum with different training provided for different children based on their socio-economic and ethnic origins as well as their projected life destinies. Butts is absolutely correct when he suggests that the only way to make an evaluation of the conflicting interpretations is to read both. Since he has also argued that the main problem with the Violas account is the failure to adequately deal with Dewey's opposition to certain aspects of vocational education, I think it is not unfair for me to suggest some potential difficulties in his analysis.

The Violas analysis places much emphasis on the decisions of individual historical actors within a context of conflicting class interests and ideological commitments. Butts rejects this in favor of an analytic framework which deemphasizes class conflict and highlights impersonal historical forces. He builds an explanatory paradigm with the "forces" of modernization playing a major causal role mediated by alternating and conflicting drives for pluralism and unification. Historical actors are grouped within this flux of historical forces as either conservative-reactionary (i.e., those representing industrial--business interests), progressive liberal (i.e., those favoring humanitarian and democratic goals) and efficiency minded liberals (i.e., those favoring social control techniques). This analytic framework plays a significant role in Butts' apology. By deliberately substituting "forces of modernization" for the corporate industrialism he begins with a positively connoted term rather than a neutral or negative one. But his linguistic slight of hand only begins here, for his model seems to suggest that much of recent American history was not caused by historical actors but by impersonal forces, e.g. modernization, and thus was inevitable. One example: when discussing the works of the Industrial Education Association and the Public Education Association in New York he hints that they were originally interested in "social welfare reforms". However, "they were soon forced to take another tact when the depression of 1893-1894 introduced a new demand for vocational training."[20] Clearly the implication is that the members of these organizations were coerced by impersonal historical forces to change their policies. Of course, Professor Butts provides not one shred of evidence for this conclusion. Moreover, we should know very well that depressions do not introduce demands. People make demands, perhaps in response to their conception of conditions imposed by events like wars and depressions, but the demands and decisions are made by people and not by some inevitable historical force. What Butts has done is to set up an explanatory scheme which allows him to apologize for the undemocratic aspects of public schooling with the excuse that they were either the inevitable result of the force of modernization or that they really do not represent mainstream American action (regardless of how wide-spread the programs or practices) because they were not actively advocated by the progressive wing of liberalism. The later claim can be maintained only so long as apologists fail to examine the primary sources.

Professor Butts' excessive reliance on secondary sources is displayed in his explanation of why working class whites and blacks supported industrial education. He begins with a quote from Samuel Hays which supposedly shows that the early progressive era was not characterized by class conflict. Hays noted that the agitation during this era was "more fundamental and more varied than an attempt by the dispossessed to curb the wealthy. The comprised a reaction not against the corporation alone but also against industrialism and the many ways in which it affected the lives of Americans."[21] Note that Hays did not reject the idea of class conflict, rather he placed it in a larger context of a struggle against the total impact of industrial capitalism and its ramifications. Nevertheless, Butts, in his very next paragraph asserts that the Hays' quote helps him explain the rise of vocational education and the acceptance of it by the working class. "Workers and farmers were concerned about making their education more useful in their jobs . . . and the poor and the immigrant sought to acquire the skills required in industrial jobs."[22] As Butts provides absolutely no documentation to support his explanation, we are left with the implication that it must follow logically from his reference to Hays. But that, of course, cannot be, for Hays argued that the thrust of the contemporary agitation was to reject industrialism. And why would those rejecting industrialism seek to match their education to industrial jobs? Professor Butts does not provide an answer. The minimum conditions for his apology to approach coherency, however, are the absence of class conflict and general acceptance of vocational education by its clients. Thus, he asserts these as fact and without any supporting evidence.

His suggestion that blacks supported industrial education is even more problematic. In the case of the support for vocational education by the immigrants and working class native whites, the primary research has yet to be completed. In the case of black acceptance, however, it is fairly conclusive. Butts' statement, again without a shred of documentation, that "the prevailing view of most black and white supporters of improved education for blacks accepted the harsh fact that education had to accommodate itself to the realities of inequality in the economic as well as the social and political worlds," is clearly at odds with the evidence. There is substantial documentation in the works of Professor James D. Anderson which shows that most blacks considered industrial education as unequal education and training for subservience and therefore unacceptable.[23]

The problems noted above in Professor Butts' analysis of industrial education are symptomatic of his analysis of critical accounts of the American educational past. His overriding objective has been to salvage this past and the progressive-liberal ideology which has been such a central part of it from critical appraisal which might indicate a less than democratic impulse and a less than just structure of schooling. Unfortunately this kind of "ideological" reaction to much of the critical history of American education has been too prevelant. It is unfortunate because there are many problems with American education which demand attention, and intelligent attention will require an understanding of the history which has yielded the present conditions. While I believe the critical histories of the past decade represent a clear improvement in our understanding of that past, they are not sufficient, not complete and not free of error. What is desparately needed is honest criticism and sincere dialogue if we are to intelligently add to our store of understanding of the educational past. That criticism and dialogue must be based not on an apology for the past, nor an ideological commitment to the liberal or any other tradition. It must be dedicated to the pursuit of truth, and a commitment to follow that pursuit wherever it may lead.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] Diane Ravitch, quoted in Hollis Caswell, "The Revisionist Historians and Educational Practice," p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 1.

[3] See e.g.: Michael Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform. (Cambridge, Mass: 1968); C. J. Karier, et al, Roots of Crisis. (Chicago: 1973).

[4] Caswell, p. 2.

[5] Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis. (Chicago: 1973), pp. 161-62.

[6] Hollis Caswell and Doak S. Campbell, Curriculum Development. (New York: 1935), p. 55; also pp. 53-54 where he also similarly cites the Pierce study.

[7] J. Paul Leonard, "Statement for a Symposium at a Meeting of the Society of Curriculum History," held in San Francisco, April 9, 1979, p. 1.

[8] Paul C. Violas, Training of the Urban Working Class. (Chicago: 1978), p. 56.

[9] Leonard, p. 2.

[10] R. Freeman Butts, "Assaults on a Great Idea," The Nation. April 30, 1973.

[11] Leonard, p. 4.

[12] Colin Greer, The Great School Legend. (New York: 1972).

[13] Violas, Training..., p. 193.

[14] Leonard, p. 1.

[15] Ibid., p. 2.

[16] Similar conclusions regarding black family income were drawn by Alfred L. Malaba Jr., "Teaching a Trend," The Wall Street Journal. (March 6, 1979), p. 40.

[17] Leonard, p. 4.

[18] R. Freeman Butts, "The Progressive Malaise of Revisionist Historians -- As Seen By a Progressive," pp. 9-11.

[19] Ibid., p. 11.

[20] Butts, Public Education in the United States. (New York: 1978), p. 214, emphasis added.

[21] Ibid., p. 209.

[22] Ibid., p. 210.

[23] James D. Anderson, "The Hampton Model of Normal School Industrial Education, 1868-1900," in Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson, (eds.), New Perspectives in Black Educational History. (Boston: 1978).

CURRICULUM HISTORY: FLIGHT TO THE SIDELINES OR SOURCE OF NEW VITALITY?

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A decade ago, in an article entitled "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum,"[1] Joseph Schwab outlined six "signs of crisis" found in fields of study that are "moribund." He labels these signs as "flights" from the "subject of the field." The fourth "flight" Schwab discusses "is to the sidelines, to the role of observer, commentator, historian, and critic of the contributions of others to the field."[2] If the recent increase in the interest in the history of curriculum can be taken as evidence of a lack of vitality in the field, particularly in the field's grounding in theory, as Schwab suggests, then the question might be asked, "What can history do to bring new vitality to the field?" That is, can history of curriculum be more than a chronicling of the rise and fall of the field? Is it possible for historians to be active in vitalizing/revitalizing a field of study?

Students of science would very likely respond in the affirmative to the last question. Scientists, unlike educators, are trained in intellectual traditions which include the necessity of coming to understand historical developments in their fields of specialization. Few educators are trained in such traditions. In part we recognize this difference as centering in differing conceptions of the nature of theory building. While it is appropriate to speak of a single theory or sets of conflicting theories dominating work in several of the scientific fields such a claim cannot be made for education except in a very limited sense. In short, educators tend not to "grow up"[3] in anything approximating a tradition.

When the history of education was dominated by a concern to document this "triumph of democracy" through the extension of schooling opportunities and the expansion of the mechanisms of schooling, it served, in a sense, a central role in vitalizing, or keeping vital, the entire field of education. Educational history helped give purpose and direction to theoretical efforts -- efforts designed to extend democracy. Many educators believed they participated in a kind of "holy cause." When, because of a variety of cultural developments, this particular view of history was accused of being extremely naive, other conceptions of history were created. Of most interest to us today are those conceptions of history which center on critical interpretations of the role of schooling in creating and perpetuating a mass society.

Revisionist history is an interesting combination of Schwab's "flight to the sidelines" as well as an important and relatively new effort to turn history into a vitalizing force. More on revisionist history will be said later. This kind of history has provided educators with some very significant understandings but it has its problems. Among these problems, in terms of history serving students of curriculum as a tool for vitalizing understandings, is that the effort to critically analyze the work of various educators often ends in an unfair placing of motives upon those educators. Somewhere in the mix of what these educators believed they were doing and what they intended to do and what actually happened a good deal of distortion occasionally creeps in. Further, what we are often treated to is an interesting chronicling of events which, while replacing the earlier "triumph of democracy" chronicling, provides us with necessarily limited understanding of why persons did what they did. Such questions are only indirectly the concern of survey and institutional histories.

What is often missing in educational histories is a focus upon "the continuing, sometimes desperate efforts of men to choose, shape, and maintain what they consider to be a proper human way of life."[4] In short, we need to people, or better phrased, "person" our history. This is especially important where the interpretations developed are grounded in a particular school of thought such as that of Marx or Habermas.[5] This is critical because the complex understandings offered by these orientations take on most meaning when viewed through the activities of beings-in-process of living life.

Obviously, I am working under the assumption, as suggested in Erik Erikson's Young Man Luther, that individuals are victims, vehicles and, in a sense, ultimately resolutions to the cultural dilemmas they experience -- dilemmas which run through and around them. It is important to keep this insight in mind because, as Habermas reminds us, in a technocratic society we tend to "reify" persons "under categories of purposive-rational action and adaptive behavior."[6] In short, we often look at persons as less than or more than persons -- villians, hucksters, heroes. We tend not to see human beings as centers of action and reaction and therefore as centers of history and history making. Where we have been victimized by the creation of mass society; where our all-too-human and irrational responses seem so senseless, the nature of our distortion and confusion is profoundly personal -- it is in us, not just in "them."

As a field of study curriculum, particularly curriculum theory(izing), is composed of various attempts to rationalize experience -- to make it sensible; to subject it to human intelligence. The central importance to curriculum workers of aims and of sources of aims of education support this view; as does our great concern for technique as control. The history of education has provided us with some very useful information about the connection between educational aims and developments within the culture at large. Unfortunately, as with behavioral scientists' concern for the average or the norm, our study of this fit is often a study "in general." It has little life. Even conflict appears neat and clean. Somewhere the peculiar and distinctive nature of an individual curriculum worker/theorist's lived experience (and that of his/her students') finds expression in the curriculum theory/program developed. The nature of this involvement requires careful and thoughtful consideration. It requires, among other things, a consideration of how the individual interprets his/her experience and makes (often in a spirit of prescription) meanings.

To get at such understandings presents several methodological problems for historians. I shall mention but three. Perhaps the central difficulty relates to the hermeneutical problem of interpretation. Is truly objective history of another person's experience possible to write? Obviously not, though clearly there is an obligation to adequately do one's historical homework when interpreting the "facts."

Some time ago Martin Duberman wrote a piece entitled the "Historian as Ghost." Too often, he reminds us, the historian works very hard to maintain his ghosthood. Because of the nature of persons-centered history, which is personally and profoundly dialogical, that is, written history is seen as the product of interaction between historian and the object of his study, it is essential that the historian materialize himself. Only a limited understanding of a dialogue is possible when one of the participants' part in the discourse is masked. The historian must take off the sheet of his anonymity and reveal, as best as his self-awareness permits him, the nature of the concerns that brought him to study who and what he is studying. What is it that is of such personal importance to an historian that he is willing to sacrifice innumerable hours of labor and engage in considerable personal agony to make a public statement about someone or something?

History writing is a profoundly personal affair. Interaction between the historian's life and that of his object of study provides the medium through which understanding flows. A kind of communion develops between history-makers -- the historian and his subject -- a communion similar to that which develops between persons committed to understanding one another deeply, richly and empathetically. Erich Fromm gives some insight into the nature of coming to such person-to-person understandings when he states:

> How can I see the other if I am filled with myself? To be filled with oneself means to be filled with one's own image, with one's greed, or with one's anxiety . . . Indeed, I need to be myself in order to see the other. How could I understand his fear, his sadness, his aloneness, his hope, or love? If I cannot mobilize my own human experience, mobilize it and engage myself with my fellow man, I might come to know a great deal about him (knowledge "in general"), but I shall never know him. To be open is the condition to enable me to become filled with him, to become soaked with him, as it were, But I must be I. . .

And so the historian must be himself/herself; a kind of spokesperson through which the past and future unite in the present. In this process new understandings; new history is created.

Obviously an historian will desire to enter into such communion with some persons and not with others. Generally we seek out persons who share something special with us -- perhaps the nature of our struggle to make life meaningful. The point is that we choose our "friends" carefully and, if we are to remain friendly to the end (of a writing project for example) there must be something in it for the historian. One such "something" comes as a result of totally submerging oneself in the other; by feeling empathy for the other. In this process the historian's own life meanings become increasingly clear and enriched -- while, at the same time these meanings are used to come to understand the other. The difference between the other and the historian is a blurry one and, at times, confusing. But, such is always the case where true dialogue has taken place -- where one person's ideas begin and end is uncertain and, furthermore, relatively unimportant.

A second problem is that of determining what primary historical resources are useful. In this regard personal letters written to friends, stories of the person's behavior, recordings of informal speeches and reminiscences of friends and enemies are all essential compliments to published works. Obviously this problem shifts when the object of our study is presently living -- but the problems of interpretation and data gathering remain. One difference, as I presently see it, between traditional history and persons-centered history in terms of data gathering, is found in what is ultimatley selected as being important. Often what appear to be relatively insignificant events in an individual's life, when considered from a traditional historical point of view, have great importance in terms of what they have to say about how he creates (created) meaning. Naturally it is vitally important that the context within which an individual lived and worked be considered. It is in this context that an individual's effort to create meaning becomes significant -- just as it is through an individual's life that we can come to understand the context.

Perhaps an example will help clarify my meaning. During World War I Boyd Bode expressed in a letter to his close friend Max Otto[8] a little irritation at what he perceived to be the unwillingness of some immigrant groups to learn English which, interestingly enough, he called an "ordinary obligation of citizenship." The importance of this relatively minor episode is found in that it is a significant indication of Bode's own personal concern to identify with what he perceived as being truly American. And, as most of you know, this effort, that is, the effort to realize the democratic ideals of America, dominated, almost in a religious sense, Bode's work in education.

A third set of problems found in writing persons-centered history relates to how the historian is to communicate the spirit of the individual's (or individuals') quest which is the focus of study. In a book on Boyd Bode entitled, Democracy in Education, Boyd H. Bode,[9] I explored the use of dialogues. The reason for using dialogues is perhaps best expressed by imagining what Plato's work would have conveyed about Socrates had he decided to write a straight descriptive, intellectual history, or a biography. Though much work in this area needs to be done, it seems to me dialogues lend themselves well to enlivening history. An individual's humor, complete with colloquial phrasing; his/her subtle twists of logic in argumentation are important aspects of understanding not only how an individual went about making meaning but also how that individual went about influencing others who share his/her historical context. The "how" of an argument is often more important than the "what."

What does this have to do with the possible role and responsibility of curriculum history to vitalize or revitalize the field? Certainly, doing history does provide disillusioned curriculum workers with something to do and is, in this sense, a "flight to the sidelines." But this is not necessarily the case.

Revisionist history begins to get at the problem of vitalizing education by suggesting that there are a number of significant questions, of importance to curriculum workers, that have generally been ignored by the mainstream of the field. These questions include the following: "Whose interests does this curriculum scheme or organizational scheme serve?" "Who or what is or has been excluded from participation?" "What is the role of ideology in education?" And so on. These are not necessarily questions that lead to revitalizing a field as much as they lead to a reconstruction or a reconceptualization of a field and of its area of concern.

For curriculum the focus must be upon the nature of human experience -- private and collective. Persons must always be the center of our concern. And, as I have suggested, this requires that along with traditional and revisionist histories we develop histories that focus primarily upon persons and their struggles to create "what they consider to be a proper human way of life." Such histories will raise other questions (it will also ask questions very similar to those asked by revisionists and traditional historians but consider them from different angles) that compliment and enhance those asked by revisionists and traditional historians: "What role has personality played in theory adoption?" "What kinds of personal/cultural concerns lead to what kinds of curriculum theories?" And so on.

Curriculum history need not be a flight to the sidelines -- though it can very easily become such a flight. It can be a source of useful data for understanding where we have been, where we are, and where we ought to be. It can help clarify the nature of the traditions of scholarship, complete with role models, which have existed in the field. It can help us better understand the "community" aspects of educational change. And, at the very least, it can help vitalize/revitalize the field in a most obvious way, by helping to direct our attention where it belongs -- on persons and on the nature of their lived experience.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum in *Curriculum and the Cultural Revolution*. David E. Purpel and Maurice Belanger (eds.) (Berkeley: McCutchan Pub., Corp., 1972), pp. 79-99.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[3] I do not mean to suggest there have *never* been any intellectual traditions within which professional educators work. Certainly there have been and still are several. Generally, however, educators do not see themselves as participating in any particular intellectual traditions.

[4] Maxine Greene, "The Professional Significance of History of Education," in *Understanding History of Education*. Robert Sherman and Joseph Kirschner (eds.) (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman Pub. Co., Inc. 1976), p. 53.

[5] Habermas' view of history is that it is essentially irrational. It is irrational because the human drive for increased freedom and intelligence (meaning) is distorted, controlled and frustrated by various blocks built into the socio-economic system. This drive for meaning and increased freedom continues to express itself and in doing so irrational behavior is often the result. And, of course, the system itself is profoundly irrational. See, for example, part one in Habermas' *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973).

[6] Jurgen Habermas, *Toward a Rational Society*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 106.

[7] Erich Fromm, *Beyond the Chains of Illusion: My Encounter with Marx and Freud*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), p. 151.

[8] Letter, Boyd H. Bode to Max Otto, August 1, 1918, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Archives, Otto Papers.

[9] General Hall, Inc., 1979.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CURRICULUM

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In sampling the literature on curriculum, one finds the assertion that curriculum workers are an ahistorical lot. With varying degrees of emphasis, a number of authors have made this point, including Herbert Kliebard, Mary Louise Seguel, Dwayne Huebner, Arno Bellack, B. O. Smith, O. L. Davis, and Barry Franklin.[1] The assertion sometimes takes the form of a plaint accomplished by the hope for remedy. The formation of this Society for the Study of Curriculum History presumably attests to the seriousness of the concern and to the intent to take positive action.

In one sense, however, I must disagree that professional curriculum workers in the United States in this century have assumed an ahistorical posture. To the contrary, it seems to me that they have been acutely historical-minded. Indeed, it may be argued that a sense of history has shaped and guided the curriculum to a considerable extent. Two reasons underlie this judgment. First, American educators and much of the public tend to like education very closely with specific personal and social "outcomes"; they look for direct payoffs and are easily seduced by proposals which promise to produce them more readily. The second and related reason is the commonplace premise that the school curriculum is or should be responsive to the society and its movements, trends, "needs," and aspirations. Failure to respond to contextual exigencies, however diagnosed, is usually treated as an egregious shortcoming, and this is as true for those who are critical of the current order, such as the social reconstructionists of the 1930s or the reconceptualists of the 1970s, as it is for those who seek to conform to the society as it is presently constituted. Thus insofar as they are predicated on temporal perceptions, the normative and technical prescriptions of curriculum workers are necessarily imbued with historicity.

The nature of the historical-mindedness of curriculum workers would make an interesting study. I think that it would reveal certain characteristic traits of the group which could help clarify the field. Only a few admittedly tentative impressions can be mentioned here. There is a tendency in curriculum discourse for history to move dramatically and abruptly from one qualitatively distinct period to another. Change is more commonly revolutionary than evolutionary. The educational past is frequently considered to have been relatively stable and qualitatively deficient. Rugg's contributions to the NSSE's 26th yearbook exemplifies this bias as does Foshay's first chapter in his Curriculum for the 70's.[2] Then comes the present, full of sound and fury. Almost invariably, it is an unsettling time of crisis, which challenges curriculum workers either to catch up with society or to adapt quickly to some precipitate veer. Crisis breeds a sense of urgency. Action must be taken, and it must be taken soon. Many of the reports, conference papers, articles, and books I consulted evidence this orientation.[3]

In examining this historical moment, some writers on curriculum curiously act as if they were reading tea leaves rather than deliberately and self-critically attempting to interpret a complex array of particulars. Sometimes their readings are so vague and abstract as to make it difficult to see a logical connection with proposed curriculum alterations, or their assertions are so categorical that they leave no room for alternative interpretations, or their statements imply that educational directives are lodged in history itself. I offer two illustrations. In Modern Educational Theories, Boyd Bode, following Dewey, states that "educational problems and movements are a reflection of social changes." Citing Dewey, he refers to "'the democratic upheaval,'" "'a demand for political equality,'" and "'a more profound aspiration towards an equality of intellectual and moral opportunity and development,'" and then summarizes by saying that "we are shifting from an aristocratic to a democratic level."[4] On the basis of this slender reed he recommends curricular changes in some detail, after which he compounds the confusion by arguing that a "humanized" curriculum must not reflect but "anticipate the spirit and outlook of the social order that is to be."[5] Foshay, in the work previously mentioned, conducts his argument in a similar manner. His statements about past and present are cast as unequivocal dicta, and he buttresses his curriculum agenda by claiming that educational imperatives are themselves the "product" of society.[6] It would appear that history issues orders, that it speaks and speaks imperiously. The irony, however, is that while Foshay in 1970 was prophesying a curriculum of self-awareness others were divining more accountability and behavioral objectification. My conclusion is that in examples like these the use of history is more expedient than judicious.

I have argued that the curriculum field is historically aware, but I would also agree that it is ahistorical in the sense that it lacks a well-proportioned historiography. The size of this lacuna is unclear, however, because the boundaries and content of the field are imprecise, and I gather that there are differing opinions about what is legitimately curriculum history as opposed to educational history.[7] Nevertheless, the question remains why there have not been more historical studies of curriculum-making. The question has added interest if one accepts that curriculum workers are historical-minded, as I believe them to be. Technical and material considerations are not obstacles. The writing of credible history is certainly exacting but it does not demand arcane technical expertise.[8] The number of topics awaiting investigation is indefinitely large. In going through Tanner and Tanner's text, itself a historically oriented work, one finds not only many viable subjects but also problems that have been at least partially defined for research purposes.[9] Moreover, several conceptual bearings are already sketched,[10] and significant levels of curriculum activity can be readily demarcated.

Concerning the latter, the nature and sources of curriculum thought could withstand greater description and analysis. The middle-level area of curriculum discourse, projects, planning, and prescriptions also begs for attention. The "lived" curriculum of the school and classroom is a level of inquiry that has suffered the most neglect. As a group, historians have shied away from the particular school because they have assumed that educational history is deductive and that extant records are insufficient. On both counts the assumption is unwarrantable. French historians associated with the *Annales* movement are now demonstrating that it is possible to get closer to the inner workings of schools and classrooms than previously believed.[11] Their findings indicate that much of our conventional wisdom about schooling in the past is a patchwork of anachronisms and reifications and that our understandings of school-society relations are inadequate and simplistic. The approach they follow, however, is rigorous; it demands great patience and arduous labor. But if they are succeeding in uncovering a great deal of information about school life in the 17th century, we should be able to succeed as well or better for the 19th and 20th centuries. A major contention of the *annalistes* since Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch has been that lack of knowledge of the past is to a considerable extent the result of the simple failure to inquire.

That these three levels -- plus a fourth dealing with the dynamics of the curriculum process -- offer extensive possibilities for investigation is not news. So what is the problem? Where lies the impediment to writing curriculum history?

I suggest that the answer rests in the nature of the curriculum field, defined as a professional endeavor engaged in by the professoriat. As such, curriculum does not bear the marks of a field of disciplined inquiry in a formal sense. It is, more characteristically, a field of practical, normative activity carried on with urgency in a crisis atmosphere. If this be true, then it follows that the intellectual orientation, role specifications, and reward structure of the enterprise would not encourage contemplative undertakings whose goal is to know rather than to do. These undertakings may be nice, even laudable, but they are not high priorities. Keep in mind that curriculum leaders early in the century gave a pejorative connotation to the term "academic," and more recently one prominent figure, although admitting that curriculum history was "desperately" needed, warned that it should not become a distracting preoccupation.[12] Under the sway of this type of professional mentality, that curriculum history has not been vigorously pursued is understandable. And those who have pushed for historical research have usually pled their cause in the name of utilitarian benefit. I do not recall anyone pressing the issue primarily on the grounds of historical curiosity. As one who inhabits that outland called foundations of education, I am firmly convinced that as long as contextual and analytical studies must meet the test of immediate practicality, they will continue to be marginal.

The observation that curriculum work is preeminently a practical, valuative activity to some extent clarifies other characteristics of the field. Curriculum is unsure of its boundaries, it suffers from chronic definitional ambiguity (there is not even a standard nomenclature for its members), it persistently stumbles over the notion of theory, its treatment of contradictions tends toward expediency, its agenda is cyclical rather than linear, and though always moving, it shows few signs of development. Generally recognized fields of study share these traits -- none is a pristine model of order and clarity -- but they do not exhibit them in the same degree. They have been obliged, as a minimum, to arrive at *working* definitions and solutions in order to get on with their business, communicate, and justify their existence. Curriculum has apparently not been under the same obligation; otherwise it, too, would have taken these steps. But the curriculum field has been in existence for over half a century, and although there are concerns about the state of its health, it still functions and plays a role in education. This fact implies that it can and does maintain itself without the constitutional supports customarily associated with communities of disciplined inquiry.

What, then, do curriculum workers do? A plausible reply is that they must prepare curricula for the schools and show others how to do likewise, and indeed many of them do. But my information argues that the preparation of curriculum materials is not a functional necessity for the field. Curriculum construction obviously went on long before the first professors of curriculum appeared on the scene, the founders of the field did not think of themselves mainly as curriculum makers and recognized that the bulk of this work was done elsewhere, and a 1963 NEA report did not identify the curriculum professoriat as a major influence on curriculum design nor did it recommend that it should be.[13] Many agencies take part in the actual making of curriculum; professional curriculum workers are only one of them and not necessarily the most salient.

So, again, what do they do? If as a group they are, functionally speaking, too practical for their academic colleagues and too academic for practitioners in the schools, what is their mission? In light of the situation described, it seems that one of the important tasks of the curriculum field since its inception has been to be the bearer of symbols. More than scholarly inquiry or the exercise of technical expertise, curriculum workers have been a vehicle within education for the rhetorical expression of the values, sentiments, concerns, and aspirations of the society. Insofar as the nation tends to reduce political, social, and economic problems to educational ones and claims to expect schools to cure present ills and provide for a brighter tomorrow for individuals and the collectivity, this role is of great significance. That a body of certified professionals, who are ostensibly linked with what is taught in schools, formally and ritually discourses on the concerns and ideals of the moment and prescribes desirable courses of action has meaning in itself. Such activity may have little instrumental and noetic value which is susceptible of measurement, but that is really beside the point. Condensation or ceremonial symbols are not aimed at objective referents. Instead they speak to the emotions and psychological states and in so doing they fulfill several purposes. They emotionally assist people attempting to cope with an ambiguous and complex set of circumstances; they in this way "clarify" psychologically, if not rationally. The expression of symbols also activates people to do battle or, as the case may be, it assuages their fears and anxieties. Moreover, when public officials engage in symbolic rhetoric, they personify and concretize emotional issues, thereby offering themselves as heroes or scapegoats, depending on the dispositions of their listeners.[14]

This conception of curriculum activity has drawbacks, but it does throw new light on some of the peculiar traits of the field. It has been noted that the field originated as part of a reform movement at a time when there was considerable doubt about the promise of democracy.[15] Curriculum has not lost this reformist zeal, and educators generally have been fond of posing as the guarantors of democratic ideals. In this respect the birth of the profession was a symbol of amelioration. Curriculum disourse, hortatory and filled with slogans, assumed and has kept a form that is congruent with symbolic expressiveness. And the wide swings of the curriculum pendulum between foci of attention, the frequent uncritical sensitivity of curriculum workers to what they perceive to be the demands of the "real" world, the desire to accommodate numerous influences even at the price of logical contradiction, and the relative disregard for the evaluation of innovation also become more understandable from a symbolic perspective.

One difficulty with symbolic activity, however, is that it is rarely justified in its own terms. To say something is "merely" symbolic detracts from its efficacy. Those who bear and express symbols must seek functional justification for their roles. This point is relevant, I think, to the apparently continuing concern about identity in the curriculum field. To the extent that curriculum work is expressive rather than instrumental, this concern cannot easily be resolved and may become more acute if field-based teacher education directed by the teacher education centers becomes more prevalent.

Although I am not pledged to symbolic analysis, I do believe that it has something to offer to the historical study of education. Functionalist approaches are unquestionably useful, but they do not account well for many phenomena. And if it is true that the production model and the utilitarian criterion have limited the intellectual framework of curriculum workers, as Kliebard claims,[16] then perhaps an examination of the expressive value of schooling and curriculum is in order.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Herbert Kliebard, "Persistent Curriculum Issues in Historical Perspective," in Edmund C. Short, ed., Educational Comment 1970: A Search for Valid Content for Curriculum Courses. (Toledo, 1970), pp. 31-41; Mary Louise Seguel, The Curriculum Field: Its Formative Years. (New York, 1966), pp. 1-6; Dwayne Huebner, "The Moribund Curriculum Field: Its Wake Our Work," Curriculum Inquiry 6:2 (1976), 155; Arno Bellack, "History of Curriculum Thought and Practice," Review of Education Research 39:3 (June, 1969): 283-292; B. O. Smith, Reply to Huebner Paper, Curriculum Inquiry 6:2 (1976): 168; O. L. Davis, Jr. Perspectives on Curriculum Development. 1976 ASCD Yearbook (Washington, 1976), pp. 1-15; Barry M. Franklin, "Curriculum History: Its Nature and Boundaries," Curriculum Inquiry 7:1 (1977): 67-69.

[2] Harold Rugg, "A Century of Curriculum-Construction in American Schools," in Guy Montrose Whipple, ed., The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction, Part I, Twenty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. (Bloomington, Ill., 1926), p. 3-116; Arthur W. Foshay, Curriculum for the 70's: An Agenda for Invention. (Washington, D. C., 1970), pp. 3-24.

[3] See, for example, William Van Til, ed., Curriculum: Quest for Relevance. (Boston, 1974); William F. Pinar, ed., Heightened Consciousness, Cultural Revolution, and Curriculum Theory. (Berkeley, 1974); Elliot W. Eisner, ed., Confronting Curriculum Reform. (Boston, 1971); and Dwayne Huebner, ed., A Reassessment of the Curriculum. (New York, 1964).

[4] Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories. (New York, 1927), pp. 25-26.

[5] Ibid., p. 40.

[6] Foshay, p. 5.

[7] Franklin, p. 67-69; O. L. Davis, Jr. "The Nature and Boundaries of Curriculum History," Curriculum Inquiry 7:2 (1977): 157-168.

[8] J. H. Hexter, The History Primer. (New York, 1971).

[9] Daniel Tanner and Laurel Tanner, Curriculum Development: Theory into Practice. (New York, 1975).

[10] I am referring here to the work of Franklin, Kliebard, Seguel, Decker, Walker, and Michael Apple.

[11] See, for example, Roger Chartier, Marie-Madeleine Compere, and Dominique Julia, L'Education en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siecle. (Paris, 1976) and Jean de Viguerie, Une oeuvre d'education sous l'ancien regime. (Paris, 1976).

[12] B. O. Smith, op. cit.

[13] Seguel, op. cit.; National Education Assocation, Deciding What to Teach. (Washington, D.C., 1963), pp. 179-214.

[14] Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics. (Urbana, Ill., 1964); David K. Cohen and Bella H. Rosenberg, "Functions and Fantasies: Understanding Schools in Capitalist America," History of Education Quarterly. 17:2 (1977): 113-137.

[15] Kliebard, op. cit.

[16] Ibid.

AN ELUSIVE QUARRY: ON THE TRAIL OF CURRICULUM HISTORY

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The history of the field of curriculum remains largely unwritten. The fragmentary efforts to document the peaks and valleys of our past are honored as much for their entry into this barren landscape as for the brilliance of their analyses (See, for example, Seguel, 1966; Walker, 1977). Nevertheless, the pioneering efforts underway are miniscule compared to the enormity of the task that lies before us. Our past must be explored and understood, and we must be the ones to make that journey. To leave the task to others is to abdicate our own responsibilities.

Those who heed the call for more adequate curriculum history appear to be faced immediately with a problem of definition: What constitutes curriculum history? Franklin (1977) and Davis (1977), in an exchange which began with the publication of the 1976 ASCD yearbook (Davis, 1976) examined several alternate understandings. Curriculum history, according to one position, must focus on the course of study, the plans made prior to instruction, as the basic artifact of curriculum past. Some have concentrated attention on deliberations about curriculum policy. One new interpretation suggests that the curriculum field can best be understood historically as the formation and development of an occupational group (e.g., Ponder and Doyle, 1977). A second major new interpretation of the curriculum field proposes that curriculum functions largely in a symbolic capacity (Hazlett, 1979, 1979b). A recent case study of the 1950s - 1960s disciplines era has employed both the occupational and the symbolic perspectives (Mehaffy, 1979).

Regardless of the interpretation, one thing is obvious. The curriculum field cannot be divorced from the major educational figures who participated in its growth and development. Individuals such as Bobbitt, Hopkins, Caswell, Rugg, Miel, Saylor, Smith, and Stratemeyer acknowledge the curriculum field as the focus of their professional life. All wrote and contributed to the formation of the field as it is known today. As such, the curriculum field is more than just written documents, courses of study, articles and books. It is, as well, the story of the personal journeys of its participants.

Until recently, the individual participation of leading national figures remained undocumented. Most of the accounts were left unwritten, remaining only in the memory of individual participants. The loss of priceless individual accounts accompanied the death of many of the most prominent early figures in the curriculum field. Occasionally, a dissertation has focused on one or several well-known curriculumists (e.g., DeWulf, 1962; Hansen, 1971; Ponder, 1974; Seguel, 1966). Most of these efforts have been uneven in conception and quality, not systematic or widespread, and, except for Seguel's study, largely unknown and uncited.

The absence of available sources for research renders any historical inquiry impotent. The simple fact is that, now, sources for the study of curriculum history are not only in disarray, they exist in random anonymity or have disappeared more through indifference than by design. No collection has concentrated sources in curriculum history. The need to gather the primary evidential sources for the curriculum field has been pointed out, but archival collection, for the most part, has been slow.

Oral history, recently popularized, captures and preserves accounts otherwise not available. Oral history is the systematic collection and preservation of recollections and reminiscences of individuals about their past, their entire lives or special events or times in which they participated or observed. It is an intensely personal document, organized and created both by the memoirist and the interviewer. Its anecdotes breathe life into the silent record of past events, highlights individual relationships, and creates the personal fabric for the understanding of a specific life in its times.

Growing largely out of concerns both for more curriculum history and the preservation of material potentially lost, we began the Oral History Program at the College of Education, The University of Texas at Austin, in 1976. The UT Austin Oral History Program continues to collect interviews with major national figures in the field of curriculum as one element of a larger effort in the field of education (Davis and Mehaffy, 1977). Our focus is guided by our own perceptions of the field, by our meager resources, and by the availability of and willingness to participate by memoirists. To date, we have interviewed 37 individuals whose contributions to the field of curriculum are substantial (see list, appendix A). We are expanding our list of those to be interviewed almost daily. As time and resources permit, many other individuals will be added. We should also note that our program also encompasses a major effort in social studies education (some 25 individuals, over 100 hours) and in reading (seven individuals, some 30 hours). We have also accepted for deposit over 50 interviews of local educators.

Nevertheless, our limited beginning appears impressive, especially to us. We have collected over 132 hours of interviews in the curriculum field. As our materials are indexed and made available to scholars, this collection will become a major resource for study of the history of curriculum. Some of the collected material has already been utilized in articles and dissertations (e.g., Davis, 1978, 1979; Kraus, 1977; Mehaffy, 1979) and in research underway at other universities.

The collected interviews are not at all random discussions. They are highly structured interviews which require extensive preparation about the memoirists and the larger milieu in which they acted. The interviewer, however, must have more than an adequate understanding of events and people, he must also be skillful in eliciting that information from the interviewee. The combination of background preparation and skillful interview technique challenges although does not eliminate charges of superficiality which occasionally are laid at the feet of oral history practitioners.

The document which is created from an oral history interview presents unique and often formidable difficulties for the historian. A major problem is use of the tapes themselves. While in an audio state, an oral history record (on tape) is relatively inexpensive to produce and even to duplicate. Transformation of the tape record to a written document, however, incurs large costs which we have been unable to assume. Yet, left in only an audio format, an oral history interview of seven or eight hours is cumbersome to all but the most dedicated scholar. We determined that out goal would be to make the collection accessible, even if we did not have the resources available for transcription. Therefore, we use an audio index system which employs the development of a stereo cassette tape.

The originally recorded interview is duplicated on one track of a cassette tape and then is paired to the record track which contains time counts from zero to thirty minutes, at fifteen second intervals. With the addition of the time count, each tape can be indexed according to events, people, or topics and a finding guide can be prepared for each interview. Using a stereo playback machine, and listening only to the time track, a specific section of tape may be located quickly. After locating the appropriate section, the time track may be switched off and the interview track heard as specific topics are researched. This procedure does not overcome the disadvantage of listening to the tape recorded interview (in preference to reading a transcript). It has two specific advantages, however. It preserves and honors the audio nature of the oral interview itself, and also constitutes practical access to the tapes when the costs of transcription are prohibitive.

Subjectivity in the Creation of the Oral History Memoir

One charge is sometimes made of the oral history is that it is subjective and thereby distorts the true record as a function of the interviewer asking only what he wishes to know about. Oral history collection is subjective, but, competently engaged, it is not capricious and does not distort knowingly. The charge of subjectivity is willingly acknowledged. Bias and distortion are always present as long as human beings are participants. Bias is never eliminated, only recognized. Two major forms of subjective bias we recognize in our collection effort.

One, memoirists themselves are subjective. They do not remember everything. They have remembered selectively for a host of personal reasons. Too, passage of time dims the accuracy of memory. They also edit their memory during the course of the interview. That is, they decide how much detail, how intense the feeling, and the extent of comprehensiveness they will reveal both for the record and to the interviewer. Quite likely for some individuals, the oral history interview is an opportunity for them to create the record as they want it to be known and as they desire themselves to be remembered. The subjectivity of the memoirist appears to be very complex and must be acknowledged.

Even so, subjectivity, by itself, does not define accuracy. One's fidelity to truth -- as remembered -- may well be honest. It can never be complete.

Two, the interviewer is a party to the creation of the oral history document. The extent of his preparation and his skill in interviewing are only two obvious elements relating to his own subjectivity, to his own bias. We recognize that such bias or subjectivity is present in the questions asked, those from the interview. Moreover, a larger bias is present as a product of the people chosen for interviews and the concerns (e.g., ideas, projects, fields) selected for archival attention.

Oral History As Source

Oral history is misunderstood as history. It is a source, not an account. It is evidence, not interpretation. An example from military history helps illustrate the issue. It comes from David Irving's very readable The Trail of the Fox, a brilliant biography of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel.

Rommel was an untiring chronicler. He kept a personal diary and wrote his wife long letters almost daily throughout World War II. These two traditional written sources, diaries and letters, were relied upon heavily by Irving as he drew his portrait of "The Desert Fox." Yet, Irving also consulted those individuals who knew Rommel intimately and who were his daily comrades in arms. He discovered, not untypically, that Rommel consciously and deliberately distorted his own recorded history. For example, he asked his adjutant one time what else he might add to embellish his record. At the same time, those around him recalled the elaborate efforts Rommel undertook to publicize his own victories and to discredit the efforts of others, both generals on the battlefront and on the German General Staff.

The point here is simple. Oral history, like other historical evidence, is marked by the process which produces it. Oral history is one source, often an indispensable evidence. It is not, in itself, history. Oral history, like other sources, must be subjected to the evidentiary canons integral to the discipline of history. So judged, oral history can contribute to accounts and to interpretation. By itself, oral history is not history.

Thus, the subjectivity and bias of oral history does not render this source more useful or less valuable than other sources. The oral history document must be treated like other documents.

The Personal Nature of Oral History

Much of oral history's uniqueness lies in its deliberateness and its personalness. An oral history account most commonly is produced some years after the events of its concern. Many memoirists, indeed, are surprised to be chosen for an interview because they believe they have little of significance to relate. The oral history memoir, conceived by someone other than the memoirist, is a deliberately created document. In our personal experience, trips from Austin to Santa Barbara, to Bloomington, and to Rowe were at our initiative and based on our rationale. In the absence of our plans and actions, most of our oral history memoirs would not have been collected. These oral history documents were deliberately created.

The oral history memoir, further, tells about oneself -- actions, ideas, relationships, and feelings. Studied detachment so characteristic of reports is seldom present. The personality of the interviewee dominates the account. Most people we have interviewed have seldom written a personal memoir, and they probably would not. On the other hand, the oral history interview provides a setting in which they can -- to the extent they desire -- talk about what they know well -- themselves, their ideas, and their sensitivities. The oral history document is intensely personal. It illuminates dark corners left untouched, provides leads to people and documents commonly ignored or unknown, and reminds us constantly that every life is one of hope and dreams, of expectations and accomplishments, and of triumph and despair.

Future Direction and Possibilities

Using oral history requires evidence beyond the recorded personal account. Other documents add perspective and suggest interpretation as well as yield new meanings from the richness of the oral narrative. That other sources are required does not diminish the critical importance of oral history. The oral history narrative is a document, in all likelihood, that otherwise would not exist. It is precious precisely because nothing else substitutes for it.

Our goal is to grasp further than we believed we could reach. We desire to build a collection of oral history documents that will facilitate the writing of more accurate histories of curriculum. Our past work continually informs our plans for future interviews. As oral history efforts go, our program is very young, yet, evidence accumulated already has enabled inquiry to penetrate obscured meanings and ignored events in the field. The promise of the collection builds with each added memoir and with each new use.

The emphasis on archival developed underscores another responsibility of the Program. Most of the collection, in all probability, will be used by scholars who did not collect the interview. Without doubt, the interviews will be all too silent on issues of importance to future researchers. Hours of interviews may be lengthy stretches of barren trivia to some; they may yield a treasure to another. That our Program is aware of these probabilities is to remind interviewers to increased care and to informed, thoughtful conversation. In this, as in all matters of history, completeness remains elusive. Construction of these oral history documents, on the other hand, is a self consciously future-oriented enterprise.

Curriculum history continues to elude current efforts at understanding. These conditions likely will persist even against increased attention by more individuals. Yet, the veil of ignorance now worn by our field peels back bit by bit. A heightened interest in penetrating that mask sustains a growing band of historians of the field. Our own work in oral history, we hope, adds new and heretofore unavailable resources to the quest.

The beginning made requires continuance. We solicit from our colleagues in the curriculum field suggestions of individuals to be interviewed and of possibilities for those interviews conducted by others for deposit in the collection. We invite others to use the oral history memoirs now gathered together in the collection. Through continuing cooperation, our common quarry will become less elusive.

APPENDIX A

CURRICULUM FIELD MEMOIRISTS IN THE ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM CENTER FOR HISTORY OF EDUCATION THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN, SPRING 1980

William M. Alexander
Robert H. Anderson
George A. Beauchamp
Hollis L. Caswell
John E. Codwell
Edgar Dale
Harold D. Drummond
Arthur W. Foshay
Jane Franseth
Alexander Frazier
Jack R. Frymier
John D. Greene
L. Thomas Hopkins
Rose Lammel
Alvin D. Loving, Sr.
James B. Macdonald
Alice Miel
A. Harry Passow
Philip H. Phenix
Chandos Reid Rice
James W. Reynolds
J. Galen Saylor
Joseph J. Schwab
Harold G. Shane
B. Othanel Smith
Maycie K. Southall
Harold Spears
William O. Stanley
Drew C. Tinsley
David Turney
I. Keith Tyler
Ralph W. Tyler
Glenys Unruh
William Van Til
Fred Wilhelms

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RESEARCH INTO THE CURRICULUM, 1918-1938: HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WORK OF THE FIRST GENERATION[1]

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It is difficult, as Leonard Berk noted, to justify the study of history to a field whose preoccupations are practical and focused on the improvement of school practice (Berk, 1978). When one is dealing with a field which has not yet settled the question of the role and value of research in the construction of curriculum, professionalizing the need for a history of curriculum research is necessary if the curriculum field is to ever pursue what Walter Monroe (1925) called the ultimate purpose of educational research -- the discovery of procedures, rules, and principles relating to various aspects of education. Then, too, the desire to search for the traditions of the field, or to seek a new perspective on the persistent questions which face the curriculum worker might also be proposed as logical bases for documenting the results of research into the general curriculum.

If these thoughts form the basis for an acceptable rationale, then the search for a history of curriculum research must begin in 1918, for that is the year which marked not only the birth of the curriculum field but also the beginning of "The Scientific Movement in Education." It was, as Kliebard so aptly described it, a vintage year for the curriculum field. The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education made their appearance, and Franklin Bobbitt published the first full length book on the curriculum. Inglis contributed Principles of Secondary Education, and William Kilpatrick authored the much reprinted "Project Method". It was, moreover, the first year of what was destined to be a major period of interest in and work on the curriculum. Between 1918 and 1938 the junior high school concept spread across the nation, accompanied by a curriculum revision movement which left no level of schooling untouched. A new emphasis was placed on the statement of goals and objectives in a curriculum plan, and no less than three alternative curiculum designs were proposed. Within the traditional subject-discipline design social usage became the new basis for selecting content, and broad field and inter-disciplinary courses made their appearance. Ralph Tyler began his epic work on evaluation in this twenty year period, and with its publication (Smith and Tyler, 1942) the four basic steps in modern curriculum-making -- setting goals and objectives, selecting and organizing learning experiences, planning for instruction, and evaluation -- were accepted at least in principle by most schoolmen.

The birth of the curriculum field coincided with a new emphasis upon educational research, as this first generation of curriculum specialists found themselves in the midst of what contemporary authors defined as nothing less than a revolution in educational thought. Almost overnight, or so it seemed, literally thousands of teachers, administrators, and university professors began to collect data of all sorts to aid in the decision-making process. Researchers queried experts, tallied deficiencies, identified minimum essentials, surveyed school, studied retardation and elimination, engaged in activity analysis, and developed questionnaires on every topic imaginable. The number of studies published in all areas of education grew from less than fifty prior to 1918 to over 3,000 by 1927; doctoral dissertations increased from fifty-three a year to 986 a year in the same period (Monroe, 1928). The research effort continued almost unabated into the next decade, and the National Society for the Study of Education, with some pride, recognized this important change in the field of education by devoting its Thirty-seventh Yearbook (1938) to a straightforward objective description and appraisal of the results of what the Society termed "The Scientific Movement in Education."

The curriculum field was not immune to this new attitude towards educational research, and it eagerly embraced what the literature called "the scientific method." Generally defined as a desire to secure as exact information as possible to serve as the basis for practice (Freeman, 1938), the scientific method was touted by the early leaders of the curriculum field. They had great confidence, Peik was to write in the NSSE Yearbook, "in the superiority of a curriculum based on facts as to the where, why, what, and how of education" over "practices resulting from speculation, haphazard impressions, and unchallenged experience" (Peik, 1938, p. 53). Like their colleagues in other fields and the American public in general, they firmly believed in the ability of science to solve the major problems confronting the country, including those plaguing the schools. The increase in research on the general curriculum was significant, as studies on the goals, designs, planning process, and evaluation of the curriculum grew from less than ten prior to 1918 to nearly 140 by 1938.

What, then, were the characteristics of the research produced on the general curriculum[2] during the years of the Scientific Movement in Education? Are there principles to be derived from the results of these studies? Are there traditions to be discovered, new perspectives on perennial questions to be explored, or lessons to be discovered, or lessons to be learned from the work of the first generation? A thumbnail sketch reveals that nearly three-fourths of the 137 studies represented the single research contribution of the author to the general curriculum area. At least half of the publications were dissertations, and the efforts of the doctoral students were among the best in the period. The leaders of the curriculum field were represented, as Leonard Koos (1920, 1927, 1934) staked out the area of the secondary curriculum while Franklin Bobbitt examined the use of the activity analysis technique in constructing the curriculum (1922, 1926). Harap (1930, 1932, 1935) collected data on the new courses of study produced during the revision movement, while Wrightstone (1934, 1936, 1938) led a variety of experiments at both the elementary and high school levels. Hopkins (1933, 1934), Judd (1927), Courtis (1927), Counts (1926, 1927), and Bagley (1926) contributed publications, and outstanding works were presented by Washburne (1926), Collings (1926), Bruner (1925), and Stratemeyer and Bruner (1926). Three large-scale studies were products of the period, as the government sponsored a massive survey of secondary education (Koos, 1934), the Progressive Education Association monitored innovations in the high school curriculum (Aiken, 1942), and a number of educators including McCall, Wrightstone, Thorndike and Morrison worked with the New York City longitudinal experiment on the activity curriculum (Morrison, 1942).[3]

The effort which curriculum workers put into gathering data did not match the time and energy expended on theoretical works or on the improvement of school practice in the field, but this first generation did concern themselves with the application of research in the curriculum field. Stratemeyer and Bruner (1926) and Ullrich (1937), for example, sought to determine current beliefs on the statement of goals and objectives in a curriculum plan, and with Koos (1924), Proctor and Brown (1928) and Rowland (1933) provided evidence on the goals of education accepted by schoolmen. Cox, Peters, and Snedden (1929) likewise focused on descriptions of current practice as they examined the use of the activity analysis technique in determining goals and objectives. The scientific method was employed to assess the effectiveness of innovations in curriculum design, to document changes in the elementary and secondary curriculums, to ascertain the role of certain groups in the curriculum planning process, and to aid in actual curriculum construction. One of the most successful roles assigned to the research process was illustrated in the numerous publications which detailed the growth, rationale, characteristics, and effectiveness of the junior high school and curriculum revision movements. Few of these fifty-one studies were outstanding in and of themselves, but taken as a whole they traced the development and impact of two important movements in the curriculum field.[4]

There is little doubt than many of the 137 publications on the general curriculum were eminently forgettable, but each area of research was represented, as well, by some outstanding efforts. In 1925 Flanders initiated a line of inquiry focused on the extent to which state legislatures dictated the elementary course of study. His method of searching constitutional and statuatory laws in force in each state was duplicated by authors through the 1950s, and was extended by Patty (1925), Troxel (1926), and Andrews (1938) to include the secondary course of study. Related to Flander's dissertation was a whole series of publications designed to determine the legal basis for state legislature prescription of the curriculum, and a somewhat smaller group of studies focused on the influence of lay pressure groups on this state legislature process. A similar scenario occurred with John Stout's (1921) dissertation on the development of the high school curriculum in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918. A number of independent investigations confirmed Stout's preliminary conclusions on the expansion of the secondary course of study, and the National Survey of Secondary Education (Koos, 1934), by using the same thirty mid-western high schools examined by Stout, was able to identify trends in the high school curriculum over a seventy year period.

Historical studies also played an important role in the research on the elementary curriculum, as well as the evolution of accepted goals for American education. Carleton Mann (1928), following a tradition begun by Joseph Mayer Rice in 1897, traced the development of the elementary school course of study by examining the time allotted to, and hence emphasis place on, each subject. Like Stout (1921), he noted a gradual expansion of the course of study, with some stabilization occurring by 1927. His view of the standard elementary curriculum of that time was confirmed by Norton (1924), Ayer (1924), Glass (1924), and Judd (1927), as was his conclusion that there was a complete lack of uniformity as to the particulars of what was taught, when, for how long, and when it was begun. Rowland (1933) examined state constitutions, state school laws, state courses to study, and reports from state, county, and city superintendents as he searched for the accepted goals of American education from colonial days to 1933. He identified seven goal areas for the public schools, including religious, moral and ethical, formal (fundamental processes), vocational - utilitarian, citizenship - nationalism, health, cultural, and miscellaneous aims. All but the religious aims were still popular in 1933, and he noted that there had been a gradual expansion of the accepted role of the school in American society from colonial days through 1933.

Some of the outstanding studies produced between 1918 and 1938 remained isolated experiments, though their value to serve as models for future research has in no way been diminished by the passage of time. In 1925, for example, Herbert Bruner presented a detailed case study of a curriculum in a single junior high school. With its leisure activity period and broadening and finding courses, Bruner's junior high school bears a striking resemblance to the ideal middle school described today. Just one year later, with Florence Stratemeyer, Bruner supervised the development of a whole series of forms designed to rate elementary courses of study. Based on the opinions of over 100 expert judges, the rating forms reflected the best of contemporary curriculum theory. Yet to be surpassed are the design studies of Carleton Washburne and Ellsworth Collings, both published in 1926. Located in the small suburban town of Winnetka, Illinois, Washburne led the development of a specific competencies approach to education which featured self-paced individualized instruction. Collings launched his five year longitudinal experiment in a one-room rural school in McDonald County, Missouri, with an activity curriculum composed of story, handwork, play, and excursion projects. Like the Winnetka children, Collings' students exceeded the achievement levels attained by pupils in a traditional subject-discipline curriculum. Both studies met the highest defined standards of research for their time, a feat which subsequent authors during this period failed to match.[5]

Despite the presence of these outstanding studies, and the productivity which characterized this twenty year period, contemporary writers held a rather pessimistic view of the contributions made by research to the curriculum field. Characteristic of this attitude was Hollis Caswell's review in the 1935 AERA Official Report, in which he attempted to summarize changes which would be made in elementary education if research findings to date should be implemented. "If the curriculum worker," he wrote, "is willing to accept and employ findings from studies of current practice and consensus, and hold that in so doing, the curriculum is based on scientific evidence, there are certain phases of curriculum making that may be modified significantly. But if the curriculum worker is looking for findings that are verified experimentally or which have been arrived at from extensive trials with children and measures of achievement, there are few changes indeed that may be made on this basis (Caswell, 1935, pp. 160-161). The inability to identify definite research results was highlighted just three years later by Peik's (1938) analysis of "A Generation of Research on the Curriculum" for the Thirty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. He was able to list just three broad, rather than specific, accomplishments of twenty years of research; the development of a more critical attitude on the part of curriculum workers rather than total acceptance of current practice; encouragement of more reflective thinking on the curriculum; and a reconsideration of the bases of education in terms of social values and social progress. For a field which had believed science would be able to determine the one "best" curriculum, such summaries of research must have been disappointing indeed.

The failure of research to effect change in theory and practice was due in part to the fragmentary and isolated nature of some of the studies. The effect of the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, for example, proved to be a fascinating topic but it was pursued by only a single study (Proctor and Brown, 1928). Then, too, many of the researchers seemed to be totally unaware of any previous work done in their area, resulting in a lack of continuity and iability to profit from past experience. Doctoral dissertations tended to lay on dusty library shelves, forgotten and unresurrected by even their own authors. Though they were generally published by the university awarding the degree, the results of these often excellent studies seldom made it into journals for further dissemination. The term research was bandied about and used to refer to purely descriptive and sometimes trivial accounts of what was going on in some department of some school, a practice which Rugg warned in 1926 would lead to a certain complacence and consequent neglect of real research. The development of what Walter Monroe (1928) called a pseudo simplistic faith about the research process -- a belief that the technique required for research into education problems was relatively simple and could be engaged in by any enthusiastic amateur -- resulted in carelessness in design and execution of many of the studies.

It was the virtual lack of an attempt to summarize and evaluate the results of the 137 studies, however, that limited the contributions which research could make to the curriculum field. For even by the standards of the current generation, there are principles which can be identified from this early research on the general curriculum. In the area of the goals of education, the detailed information provided by Rowland (1933), when combined with results obtained by Stratemeyer and Bruner (1926), Koos (1924), Proctor and Brown (1928), and Ullrich (1937) led to this conclusion:

> By 1938 educational and state leaders accepted and set goals for American schools in six areas: moral and ethical training; training in the formal and fundamental processes; vocational-utilitarian education; development of citizenship-nationalizm; attention to health; and development of culture. Though some earlier stated aims of education were no longer popular, a general pattern of the gradual expansion of the role of the school from colonial days through 1938 was evident.

Then, too, the pioneer study by Flanders (1925), augmented by the results of eighteen subsequent publications, left little doubt about the role which state legislatures were playing in prescribing the course of study:

> State legislatures had the legal right to prescribe the curriculum content of the public schools, and they exercised this right at both the elementary and secondary levels. There was a gradual increase in the number of prescriptions stated in the general areas of nationalism, health and prohibition, conservation of life and property, practical and cultural subjects, humaneness, fundamental subjects, religious and ethical studies, and miscellaneous subjects. Organized lay pressure groups were successful in having a number of special prescriptions favorable to their cause enacted by state legislatures.

Surveys of current practice also proved to be valuable when replicated in sufficient quantity, particularly with respect to the junior high school and curriculum revision movements. Though some aspects of each of these research areas were not developed in sufficient depth to allow conclusions to be drawn, it was possible to state these generalizations:

> The junior high school organization spread rapidly across the country, and be 1937, 45 percent of all secondary school students attended a reorganized system.
>
> The new junior high schools found it difficult to fulfill their special purposes of encouraging economy of time and retention of students, providing differentiated curricula and guidance programs, and attending to individual differences.
>
> A nationwide curriculum revision movement led and sponsored by the education profession occurred at both the elementary and secondary levels between 1918 and 1938. The basic organization of the public schools, despite such revision efforts, remained the traditional subject-discipline design. The main products of the curriculum revision movement were new courses of study, the majority of which failed to live up to the theoretical ideal of stating both general and specific objectives.

Finally, the elementary and high school courses of study attracted considerable attention from curriculum workers and once again it was the data collected through historical and survey methods which led to these generalizations:

> The elementary curriculum expanded gradually from 1775 to 1926, and by that date most schools included reading, arithmetic, spelling, geography, language, penmanship, music, art, drawing, and opening exercises in their course of study. Approximately 50 percent of the school time was allotted to the 3 R's, with content subjects (history, civics, geography, science) receiving 15 percent and special subjects (hygiene, physical education, music, fine and industrial arts, recess, special exercises) garnering 35 percent of the day. There was, however, a complete lack of uniformity as to the particulars of what was taught, when, for how long, and when it was begun, and no agreement among schools on the time allotted to each individual subject.
>
> Between 1890 and 1935 four trends were apparent in the high school curriculum: a steady growth in the number of curriculums offered, with most additions in the commercial, vocational, industrial, and practical arts areas; a corresponding decrease in the percent of curriculums classified as academic or college preparatory from 50 percent in 1910 to 33 percent in 1935; acceptance of the concept of multiple curriculums, with all but the smallest high schools offering at least three by 1935; and an increase in the average number of subjects offered from 23.7 in 1910 to 48.1 in 1935, with the least expansion in math, foreign languages, and science, and the most additions in English, social studies, physical education, and vocational subjects.

There are, then, procedures, rules, and principles related to various aspects of education that can be derived, as Monroe (1925) suggested, from the research produced by this first generation. And what of the traditions of the curriculum field, the lessons to be learned, or the new perspectives to be gained? It was, first of all, a period of quantity production, though few authors evidenced sustained interest in a single line of inquiry, and considerably more effort was devoted to the development of theory and improvement of practice than to the conscious pursuit of educational research. Contemporary curriculum specialists proclaimed the benefits of the scientific method, but evidence that at least half of the 137 studies were dissertations and that three-fourths of the writers made only a single research contributions to the general curriculum area presents a somewhat different image of the period. The scientific method was used in a variety of roles, as curriculum workers collected data to identify current practice, to evaluate innovations in the schools, to determine trends in the elementary and secondary curriculums, to aid in actual curriculum construction, to monitor the role of certain groups in the planning process, and to trace the growth and development of contemporary movements. Only a handful of studies however, were designed to test a specific hypothesis, and few theorists employed research as a tool in proving or disproving their concepts of the educational process.

Whether these characteristics are "traditions" in curriculum research must be determined by study of the work of subsequent generations, but the principles derived from this twenty years of research raise some interesting questions. Has the role assigned to the American school, for example, continued to expand through the 1970s, and if so, at what point do these increased responsibilities begin to interfere with the functioning of the institution? Has the number of subjects taught in our schools continued to spiral upward, and if so, what effect does this have on our ability to teach every student the basic skills and knowledge needed for life? Do state legislatures and pressure groups continue to dictate increasing portions of the elementary and secondary courses of study, and if so, what does this imply about the ability of the education profession to lead and direct needed changes in American education? Why did the nationwide curriculum revision movement of the 1920s and 1930s fail to effect substantial change in American schools; what conditions contributed to the inability of the junior high school to meet its special purposes?

More clearly, there are lessons to be learned from the work of this first generation. Certain types of studies proved to be valuable: the historical works presented baseline data needed to judge trends in American schools, while case studies, such as those by Bruner (1925), Collings (1926), and Washburne (1926), documented attempts at innovation in sufficient detail to allow for replication. Surveys of current status provided important data to the historian relative to the growth and development of significant movements in the curriculum field. The need to pursue a line of inquiry beyond a single study was illustrated, as was the advantage to be gained by relating one's work to previous publications in the field. The most important lesson to learned, however, was the necessity of summarizing and evaluating the results of completed research. It is impossible for research to make a significant contribution to theory or school practice if it is not periodically reviewed and disseminated to schoolmen. There is little hope that the curriculum field will ever pursue Monroe's ultimate purpose of educational research unless authors accept responsibility for not only producing studies, but also evaluating the results of bodies of work.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This paper is a much shortened version of a paper intitled, "An Historical Review of Research 1918-1938," given at the 1977 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History.

[2] Studies reviewed included those which dealt with the goals, designs, planning process and evaluation of the general curriculum. The term 'research' was somewhat loosely used in this period; for this review each 'study' located which was based on some type of data collection was included. Information on the appropriateness, reliability, and validity of the data gathering procedures, sampling design, statistical procedures, and experimental design was recorded. This review was limited to studies involving grades one through twelve, excluded research dealing with a single subject area or focused solely on instructional methods, and relied primarily on published work.

[3] Both the Eight-Year Study and the New York City Experiment were begun in the 1930s, though final results were not published until 1942. Because of the publication data, a discussion of the results of these studies was not included in this review.

[4] The actual breakdown of the studies includes:

Goals - 13

Bobbitt (1926)
Cox, Peters, Snedden (1929)
Dulebohn (1926)
Frederick and Farquar (1937)
Koos (1924)
Lorenzen (1926)
Nietz (1926)
Palmer (1926)
Peters (1929)
Proctor & Brown (1928)
Rowland (1933)
Stratemeyer & Bruner (1926)
Ullrich (1937)

Designs - 22

Bobbitt (1922)
Bruene (1935)
Collings (1926, 1933)
Crawford & Hale (1935)
Gustin (1934)
Hopkins & Mendenhall (1933, 1934)
Howell, Dunn, Stoker (1933)
Lee and Root (1934)
McCall, Chassell, Hollingsworth (1919)
Meriam (1933)
Oberholzer (1937)
Pratt, Dunlap, Cureton (1929)
Reynolds & Fleming (1935)
Tate (1936)
Washburne, Vogel, Gray (1926)
Williams (1930)
Wrightstone (1934, 1936, 1938)

Junior High School - 29

Beatley (1932)
Briggs (1920a, 1920b)
Bruner (1925)
Childs (1927)
Davis (1932)
Davis (1918)
Davis (1936)
Defenbaugh (1923)
Douglas (1935)
Dvorak (1932)
Edgerton (1922)
Fritz (1927)
Glass (1924)
Koos (1920, 1927, 1934)
Landsittel (1928)
Moss (1935)
Mills (1931)
Porter (1924)
Powers (1927)
Pratt (1922)
Rodgers (1921)
Smith (1935)
Spaulding (1927)
Stetson (1917)
Tyler (1937)
Tyron, Smith, Root (1937)

High School - 14

Berrong (1930)
Clem & Klyver (1936)
Clem & Derby (1934)
Douglass (1939)
Ellis (1932)
French (1933)
Geiger (1934)
Good & Good (1927)
Good & Roberts (1928)
Holz (1936)
Killion (1932)
Koos (1934)
Riddle (1937)
Stout (1921)

Elementary School - 7

Ayer (1924)
Bagley & Kyte (1926)
Holmes (1915)
Judd (1927)
Kyte & Lewis (1936)
Mann (1928)
Norton (1924)

Curriculum Revision Movement - 22

Bagley & Kyte (1926)
Bruner (1932)
Cocking (1928)
Counts (1924, 1927)
Courtis (1927)
Flavius (1932)
Harap & Bayne (1932)
Harap (1930, 1935)
Herrick (1916)
Holley (1915)
Holloway (1928)
Langnick (1931)
Leary (1938)
Leonard & Root (1936)
Patterson (1928)
Reinoell (1923)
Shearer (1937)
Trillingham (1934)
Updegraff (1919)
Walker (1937)

Role of State Legislatures and Pressure Group - 17

Andrews (1938)
Bagley & Kyte (1926)
Donnelly (1926)
Fenton (1932)
Flanders (1925)
Gellerman (1938)
Hamilton (1927)
Halter (1938)
Johnston (1926)
Lide (1930)
Nixon (1932)
Patty (1925)
Pierce (1930)
Raup (1936)
Tanke (1937)
Tidwell (1928)
Underwood (1935)

Evaluation - 5

Anderson (1936)
English (1935)
Erdly (1933)
Romine (1930)
Stratemeyer & Bruner (1926)

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[5] Typical problems of subsequent studies in the design area included insufficient description of the experimental and/or control curriculums, and lack of control groups or use of standardized test norms in place of control groups. A few studies also employed nonequivalent control groups. The use of equivalent (though matched) control groups and the importance of adequate descriptions of control and experimental curriculums were established as standards of good research as early as 1921, when Collings began his study.

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RICHMOND AND BERKELEY: PARADIGMS FOR CURRICULUM INNOVATION AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

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These papers, offered as a single presentation, will focus on the unique and farsighted curricular ideas that the Richmond, Indiana, and Berkeley, California, schools devised or fostered. The two are linked by (and our research grew out from) an interest in the initial curricular patterns of junior high schools. Berkeley and Richmond were two of the earliest districts to have a junior high school, although only Berkeley's ideas seem to have been widely disseminated. This was largely due to the presence of Frank Bunker, superintendent of the Berkeley Schools for many years and one of the most well known schoolmen of the time. Bunker was quite concerned with the most efficient education that a school could provide, and he saw his Berkeley plan as an opportunity to implement such efficiency through system wide reorganization.

Bunker was well respected and widely disseminated the results of his "experiments" in Berkeley. In one sense, the curriculum of Berkeley, can be said to have derived its the Berkeley Schools consisted of departmentalization, a choice of four languages, vocational arts, and courses specifically geared to the geographic area. This latter concern, reflected in "Pacific Coast Problems" was one of the first regional courses in social studies at any grade level.

Bunker's publicizing of the Berkeley school plan brought the district great recognition and a number of districts used the plan as a model.

By contrast, the Richmond, Indiana, program received little or no publicity even within Indiana. This did not deter the Richmond administration and school board from providing their constituents with some of the most unique curriculum practices of that time.

Richmond pioneered the junior high school in the late 1890s, and by 1900 the Garfield Junior High was a smoothly functioning component of the Richmond schools. The curriculum as evidenced by school reports is quite detailed, and this valuable data will be useful to those trying to find what was actually being taught in schools.

In addition, the Richmond school reports reveal a district operating in geographic isolation but not accepting that "fate." In the late 1890s a normal school was established by the district for the uniform training of teachers, a proposal now being pursued by teachers unions. A university extension center was established in 1897 with the cooperation of the University of Chicago, over 250 miles away!

In summation, our paper focuses on the unique curricula of two innovative districts as well as the utilization of various primary resource material on curriculum at the turn of the century. Both process and product should be of use and interest to those in curriculum history.

School authorities have been in general agreement on two issues regarding the junior high school: that by creating a separate unit, overcrowding in the senior high school is relieved; the adolescent years are difficult years and everyone including the adolescent, could benefit from the operation of a separate junior high school unit.

School authorities tend to disagree however, on what to include in the curriculum and how best to implement the program in the junior high school. That the curricular issue has plagued educators is evidenced by an examination of several surveys beginning with the Berkeley Plan in 1909.

Frank Bunker, superintendent of the Berkely system in 1909, is generally credited with inaugurating the first junior high school in the nation. While Bunker's motive in establishing a junior high school evolved primarily out of an economic need, he did set forth some interesting ideas for the curriculum of the junior high school:

> In contrast to the work of the first six years, I should wish to see the work of this group made exceedingly rich in content and variety, and particularly in human interest. I should hope as far away as possible from that which is purely academic in education. I should wish much emphasis placed on learning how to study, how to use the library, and how to get materials

> from the same with expedition and with judgement. (Board of Education Minutes, 1909).

Bunker looked on the curriculum of the junior high school as transitional in nature. He was mindful of the development adolescent's concern with personal fulfillment, caught between independence and dependence. Bunker perhaps more than most, recognized the need for a curriculum which could ease the elementary child into the high school. The differences between the high school curriculum and Bunker's proposed curriculum were distinct and involved teacher training and perceptions of roles. While both curriculums were fundamentally concerned with preparation for adult life each was preparing for a much different set of circumstances. The elementary curriculum was aimed at the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic. Children were to be taught by compassionate, child oriented teachers in self-contained classrooms. The eight years in elementary programs offered ample opportunity for the child to develop fully in the basic areas and high school. Bunker, among others, recognized that the transition was much too abrupt. The assumption that all adolescents were ready to move from the child centered, self contained, somewhat sheltered, atmosphere to one of many options, discipline centered, and with the teacher as scholar was obviously too difficult for some. There was also a growing feeling that the elementary curriculum was "padded" with eight years devoted to accomplishing what many felt ought to be done in six.

By freeing up the three intermediate grades the elementary program could be strengthened and the curriculum could be aimed at six years of preparation. The proposed transitional program would not be as stringent as eight years of preparation (much of which apparently took place during the eighth year!).

The transitional program would provide opportunities for multiple offerings and to develop a sense of responsibility among the students as they began to select programs of study in a limited setting. In setting the stage for his junior high school curriculum, Bunker stated:

> To force all children in the seventh and eighth grades, at a time when they are entering a period of school work which should be characterized by very different ideals and goals for those which obtain in the first division, to take the same work is clearly wrong. Uniformity is a curse under which the schools have too long been laboring, and should never be insisted upon beyond that period in which the "tools" of an education are given. (Bunker, 1916, p. 110)

Such a curriculum would require a departmentalized approach; a problem most elementary school districts were unprepared to meet. Bunker was aiming for a curriculum with varying degrees of flexibility in order to ease the pains of adjustment for adolescents entering the subject centered high school curriculum. He addressed the curriculum issue several times as he advocated ". . . that a survey of the chief departments of human knowledge be made before the individual settles down to an intensive study of lives which are intended to comerge toward his future specialty" (Bunker, 1916, p. 146). The general program of studies he sought was to be, according to Bunker, ". . . extensive and popular rather than intensive and narrowly scholarly" so that such a curriculum would harmonize ". . . completely with the natural impulses of those entering the period of adolescence which demands change, variety, and human interest rather than completeness and logical arrangement" (Bunker, 1916, p. 146).

The curriculum focus was to be two-fold; to inspire and provide a transition for those intending to continue their studies beyond the ninth grade and to provide a logical ending point for those who intended to cease their formal schooling at the conclusion of the ninth grade. Both objectives would be difficult to meet as separate ideas and to combine them would require significant changes in the scope of the curriculum.

The curriculum Bunker envisioned posed problems for school officials and perhaps the most difficult to solve was one of staffing. Bunker was clear in his feeling about the kind of teachers the junior high school should employ in order to maximize the idea of a transitional curriculum. He wanted teachers whose internalized orientation to the school process would not clash with the necessary psycho-social orientation of his junior high school. The assignment of a high school teacher to the middle school, he feared, would result in such a conflict in professional valuations of junior high school objects:

> The point of view of such teachers tends to be that . . . the subject and its contents are of paramount importance, after overshadowing interest in the pupil himself. . . By subjecting teachers for the lower high school who first of all have had successful experience in teaching in the grades, and who in the second place have taken enough advanced academic work to broaden their horizon somewhat beyond that of the grade teacher, the ideal combination is secured. Further-

> more, by insisting that such teachers be assigned at least two different subjects rather than one, as often obtains in the larger high schools, the tendency toward undue specialization in those early years can be checked (Bunker, 1916, pp. 106-107).

McKinley elementary school became the first and for a time, the only, school in Berkeley to house the junior high school programs. The selection of McKinley was a natural one due mainly to its existing curriculum and staffing. As early as 1901, McKinley under the principalship of Charles L. Biedenbach developed a departmental plan which offered a degree of subject master sophistication by the staff who were trained as elementary teachers. The McKinley curriculum had undergone several revisions since 1905 to include offerings in five foreign languages, mechanical drawing, free hand courses ". . . which were far in advance of those of the traditional grammar school" (Preston, 1920, p. 41), and both vocal and instrumental music. The schedule of offerings was flexible with some being taught before the regular school day while others were offered after hours. Finally, the seventh, eighth and ninth grades were, from the beginning in 1909, housed as a separate unit. In McKinley, Superintendent Bunker had a good "match" for his idea of a transitional curriculum.

The curriculum placed heavy emphasis on English and to a lesser degree, mathematics in both the seventh and eighth grades. In the ninth grade the English requirement was cut in half while math was dropped as a requirement to be replaced by "World's Work and Pacific Coast Problems" a unique offering found only in the Berkeley program.

Perhaps the significance of the Berkeley plan can be seen in the elective offerings in all three grades. The seven electives were identical at both the seventh and eighth grade levels to include in addition to the foreign languages, printing, typewriting and stenography. As the pupil entered the ninth grade he was confronted with a rather wide array of choices for electives which received greater attention at that level. With thirteen elective offerings, half the pupils' program could be made up of elective offerings. Interestingly, the foreign languages were recycled each year thereby affording the pupil a second opportunity to begin the first year of the language. Those who successfully completed the two years of a foreign language could continue with a third year at the ninth grade level. The curriculum was further enhanced with a policy that permitted the accumulation of course beyond the minimal requirement for grammar school graduation, to be applied toward high school graduation. The high degree of flexibility was developed through a wide range of options within the curriculum; even to the point of permitting substitutions of optional courses for some of the English requirements.

As a result of the flexible curriculum it was anticipated that more students would choose to stay in school beyond the eighth or ninth grade.

* * *

Richmond's junior high program developed partly as a response to the building of a new high school and a secondary desire to house seventh and eighth grade students together. The reason for this was stated by Justin Study, Superintendent of Schools:

> . . . by so doing, the other buildings could be devoted entirely to the younger pupils who ought not to be compelled to travers long distances in going to school, while economy would be subserved by consolidation of small schools in the upper grades which a central school would render practicable. (Study, 1887, pp. 56-57)

The movement towards implementing this new concept was gradual but steadily progressive. By 1891 the eighth grade students were consolidated within the school and the "experiment" was deemed successful enough to continue. Four years later a new building for the seventh and eighth graders had been erected. The superintendent's report of 1895 noted:

> This building is intended to accomodate the eighth year classes of the whole city, and the work is to conducted upon the departmental plan. For the present the school rooms on the first floor will be occupied by seventh year pupils. (Study, 1896, p. 66).
>
> The 1897 report of the Richmond City schools gives glowing praise to their new experiment, "The results of this change are seen in the better preparation of the pupils for the work of the high school and, in fact, that a larger percentage of pupils leaving eighth grade go on to high school than under the old plan." (Richmond, 1989, p. 39).

What were these students studying in this new junior high, how was it being presented and how successful was it? Curriculum historians are often thwarted by their search for this information, but the Richmond school reports provide a number of pages that speak directly to the first two issues and, at least obliquely, to the third.

Course of Study of Richmond Schools (1895)

Reading and Literature

6B-6A - Study of selections from Hawthorne, Irving, Longfellow, Whittier and others

7B - Indiana fifth reader, Sketch of Longfellow, St. Argustines Ladder, Number 38 of Riverside Literature Series

7A - Similar to 7B

8B - Similar to 7B, Hale, "Hiawatha", "Miles Standish", Bryant, Holmes

Language

6B Grammar four periods per week, Composition
6A based on culture and Nature of Grade

7B - Grammar 3, Composition 2, Nature Study of Grade

7A- Grammar 3, Composition 2

8B,A - Grammar 3, Composition 1, Based on Literature and History work of grade

History

6 - General - Children Literature
American - Stories of Pizarro, Cortez, Ancient Civilizations of Sumer, Babylonia, Egypt

7 - General - Centers of Civilizations - Euphrates, Nile, Greece, Italy, Spain, England, Stories of Greece and Rome, Legends of Arthur. Political and Commercial Conditions influencing discovery of America, Crusades, Explorers. History of England, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, James I.

7A- Spirit of unrest in Europe at discovery and exploration of New World (inventions)

8B - 3 periods
I. up to 1600 American - Stresses Geography
II. 1600-1750
III. 1750-1789

8A - Stresses individual reading and reports, traces growth of topics
3 periods
I. 1789-1816
II. 1816-1870
III. 1870-present

Use citizens of Richmond and others who have been participants in events of history or who've made a special study.

Nature Work

6 - Plant Life - Seeds and plants (cf. types of plants); Physiology - muscles, skin, skeleton, (movements); Animals

Geography

6B - Western States, Alaska, West Indies, Mexico, Central America, British, Danish America. Relief forms, Model in Sand, Maps - Coordinate with history

6A - Asia, Africa, Oceania - tie with history, (birth place of five great religions in Asia)

7B - Europe cf. latitude with North American cities, imports, exports, coordinate with history

Physiology and Hygiene

7 Human bones cf. with animal skeletons,
8 dissections to teach muscles and organs, effect of alcohol and narcotics on body nervous system

Math

6 - complete arithmetic - notation and numeration, properties of numbers, decimal fractions, U.S. money, bills and accounts, Troy weight, Avoidupois weight, Linear measure, cubic and square, comprehensive monitary system - franc, mark, dry measure, circular, time measure, application of measure

7 - Latitude and Longitude, %, Profit and Loss, Commission and Brokerage, Insurance, Taxes, Duties and Customs, Stocks, Interest, Partial Payment, Bank Discount, Exchange, Ratio and Proportion

8 - Simple Partnership, Square Route, Concrete geometry, Algebra

Music

6 - Chromatic Scale

7 - triads, 7th chords, intervals

8 - Songs in all minor and major keys

German

Industrial Arts Drawing

Penmanship

Physical Culture

In 1910, the junior high school was moved into the former high school which provided even better facilities for the students. "The building has its own gymnasium and art department, and has a large shop for the boys' wood work and a department, and has a large shop for the boys' wood work and a department of domestic science for the girls." (Mott, 1913, p. 22).

The innovations that emerged from this creative junior high school were many. The work in the building was departmentalized, a radical departure from K-8 elementary school. Promotions were by subjects not by grades with special teachers for each subject. "This plan puts upon the pupil more responsibility in the matter of individual study than the usual plan of placing one teacher in charge of body of pupils to teach all studies." (Mott, 1913, p. 23)

There was also room for individualization, of a sort, under this design.

> The program of studies is varied so as to provide for the slow pupils, as well as for the exceptionally strong. At the close of the 7B work, pupils who show that they are able to progress more rapidly than the regular classes are put into a special grade, enter high school at the end of the 8B term. Permission to enter this special plan is given only after consultation between the parents and the principal, and after careful consideration of the child's health, habits of life, home duties, etc. (Mott, 1913, p. 190)

Different curricula were available with the difference being in the offering of a foreign language (Latin or German). Most of those who omitted the language work did not, according to Mott, expect to go through the high school.

The Richmond, Indiana, Program for Grades Seven and Eight

The following is the course of study for the Garfield School. The elective course in Latin or German is on the left and the standard or English course is on the right.

7B Latin and German Curr.		7B English Curr.	
Subject	hrs/wk	Subject	hrs/wk
English	5	English	5
Latin or German	5	Composition	5
Arithmetic	5	Arithmetic	5
Geography	5	Geography	5
Music	2	Music	2
Drawing	1	Drawing	1
Woodworking/Sewing	2	Woodworking/Sewing	2
Physical Training	2	Physical Trng	2

7A Latin and German Curr.		7A English Curr.	
Subject	hrs/wk	Subject	hrs/wk
English	5	English	5
Latin or German	5	Composition	5
Physiology	4	Physiology	4
History	5	History	5
Music	2	Music	2
Drawing	1.5	Drawing	1.5
Woodworking/Sewing	2	Woodworking/Sewing	2
Physical Training	2	Physical Trng	2

8B Latin and German Curr.		8B English Curr.	
Subject	hrs/wk	Subject	hrs/wk
English	5	English	5
Latin or German	5	Composition	5
Arithmetic	5	Arithmetic	5
History	4	History	4
Music	2	Music	2
Drawing	2	Drawing	2
Woodworking/Cooking	2	Woodworking/Cooking	2
Physical Training	2	Physical Trng	2

8A Latin and German Curr.		8A English Curr.	
Subject	hrs/wk	Subject	hrs/wk
English	5	English	5
Latin or German	5	Composition	5
Arithmetic	4	Arithmetic	4
Civics	5	Civics	5
Music	2	Music	2
Drawing	2	Drawing	2
Woodworking/Cooking	2	Woodworking/Cooking	2
Physical Training	2	Physical Trng	2

Norval C. Hieronimus, a teacher in the Garfield School and later principal (from 1900 to 1928) organized a homeroom system in the early 1900's called the Teacher-adviser system. The exact date of implementation is not clear but the model was adopted at least in part by other school systems, one being Seymour, Indiana, in 1931 (Mitchell, 1978). The teacher adviser stayed with the same group of students during their entire junior high school experience though a group was not static since it had students from both grade levels each year.

Despite the apparent lack of widespread publicity for Richmond's junior high school program, there are indications that at least some scholars and schoolmen recognized the contributions of Richmond's endeavor. Herbert G. Childs' study of the reorganizing of grammar grades in Indiana presented seven typical junior high courses of study in Indiana, one of which was that of Richmond (Childs, 1918, p. 39).

It might be hypothesized that a district that had the foresight and creativity to pioneer the junior high school would have been innovative in other areas of the curriculum, teaching and schooling. Such a hypothesis seems justified. In a short, colorful piece contained within the 1913 Richmond School Report, Elsie Marshall describes a history of the Richmond schools. It provides some insight into the development of midwestern school generally if Marshall's account is accurate. Describing a school for girls started by a Miss Whitworth in 1834, Marshall quotes this advertisement placed in the local paper:

> Instruction given to children and young ladies in orthography, reading, penmanship, English grammar and arithmetic, for $2.00 per quarter. Needlework $2.50. Geography and history, $3.00. Rent and fuel, separate charges equally proportioned to the number of scholars. School hours, 8 to meridian, 1 to 4. (Marshall, 1913, p. 57).

Marshall noted that a 1838 convention of teachers of Richmond and vicinity "must have been the first teachers' association or organization of any kind in the city" and probably one of the earliest in the country. There "the teachers discussed the advantages of using uniform textbooks. Heretofore, the different teachers had used any that they chanced to have, or that the pupils might have." (Marshall, 1913, p. 58)

One of the rare female administrators of the time, Mrs. Jane G. Holcombe, was the Richmond High School principal from 1871 to 1885 where she presided over the first public high school graduation in Richmond in 1871.

In the late 1870's one school building was assigned for bilingual instruction "and all pupils who wished instruction in both English and German were required to attend at that building." (Marshall, 1913, p. 64).

Richmond's successful junior high school program was indicative of the entire system. The high school in 1901-02 was 11.6% of the entire school population which was exceeded only by Anderson in Indiana and was far greater than Indianapolis, Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland and other cities. The Richmond attitude, as evidenced by the 1903 school report, was that the "high school is not just a fitting school for colleges...training for life (should be provided) in this school" (Richmond Public Schools, 1903, p. 30). G. Stanley Hall was then quoted to emphasize this feeling "The teachers of the high school should be teachers of the youth...and not of subjects." This contrasts with the prevelant attitude of secondary school teachers today.

The recommended manner of control of the classroom by teachers is also worth noting because Richmond's guidelines are very farsighted in their approach to discipline.

> The following modes of punishment are strictly forbidden. Sarcastic or contemptuous language, reproof administered under the influence of passion, the imposition of additional lessons as a penalty, striking on the head, striking the hands with a ruler, detention to an unreasonable etc. The following punishments are regarded as unobjectionable: Reproof properly and kindly given, in private or before the school, according to the nature of the offense; deprivation of privileges at recess, etc., reporting to the Superintendent, use of warning and special notices, and when other means have failed, corporal punishment. (Richmond Public Schools, 1903, p. 210)

Two other surprising developments in Richmond's schools were the City Training (Normal) School established in 1895 and the University Extension Center established two years later, both of which were alluded to earlier. Dissatisfied with the number of quality new teachers available to the Richmond schools, the city took matters into its own hands with the opening of the Normal School. Six years later in 1901 it closed "on account of the fact that the number of graduates who were ready to take work in our schools made its existence unnecessary. . ." (Richmond Public Schools, 1903, p. 21) The six years had been quite successful however. "As a result of the work of this department all new teachers who have been employed in our schools during the past seven years have either graduated from this course or have taken two or more years in a college or normal school." (Richmond Public Schools, 1903, p. 21).

The University Extension Center established with the University of Chicago offered weekly lecture series by professors from the university which also furnished a traveling library to the school district. It is unclear to the writers how long the relationship between Richmond and the University was maintained though a more thorough search of the reports might yield such information.

Richmond retained an innovative posture in education into the 1930's under E. C. Cline and William G. Bate who were prolific educational writers. Mitchell noted that "many of the innovations in secondary education were originated in Richmond. E. C. Cline and William G. Bate were progressive and able schoolmen." (Mitchell, 1978).

It would not be difficult to continue to chronicle the origin and development of curricular and teaching practices in Richmond though school reports were issued less and less frequently (every two years, every five years) until they stopped altogether in many districts in the 1930's or 1940's. The point of this paper however was to use Richmond and Berkeley as paradigms for curricular innovation at the turn of the century and for illustrating how city surveys and school reports can be an important source of information for the curriculum researcher.

* * *

The school survey of the Grand Rapids, Michigan, schools in 1910 provides evidence of programs in other cities as examples of curriculums with various degrees of flexibility. The Grand Rapids survey was conducted by such notables as Judd, Bobbitt, Rugg, Counts with the junior high school section written by Calvin Davis of the University of Michigan (Grand Rapids, Board of Education, 1916, p. 13). The Grand Rapids survey brought to light one of the dilemmas which continues to plague junior high school programs today. While the Grand Rapids program espoused the popular desire to provide a curriculum which would appeal to the individual needs of adolescents, the flexibility implied in the desired focus failed to materialize. In short, Grand Rapids implemented a junior high program in which electives were offered to such a limited degree that pupils were denied a true transitional program. The survey found that the junior high program was in name only with little attention being paid to developing the professed flexibility. Heavy emphasis was placed on all the transitional subject offerings and a reluctance to encourage pupil decision making was evidenced by the strict adherence to required courses.

The curriculum was divided in two tracks with six to eight elective offerings in each track at the seventh grade. The number of electives was increased to eleven at the eighth grade while the ninth showed slightly more diversification. Courses such as foreign language, chorus, drawing, and printing were relegated to elective status. Interestingly enough, courses such as art, music, and shop were required offerings.

The rigidity displayed in the curriculum prompted the survey team to chide the Grand Rapids school officials for not going ". . . forward either sufficiently far or sufficiently rapidly." (Grand Rapids School Survey, 1916, p. 242).

The Intermediate School (as junior highs were known in some areas) curriculum in Los Angeles followed the Berkeley plan with few modifications. Los Angeles, by 1912, had a series of nine required offerings and six electives at the seventh year. The elective list was increased to eight during the eighth grade and math was moved from a required to an elective while "History and Civics" was introduced as a required course. By the ninth year it was assumed pupils had gained enough self-discipline and maturity to select three electives from a list of nine offerings to be combined with three required subjects (English, physical training, and music or oral English). The program was supposedly just flexible enough to ease the transition from elementary to high school.

Other districts displayed only minimal options at both the seventh and eighth grades. The Trenton, New Jersey curriculum was divided into categories called academics (required) and shop (electives). The pupil was expected to carry a total of thirty hours of work per week, of which twenty were in the academic realm and ten were to come from the electives or shop (for some reason gym and music were included as part of the shop hours). This procedure was carried on again, with some slight modification, at the eighth grade. The ninth grade curriculum was divided in three tracks, academic, commercial, and industrial. The pupil was expected to select from a list of electives within his track.

The curriculum envisioned by Bunker in 1909 included offerings addressed to both continuing as well as terminal eighth grade students, flexibility to encourage self discipline, to be taught in a transitional setting by teachers trained in elementary education with some subject orientation. That vision as viewed through school surveys and reports, took on various modifications in selected other school districts by 1916. The degree to which school districts adhered to Bunker's original curriculum vision varied according to the interpretation each district chose to accept. Textbook usage, courses of study, teacher training and preparation, values and moral instruction are all areas touched upon in school surveys or reports. They can yield indepth information about a city school system or provide a basis for curricular comparison across a number of school systems. The New York City school report of 1855 offers some truly insightful comments on textbooks and individualization, among other things. Concerning texts the report states:

> There is one evil incident to the great market for school books in the United States, . . . The evil to which reference is made is the rapid and constant increase of books designed for use in schools.. . . While our presses are throwing off, almost everyday, some new school book, the majority of them can hardly be said to possess any sterling value and certainly no special claims to favor (New York City, 1855, pp. 66-67).

The New York City report discussed various courses of study as well as characteristics and qualifications of teachers. Despite emphasizing the need for all students to gain knowledge in all areas of the curriculum, there is an interesting comment by S. W. Seton, assistant superintendent of schools:

> The portion of time, however, and the degree of attention to be bestowed upon each (course), should have referece to the circumstances and condition of the individual, to the peculiar profession, trade or occupation for which he may be designed, to his predominant taste or genius and to the general character-

> istics of the age and the community in which his lot has been cast. (New York City, 1855, Appendix I, p. 14).

New York City's early reports do not detail curriculum as well as some other cities. Chicago, for example, has a more detailed discussion of course descriptions in its 1874 report which also includes a relatively lengthy discourse on co-education's merits and disadvantages.

The city school reports provide an insightful but often subjective view of the schools but the school surveys which were popular from 1920 into the 1940's offered a more thoroughly objective examination of school practices. The first and most well known of these surveys was the Cleveland School Survey directed by Leonard P. Ayres. His survey team included educators like Charles Judd, Franklin Bobbitt and Walter Jessup, dean of the school of education at the State University of Iowa. Twenty-six volumes were produced by the survey team from 1915 to 1917 and much of the work by team members led to more developed work in their area. For example, Bobbitt wrote and researched What the Schools Teach and Might Teach which clearly influenced his two classic curriculum volumes, The Curriculum and How to Make a Curriculum. Two comments from this volume are worth noting. The first speaks directly to an issue "popular" today, the "basics." "There is an endless and perhaps worldwide controversy as to what constitutes the "essentials" of education; and as to the steps to be taken in the teaching of these essentials." (Bobbitt, 1915, p. 15).

Bobbitt's second comment is noteworthy because it sounds exactly like that of Harold Rugg who taught at Chicago with Bobbitt for four years. Commenting on supplementing history reading Bobbitt said, "It should be biographical, anecdotal, thrilling dramas of human achievement, rich with human interest." (Bobbitt, 1915, p. 104)

A later volume of the survey by Herbert Miller offered suggestions to teachers that, if followed, might have precluded the need for multi-cultural or multiethnic education. Miller stated that, "in order to understand the social and educational problems of the different foreign groups, it is necessary to study their origin and history." (Miller, 1916, p. 54). To aid teachers in this pursuit Miller provided some characteristics of national groups, suggestions on what teachers should learn of them and suggested readings on each group. For example, in discussing Jews Miller suggests that "Every teacher should learn the significance of the 14 (Jewish) holidays that occur during the school year. Some effort should be made to understand what the Talmud deals with." (Miller, 1916, p. 63)

What is the point of what has been a most circuitous route from Richmond and Berkeley Junior High Schools to the Cleveland Survey? There were basically two features in the presentation. First was to illustrate the uniqueness of two school districts just before and after the turn of the century. What they did and why can be illustrative of what many schools did after them due, in large part, to the innovations of Richmond and Berkeley.

The second point related to the question, "How do we know what was going on in schools then?" This is where the school reports and later the school surveys come into play. These neglected volumes can provide a much fuller picture of schooling in this country. It is our hope that these materials will be used more fully by curriculum scholars so that we might better appreciate and understand curriculum problems and development.

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PART IV

1983 SSCH PAPERS:

A DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTED TO SSCH MEMBERS

1983

PAPERS OF
THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY:
1980 and 1982

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Introduction

The Society for the Study of Curriculum History, with this its second set of papers, has established itself even more fully as a respected segment of the educational research community. This statement is not meant to be self-serving, merely an observation on the status that has been accorded the Society and its members since its founding meeting in 1977.

These papers are drawn, with certain exceptions, from the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Annual Meetings of the Society, held April 7, 1980, in Boston; April 13, 1981, in Los Angeles; and March 19, 1982, in New York City, respectively. The Society has become more international over the past five years. This is reflected both in the membership of the Society and in the papers presented. Witness the paper in this collection by Ben-Peretz and Zajdman.

The work of contemporary curricular historians is primarily reflected here, with one notable exception--the paper by the late R. Thomas Hopkins (given 1980). His warm presentation in Boston is amply preserved in this wonderful autobiographical reminiscence of his first teaching position and of its subsequent effect on the development of a curricular philosophy. Hopkins' insights are keenly applicable today as we draw upon curriculum history to improve the curriculum future.

Bill Schubert's two short pieces (1980, 1982), that of Laurel Tanner (1982) and that of Mary Louise Seguel (1982) reveal the frustrations, scholarship, and energy of three of the outstanding academicians in the field. Their concern that scholarship be useful to a wide community of educators flashes across each of their essays. The Society is able to provide worthwhile direction for educators as it picks up on the suggestions of these scholars.

The progressivists are represented with papers by Janet Hood-Hanchey, Bruce Romanish, Murry Nelson, and Wells Singleton (1981, 1980), and Donald Robinson. Hood-Hanchey's paper (1980), is subtitled "Much Ado About Nothing" since the effect of Bobbitt and his survey on San Antonio was so ephemeral. As Hood-Hanchey points out, however, the survey was known by educational scholars of the time, despite its "short shrift" by the San Antonio School Board and press. Hood-Hanchey utilized sources not often exploited in curriculum history and her methodology also lends assistance to broadening the curricular field.

Robinson (1982), too, sought and used hardly examined papers and records as he developed the story of the conspiracy against certain curricular materials, particularly those of Harold Rugg. Rugg, interestingly, also had "bit parts" in Nelson and Singleton's two essays on educational journals; Rugg wrote in Mathematics Teacher, Educational Method, and Curriculum Journal. Nelson and Singleton's papers on "The Concept of Curriculum" (1981) and on "The Merger of Curriculum Journal and Educational Method: Effects on the Curriculum Field" (1980) draw attention to these fundamental sources in the field of curriculum, to some of the insights possible from becoming reacquainted with them, and to the story of the origins of the two journals merged by ASCD in 1945 into Educational Leadership.

Professor Romanish (1981) takes a more philosophical view in his essay, presenting Counts' ideas of indoctrination and how they affected his view of the school and curricular practice.

As mentioned, Professors Ben-Peretz and Zajdman (1982) present Israeli curriculum histories in their papers. The history of Israeli curriculum is a recent hybrid drawing on American developments, but heavily modifying them to meet Israeli needs and character. This paper represents what will, it is hoped, be a further attention to curriculum history outside the United States.

Paul Ortenzio's examination of the Educational Policies Commission (1978) emphasizes the lack of direction of much of today's education. The rudder that the Commission often supplied to the ship of American education ceased activities in 1968.

A large segment of the 1981 program, that focused on Ralph Tyler, is not included in these papers since the Society has sought to publish those as a separate volume. Also, some panel presentations do not appear. What does appear here, however, represents the ever broadening scholarship of the Society preserved in a written form. The "new era of scholarly work related to the study of curriculum history," referred to by Professor Tanner in our first proceedings, has firmly placed itself in the foreground of the educational landscape.

Murry R. Nelson
Editor

My First Voyage

By L. Thomas Hopkins

Since this was my first voyage in education for pupil self development, I must tell you a few facts about me as a self, not as an educator, as to why and how I undertook it.

First: I was reared in self development by Mother who taught me how to make, accept, evaluate and improve my own decisions. If I made a judgment with adverse consequences to me and others, Mother never reprimanded me. She always said, "Let's sit down and talk this over." And we did. Thus I learned how to locate and develop the hidden factors which I had overlooked but were the essentials for self development. So I came to know, and use a normal biological process of learning called in these days horse sense, or stable thinking.

Second: At Tufts the professors taught subject matter from books so I gave them what they wanted and the College gave me Magna Cum Laude and Phi Beta Kappa. Only three professors during these years understood me, realized why I was different and helped me continue my growth. I left in 1911 with a MA degree in History, with all courses taken at Harvard. I accepted a position as Principal of Brewster, Massacusetts, High School, which was one large and one small room above the elementary school. The Assistant and I were new to teaching. Each selected the desired courses, but I kept US History, required by law of all Juniors for a high school diploma.

This is the background; now I will tell you why I undertook this research in pupil self development, how the experiment was conducted, and what were the results.

My first year 1911-1912, I taught US History as the Harvard professors had taught it to me, even though at the time I rebelled internally against it. At the end of this first class, I realized I must make a radical change but was not sure of how to do it. So I decided to wait until I could obtain the judgment and cooperation of the pupils.

In the fall of 1912, I began the class as usual, with the same ineffective results. The day before Thanksgiving recess, I opened the period by saying, "I am not happy with the way we are working in this class, and neither are you. I suggest that you think about it over the holidays and return next Monday to discuss what is wrong here and how we can remedy it." I emphasized the WE, and all caught the meaning as they were chatting about it when they left.

On Monday I asked for suggestions for improvement, but no person wanted to talk so we chatted during the period. I knew they were testing me to make sure I meant what I said last Wednesday. On Tuesday I opened with the original question of what is wrong here and how can we remedy it. I received some very cautious replies, most of which were related to the very uninteresting material in the textbook (required by law) which they must study. I thanked them for this helpful information, but suggested that they look for other reasons to share tomorrow. I emphasized WRONG since I knew this was a common word in their vocabulary.

On Wednesday everyone seemed excited and alert so I expected an early, pointed discussion but received more than I anticipated. Shortly, the oldest boy in the class (he was a year older than I) who had been fishing all summer and entered six weeks late, said, "Do you want to know what is wrong here?" "I certainly do." "Do you really want to know?" When he emphasized the word really, I knew he meant what he would say. "Yes," I replied. "Then I will tell you. The trouble here is that You are a rotten teacher." He said this slowly and emphasized each word.

I took a deep breath, regained my composure and replied, "I do not want to be a rotten teacher as I expect to teach all of my life. Since you know what makes a rotten teacher, who don't you make me over into the good teacher that you would like to have and that I wish to become." There was silence.

I walked to the blackboard and wrote down two column headings. the first was "Rotten Teacher," the second was "Good Teacher." I then asked, "What shall I put down under Rotten Teacher?" The replies were rapid. All dealt with subject matter as uninteresting, useless, no value to them, no reason for studying it. After a short pause an older girl who had been a maid for a summer family and had come in a month late, held up the textbook and said, "You never can be a good teacher if you have to teach this STUFF (heavily emphasized)." Quickly a great protest against studying history followed.

When all was again quiet, I asked "What about the history that is inside of you?" A chorus of responses --"There isn't any. We won't study it." Immediately I knew they believed history occurred ONLY in the textbook. When all was calm again, I asked the boy who had called me a rotten teacher, "Leland (not his right name), how old are you?" "Twenty-three," he answered. "Then you have twenty-three years of history inside (with emphasis) of you." I asked the girl who had been a maid her age. "Nineteen," she answered. Then I responded, "You have nineteen years of history inside of you." And so I went around the group, selecting pupils of all ages and making the same statement.

When I finished, a girl asked immediately, "How did the history get inside of us if we will not learn it?" "A good question," I replied, "You learned it by living with people--family, other children, friends--in this environment which is the town of Brewster. Each of you is his history. Your history is YOU, yourself, who you are."

The questions now came rapidly. Does each person have a different history than anyone else? Why are the children in our family NOT alike? Do people who live in other parts of the country have a different history inside them than we do? Do those who live in other countries have a different history also? Is it true that the Indians who lived here originally had a different history inside them than the settlers?

I jotted down most of the questions and suggested that they discuss them with other people. Jokingly I said, "With both friends and enemies since frequently they know more about you than your friends. We will begin tomorrow with what history is inside of us and how did it get there."

For the first time, each was interested and chatting with others as he left the classroom.

The next day a girl opened with this question to which I saw many heads nodding in agreement. "You said that each of us has a different history inside than anyone else. This history is who we are. It is ourselves. How did we get it?"

"Each of us has a different history inside for many reasons. First, we are born with different possibilities for growth which we cannot change but are our own great assets; second, we are reared in a different environment. Every child grows by taking in something from the environment. We all know he takes in food for physical growth. He also takes in feelings, attitudes, behavior of others toward him, whether they be other children or parents. You know that no two children in a home feel they are treated the same by anyone. From all of this each child takes in what he accepts to become a part of himself or his history. Third, each baby inherits a way or what is called a process of growing, or learning, which he cannot change so he must understand and use it. The same is true of any living thing--a tree, shrub, hay in a meadow, lilies in a pond, a kitten, puppy, calf, chicken--they use their way of growing by instinct which means they do not have to think about it. We can't do that. We must think about our way or process of growing in order to use it for our best self development."

"Let us look again at these three reasons why we are all different selves. First, we are born with different capacities for growing; second, we are not treated the same by people wherever we live; third, nobody helps us to understand and use our inherited way of growing up. Can you give some examples of how you have observed this in your lifetime? Forget my big words. Tell them as you see them."

For many succeeding days, we discussed why and how all people everywhere were different, in parts of the United States, in other countries. Suddenly a girl said, "I see now why we have a textbook. It has in it the history that was inside of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson." And so she went on, "I can now see why their history and not my ancestors' was written down." Now came a review of ancestors, what they had accomplished, and why their work was too localized to be in national history books ("You must do something which benefits ALL of the people in the United States").

As the discussion slowed, a boy asserted that the material in the history books is NOT what was inside the people; it is only what the writers think was inside of them. So now the argument ranged around "How can you tell the difference whether it was or not?" They jockeyed around on this, concluding it was not, but they did not know why or what difference it made.

I told them the difference was great and pointed out my experiences in college, the professors who judged me, put on record their estimate of my achievement by what they thought was inside of me, which was certainly not so. I had taken it in to pass their examinations and thrown it out as soon as I received a grade in the course. What remained inside of me was their lack of understanding of people. "I showed this same lack of understanding of you when I began teaching US History last fall."

I went on to explain the difference in viewpoint of a person who is living through any problem trying to reach a reasonable conclusion, and that of a person on the outside watching his behavior. "Only under the most favorable conditions will a person reveal how he really feels or what he thinks on the inside." Whereupon a few pupils replied, "Yes, we know, we feel the change in this class." I smiled and said, "I begin to feel different myself." A pupil now suggested that an outsider could write about what was inside of another only when he had left a diary telling how he felt or thought, but the writer must interpret it HIS way according to his self, so, much could be lost depending upon the writer. I agreed and pointed out how it usually was reinterpreted.

By now, December, January and February had passed. I pointed out that all life situations included some requirements, demands, restrictions within which we must work. We live in a society, or civilization, which has some rules and regulations or laws which everyone must follow. Massachusetts State law says you must study this required textbook to pass. If you fail US History, your high school diploma is endangered. The law does not say what you must KNOW; it only says you must STUDY, so each can self-select what is valuable to him. Now how do you wish to meet this requirement? They asked for time to think about this over the weekend. I made the further suggestion that they obtain other US History books to compare material on the same topic. We had no school library, only a bookcase with titles of little value. They assured me they could find other books.

On Monday everyone had so much to say that it took nearly half a period to locate a central topic. A boy found it when he said, "I feel different about history now than when we began. I know it is inside of me and how it got there. I must live with it and use it every day. I shall be happy to learn about the history which was inside the people who did so much for our country."

Immediately, the class selected these topics. First, The Revolution, the events leading up to it, how the Founding Fathers agreed on so many important things to do, why they guaranteed freedom in the Constitution and what it meant. Here I asked, "And how does it operate today?" Second, The Civil War, with causes and effects. The third was where are we now and where are we going? When they selected this one, one pupil laughed and said, "You said we used the history inside of us to make our future so we could use the history of the United States to tell us what is the future for our country." I complimented him on his insight and assured him that this was entirely possible but might take more time than we had available. And so we began the LEGAL study of US History after six months of the year had passed. But what a difference these six months had made.

Pupils researched every book available, read more than any teacher would dare to require. The discussions were focused, thoughtful, sincere. For the final examination, required by law, I asked them to write about the values they now saw in history and how they would use them for better self growth in the future. The two final periods were informal chats which enlightened me on how better to work with other classes in the future. They thanked me for helping them see the value of the history inside of them, and unanimously gave me the accolade of being a Good Teacher. End of teaching-learning episode. The teacher as counselor had not yet entered the educational arena.

Now some after-effects. The first question usually asked me is, "Where did you learn how to teach this way?" Immediately I reply, "Not from any course in methods of teaching or psychology of learning, as I never had either. Yet I was the only person at that time who knew how and had the courage to work this way." Where did I learn this? In my childhood years before I went to college. I was taught that each growing person MAKES the decisions which determine how he will grow. The real question is how does he make them, on what evidence and with what deliberation? I was also taught that growth is always UP. The only direction for a growing boy to go was UP. In those years I learned through firsthand experience the direction and deliberative process of growing UP. After the Brewster experience I researched both the life purpose and the process so as to convince openminded learners, educators or laymen.

That summer, 1913, I went to Hyannis Normal School to obtain credits in methods of teaching, to obtain a license to become Superintendent of Schools in Massachusetts. The Principal, "Billy" Baldwin suggested I read Dewey's The child and the curriculum, published in 1902. Here I learned that we had independently reached the same conclusion. The purpose of education was self-realization, as he called it. He gave little indication how to apply this in schools. He told me later at Teachers College, he had tried it with the traditional teachers in the University School of the University of Chicago where he was Professor of Philosophy but that it was an "impossible task," so he came to Columbia to specialize in Philosophical Theory, a more "possible task."

In the fall of 1913, I became Superintendent of Schools in Union District #20, which was Brewster, Dennis, Yarmouth on Cape Cod, followed by Marblehead and Amesbury, before entering Harvard for my Ed.D. degree. In each position I tried every reasonable way to introduce education for self realization, even demonstrating how to do it on invitation from interested classroom teachers.

My next classroom teaching began in the fall of 1922 as an Associate Professor of Education at the University of Colorado. There I continued to use and advocate to others--colleagues, school teachers and parents--student self development by his normal biological process of learning as the purpose of education. My life work had been to help children, pupils, college students, adults of all ages activate their growth process so as to overcome the arrested development which the traditional family and school imposes on everyone from childhood through the college years.

Reflections on Doing a Form of Curriculum History

By William H. Schubert, University of Illinois at Chicago

I am honored to be able to present some reflections on my book, Curriculum books: The first eighty years (1980) to you. It is indeed strange to be reflecting on a book that will not be off the press for a few months. But such is the work of publishing.

I completed writing the book nearly two years ago. The first few months after I completed the writing were spent learning that many publishers did not want curriculum books; some didn't even want books on education; and most saw no market for educational history and especially for curriculum history. Clearly, there is much work to be done (by groups such as the Society for the Study of Curriculum History) to enable both educational practitioners and scholars alike to realize the worth of curriculum history. What makes this more difficult is the fact that I am hard pressed to think of another group such as ours. This obviously augments our responsibility to demonstrate the usefulness of doing curriculum history.

Since Curriculum books: The first eighty years is not yet available, my reflections will be preceded by a brief sketch of the nature and format of the book. Essentially, it is an historical portrayal of the emergence of the curriculum field through an overview and characterization of its books, 1900-1979. Following a preface and introduction that addresses how the book developed, criteria of selections, and my conceptual orientation to curriculum studies, I provide eight chapters that parallel the first eight decades of the twentieth century. Each of these chapters is divided into three parts. (1) In the first part, "contextual reminders" refresh readers' minds about major political, scientific, technological, artistic, and intellectual events of the decade. Trial use of chapter material with graduate students indicated that students perceived benefit from these reminders. While seasoned scholars might not need such contextual reminders, the book is intended for both introducing graduate students to the history of the curriculum field and as a resource for scholars. (2) The second part of each chapter is the primary substantive contribution intended in the book. It is a discussion of major curriculum books, authors, and trends in curriculum thought during the decade. As such, it must be an interpretation, but it is one that strives for balance and fairness to different kinds of contributions to the curriculum literature. (3) Each chapter concludes with a bibliography of curriculum books published in the decade. Combined with a 35 page index, this centralization of references is intended to be a useful bibliography for researchers as well as for novices who are beginning to find their way around in the curriculum field.

Across the eight decades, 1138 books are cited. The final chapter in the book presents some observations and recommendations that emerged as I reflected on central ideas in eighty years of curriculum books and the network of scholars who produced them.

What I want to do today is to share reflections that have occurred to me during the time elapsed since completing the manuscript and the present. What do I feel I have learned from my attempt to do this kind of curriculum history?

1. I learned that it is possible to compile a rather comprehensive bibliography of curriculum books, and that it is no mean task to do so. I am convinced that such a listing can be of assistance to curriculum scholarship. To have access to a bibliography that contains more than 1100 citations to curriculum books that span an eighty year period surely enables the work of curriculum scholars to be more efficient. I suggest that dissertations, journal articles, research reports, and non-English sources also be made available. The increased capability of storage and retrieval systems makes this a more feasible possibility than it has been in the past.

2. I learned that it is interesting to juxtapose the events of a decade with curriculum books of the same time period in an effort to investigate patterns of emphasis, connections, and other similarities. While it is an admirable and worthy goal to offer explanations of developments in curriculum literature by referring to historical events, it is indeed difficult to do so defensibly. Analysis of this kind is highly complex, especially when considering an eighty year duration, and it requires historical skills and insights that those who concentrate study on curriculum are less likely to acquire than those whose study focuses more directly on history. Having been prepared in curriculum, not history, I deemed it desirable to at least present readers with concise reminders of major historical events to reflect upon as they peruse the curriculum commentary sections and bibliographies. My decision to include this in the presentation of each chapter is in itself a suggestion that connections between social context and curriculum thought should be explored. It follows that curriculum students need greater expertise in historical methodologies, perhaps of the magnitude that they are now expected to acquire in skills of statistical analysis. While it is easy to suggest that curriculum scholars could profit from greater historical expertise, the development of such capabilities would unrealistically require the pursuit of another doctorate for students of curriculum. Furthermore, it does not suffice to suggest that historians do curriculum history, for they lack knowledge and experience in the curriculum domain. Perhaps, then, a more reasonable suggestion is that we need to investigate a kind of disciplined inquiry in which both curriculum scholars and historians partake.

3. I have quite steadfastly concluded that the curriculum heritage is indeed rich, an overriding characteristic that makes it very difficult to pigeonhole curriculum scholars into invariant modes or categories. In their texts and articles major curriculum writers of the past often expressed a wealth of varied experience and knowledge that ahistorical critics fail to perceive. This variety of experience and knowledge is obvious from even a cursory review of the topics, sources, arguments, and applications that these authors set forth.Hasty categorization often encourages the view that the work of these authors fails to provide worthy alternatives. Today, this viewpoint seems to be less the exception than the rule. Many early curriculum scholars clearly explored alternative epistemological bases for curriculum inquiry, dealt with the cultural and political climate that surrounds curriculum implementation, exerted thoughtful proposals for practice, and addressed ethical dimensions of curriculum inquiry. This does not mean that I suggest that the early scholars of our field be unconditionally revered and emulated. It is necessary to criticize, augment, and sometimes reject aspects of this early work, but these efforts must be built upon carefully researched interpretations. Thus, the propensity to categorize curriculum thought, as useful as it may be, should be done with considerable caution that accounts for variations in the situational character of different times and social conditions.

4. I found the relation between educational theory and practice to be illuminated by the study of curriculum literature. In a recent *Educational Researcher* (1980) I argued for the need to develop a kind of educational research that is *practical* to complement the *theoretic*, to use Schwab's language (1969). The critique of the theoretic inquiry mode seems less applicable to curriculum scholarship than it is to educational research in general. There seems to be a distinct practical tendency among curriculum writers of the past (particularly Dewey) to perceive problem sources not only as conceptual but situational, to view the subject matter of inquiry as specifics as well as universals, to use interaction as well as induction as methods of inquiry, and to seek ends that represent both general knowledge and decisions for action. The practical outgrowths of historical curriculum inquiry, are much more difficult to document then the theoretic. Nevertheless, I suggest that efforts to disclose them would, indeed, be illuminating.

5. As I explored roots of curriculum scholarship I became increasingly convinced that specialization brought some rather heavy costs along with benefits. It is not novel to assert that curriculum emerged as a separate area of educational inquiry, in the early 1900s, largely to serve the growth of universal schooling. With specialization came increased capability in the kind of systematized analysis that augmented design and development. Simultaneously, however, as detached analysis and objectivity were granted preeminent value, the kinds and qualities of curricular advocacy exemplified in the context of writings by philosophers, literary figures, and general educational theorists declined in curriculum writings. Since specialization, it is difficult to find curriculum books

that prescribe a form of curriculum situated amid the tragedies, comedies, predicaments, and glories of human experience, or that is offered as a central thread of utopian schemes that serve to illustrate a better life. I suggest that curriculum scholars search for ways to retain the benefits of improved curriculum design and development, and at the same time wholeheartedly contribute to the human search for meaning and goodness amid life's great expenditure of specialization. Specialization can provide a competent delivery system, but defensible curriculum scholarship must not neglect the responsibility to recommend worthwhile substance for delivery, i.e., curriculum scholars must advocate contributions for human growth. Precedent for this, as well as for specialization, can be found in the richness of curriculum history.

6. The focus of curriculum scholarship rather exclusively centers on schooling; this is a tendency that obscures the potential importance that such scholarship offers non-school educative settings. Might it not be profitable to apply the tools and insights of curriculum development, design, evaluation, and theory to the teaching and learning that takes place in homes, peer groups, non-school organizations, media, and work places? If greater knowledge about the curricula implicit in non-school educative environments can be generated, we will know more about the perspectives or orientations of students who come to schools. Thus, we will be in better position to shape curricula that are built upon student needs and interests--curricula that we can more defensibly advocate for schools. Of at least equal importance, curriculum inquiry into non-school education might provide new insights that could help renew the education that occurs in such environments themselves.

7. Despite the rather vast lack of agreement among curriculum scholars on many issues, one point of accordance rings clear among the pages of most curriculum books; namely, curriculum scholars express steadfast desire to ask: What should students in particular, and humankind in general, know, feel, and do? Why would it profit them to acquire these things? What do they currently know, feel, and do? What kinds and qualities of experiences can help them develop in more desirable directions? How can "desirable directions" be determined? How can they be defined and recognized?

Eighty years of effort to answer these and related questions is charted in more than 1100 books by curriculum scholars and practitioners. It is incumbent upon current and future curriculum scholars and practitioners to know the heritage of the curriculum field, and to build upon, criticize, and reveal that heritage. Moreover, it is not only curriculum scholars and practitioners who should be encouraged to ask these questions, but the public and students themselves. As Professor Hopkins has so emphatically articulated today: We must enable students and all who are connected with the educative process to seriously reflect on the curriculum history that is within them, that has forged their lives, and that might fashion their futures. The Society for the Study of Curriculum History offers much promise for work of this kind, and we should take seriously the responsibility to promote it.

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The Growth of the Concept of Curriculum as Evidenced by Two Early Content Specific Education Journals

1909-1927

By Murry R. Nelson, Pennsylvania State University and H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo

This study seeks to broaden the intellectual base offered in Nelson and Singleton's examination of the need for curriculum journals in the period 1920-1940 (Nelson & Singleton, 1980). This base will be strengthened by examining the philosophical entity rather than just a physical course of study. Education journals from the 19th Century have been scrutinized to determine what educational issues were prevalent at that time and where curriculum fits into those issues.

Curriculum journals emerged as separate entities during the 1920's. The focus of the two most noted of these journals, Curriculum Journal and Educational Method, was discussed by Nelson and Singleton in 1980. The question raised in this paper is "how was curriculum addressed and recognized in 19th Century journals and what conditions in the early 20th Century seem to lead to a need for separate journals focusing on curriculum?"

Two such early journals which arose at approximately the same time (1909) were Mathematics Teacher and History Teacher's Magazine (later Historical Outlook and The Social Studies). These journals covered two different, yet vital, parts of the school curriculum and this study delves into the manner in which curriculum was recognized and dissected in these journals from their inception until 1928. The reason for 1928 is that by then a number of seminal curriculum works had been produced, most notably the 26th NSSE Yearbook. The early issues of the two journals provide an opportunity for consideration of early conceptions of curriculum by or for teachers, something yearbooks or professional books cannot necessarily claim. The result sheds additional light on the later conceptual ideas of curriculum raised in Curriculum Journal and later educational periodicals.

Early Attention to Curriculum

Early journals contained many insightful views on teaching method as a part of curriculum but almost no recognition was given to curriculum as a concept. One early exception to the statement appeared in the American Journal of Education in 1856. In an article "On Improvements Practicable in American Colleges," F. A. F. Barnard stated:

> The necessity of a curriculum is one which grows out of the nature of things...These things must be matters of previous regulation and adjustment. However they may be made, they must end in the creation of a curriculum of study.

Though this is close to a simple course of study definition, it seems to go further than mere "cookbook" recommendations. This, however, was unusual. Most educational journals focused on other subjects, most popular of which was foreign education (Davis, 1919).

The function of these early journals of education was not specialized; they were most concerned with simply promoting education.

For example, the Education Reporter and Weekly Lyceum (1830) noted that its purpose was "to promote popular or general education in the most familiar, direct and practical manner" (Davis, 1919). Other journals of the time such as the Monthly Journal of Education, the Eclectic Institute of Education, and the Ohio State Journal voiced similar aspirations.

It should be noted that the journals recognized that teachers might look to such publications for help in their classrooms. The help was to be philosophical, however, not "teacher tips for the classroom." Sabin wrote in the Iowa School Journal that he believed

(Davis, 1919)

> that the custom of filling a school journal with methods and devices, cut and dried, all ready for school use, is not calculated to make strong, independent teachers. It savors too much of the labor saving device of living in a flat and having meals sent in from a common kitchen. The power to think, to originate, to adapt to the present work of the school, is the surest criterion of a good teacher; but this power is not acquired by wearing the misfit garments of some other person, not by fighting the battles of David in the armor of Saul.

An issue of the Nebraska Teacher (1898) echoed this (Davis, 1919):

> Some teachers feel 'above' educational periodicals, others want amusement, so there are many shallow crude journals. The most commonly alleged demand from teachers, however, seems to come from ill-qualified persons who persistently ask for something 'practical'--material directly, usable to the school room.

As more general needs were met through these early journals, they became more specialized and more widely read. Part of the reason for the increased readership was the state support of educational journals and the fact that points were added to the exam scores of teachers who took professional journals. This procedure was followed in Indiana, North Carolina, and Virginia where points were subtracted for those who did not take such journals.

Suggestions for learning that affected curricular practices like these found in Barnard's article occasionally emerged; e.g., note these caveats on principles of the curriculum of study (Barnard, 1856):

1. It should embrace the numbers and variety of studies properly disciplined and the amount of each, which is necessary to an adequately thorough intellectual training.
2. It should not embrace more than can be well and completely mastered within a period of time over which it is spread.
3. It may embrace other studies, chosen simply for their value as subjects of knowledge.

This attention, as noted above, was exceptional, but by the turn of the century many teachers of curricular disciplines had allied themselves into loose professional organizations, usually on a regional basis. Such groups were begun by history teachers, science teachers, English teachers, and mathematics teachers.

Mathematics Teacher

Focus on Curriculum

A number of mathematics groups allied in the 1880's and the 1890's including the Association of Teachers of Mathematics of the Middle States and Maryland. As early as 1905, the group published for its members an annual journal addressing itself to mathematics teaching. In 1909 the Association decided to expand this journal, Mathematics Teacher to a quarterly and the first issue under this new format appeared in September, 1909. Almost all of the articles in the first volumes were papers that had been presented at various "Section" meetings of the Association such as the Southern section, the Syracuse section, the Philadelphia section, et al., or at the other regional association meetings such as the Association of Mathematical Teachers in New England.

The growth in new journals from the disciplines brought forth few articles that reflect deliberation on the curriculum. Curriculum was still basically the course of study and involved little philosophical analysis of what curriculum or the school would or could be. Most of the articles dealt with problems of mathematical content. There were exceptions, of course, and it was these exceptions that gave eventual rise, we believe, to the natural development of a need for journals on curriculum and teaching method.

An early article by Issac J. Schwatt of the University of Pennsylvania recognized "two markedly differing tendencies in educational methods" which continued to arise over the next twenty years (Schwatt, 1910).

> One (method) is to carry on instruction in such a manner as to make the knowledge gained appear practical; to supply the pupil with such information as, it is assumed, he can actually use in the ordinary pursuits of life. The other tendency is to emphasize the cultural value of knowledge with little regard to its utilitarian purpose.

These views correspond, of course, most closely with what the Tanners refer to as experimentalism and either essentialism or perennialism (we do not have enough information to say conclusively which one). Schwatt goes on to lament the decided lack of emphasis in mathematics on the improvement of society which seems to identify him with the experimentalist/social reconstructionist camp (which had not really galvanized as of 1910). Schwatt, however, also notes that if the purpose of the study of any mathematical discipline is not the development of the mind, then he feels that "the study of mathematics be eliminated from the secondary school."

These latter comments are really the rhetoric of a blustery essentialist as Schwatt goes on to note:

> Since the school cannot teach all the subjects which may be useful or interesting in life, it must select those which will serve best the true purposes of education, which will awaken, develop and strengthen those qualities which we all must possess, and power of mind...For the curriculum such subjects must be selected as, blended together, will afford the best means for the development of character and mind.
>
> If a selection of subjects is advisable, the courses which in the secondary school or in the college the student ought to choose, must not be those for which he is best fitted, or which he can easily learn, or for which he has a taste and inclination, but thev must be such as will develop in him those desirable faculties which he lacks, or those qualities of mind which in him are less strong than others.

Schwatt's article continued in the next issue of the journal where he proposes the notion of a tracked curriculum in mathematics, one general and one academic (Schwatt, 1910).

> There ought to be a difference in the kind of mathematics taught those who study the subject for cultural purposes only, and those who have to apply it.

Schwatt ended his lengthy examination of the mathematics curriculum by pronouncing once again his essentialist view of the purposes of education and curriculum. "The development of the moral and intellectual powers of the individual should be the principal aim of education" (1910b). Ultimately, of course, this leads to better citizenship which is the goal of all curricular theorists, even the perennialist and romantic naturalists.

Professor Schwatt obviously aroused a great deal of interest with his comments at the New England meeting and, at a similar meeting in Philadelphia, he broadened his view in an address, "Is the average secondary school pupil able to acquire a thorough knowledge of all mathematics ordinarily given in these schools?" This address was commented upon by a number of other educators and the entire presentation appeared in Mathematics Teacher.

In this article Schwatt notes that curriculum is more than courses of study and begins to lay the foundation for a deeper consideration of curriculum making, at least in mathematics. The prescribed courses for all students seem unsatisfactory to him and he reasons that "the curriculum is a compromise between the different branches of learning and hence is necessarily, to say the least, a make shift." "...Ideas," he noted, "should be presented developmentally and repeated for mastery" (Schwatt, 1910c). Indeed, he went on to lament the lack of articulation in the mathematics curriculum, something all subjects of the time lacked. "Schools which teach all of the four branches (of mathematics) are teaching as far as the pupil is concerned, four different subjects, as different as four different languages" (Schwatt, 1910C). To alter this deficiency, Schwatt suggests a common essentialist balm, drill and practice.

E. B. Ziegler fundamentally agreed with Schwatt, but saw the responsibility for a sensible curriculum resting with the teacher who should eliminate "certain subject matter--the non-essentials" (Ziegler, 1911).

Smith's comments were interesting because of their timeliness (Smith, 1911).

> One of the causes contributing to this danger from distractions is the weakness of too many of the American parents, which results in a deplorable lack of cooperation with the school...What the parent is unable to do, the omnipotent teacher has forced upon him.

Schwatt's division of the math curriculum into two camps was echoed in 1911 by J. T. Rorer of the William Penn High School for girls in Philadelphia. Rorer made note of the danger of easy acceptance of tradition in the curriculum after making a scientific argument for math's inclusion in the curriculum (responding to a few radical agitators). "We are so accustomed to our traditional order," Rorer warned, "that few of us conceive that other orders of presentation are possible" (Rorer, 1911).

Prevalent curriculum arguments often focused on a justification for mathematics in the secondary curriculum. Awash in that argument, few educators could deal with restricting the math curriculum, but that was occasionally attempted. In response to an assertion by Fisher in Science that colleges and universities should lead the way in solving secondary school problems in the fashion of 1892 and the committee of ten, Betz (1913) remarked:

> The high school should travel its own road irrespective of the college. Such declarations of independence have already been issued by teachers of English, of foreign languages, history, science and other high school subjects.

Betz further looked askance at the democratization function of the school, "It is an open secret that our present policy of extending every educational opportunity to the masses has brought about a further lowering of standards" (Betz, 1913). Betz felt that greater efficiency should dictate the adoption of a six-year curriculum which would facilitate a return to basics. Thus a junior high program should also be developed to coordinate with the curriculum of the high school. This should be coupled, he thought, with a better preparation of pupils and teachers (Betz, 1913).

The reorganization of the math curriculum was also the subject of an article by Arthur Pitcher of Dartmouth College, not long afterwards. Pitcher proposed six separate purposes for mathematics in the curriculum: 1) training in logic, 2) historical, 3) aesthetic (unique elements of beauty), 4) character building, 5) aid to understanding science, and 6) utilitarian value.

Pitcher then recognized the need and emerging existence of curriculum makers in education.

> But how shall we proceed in the matter of improvement of the curriculum. We must depend upon the school of education in the larger universities where educational experts, with the cooperation of skilled teachers, can experiment under proper conditions with new methods and new materials which seem to be more desirable than those in current use (Pitcher, 1915).

This dual recognition of a junior high school and curriculum as a field of expertise provided the rationale for a number of curriculum articles over the next years in Mathematics Teacher. As has been noted elsewhere, the junior high school seems to have been a distinctly American educational innovation (Nelson, 1974) and shows no indication of being, as one writer put it, "an illogical result of our present political status, that Slavish worship of German models, which has for a quarter century past characterized our educational theory" (Webb, 1917).

Junior High School Influence

The emergence of the junior high school brought a concern in all subject areas that there be a unique curriculum for the junior high "in accordance with known principles of learning" (Schorling & Clark, 1921). The creation of a junior high curriculum aided in the examination over all of the need for a philosophy of curriculum. Schorling and Clark, both at Lincoln School, Teachers College, reflected the curricular concern of their Lincoln School colleague in noting that what was needed was a "series of researcher and investigations designed to determine a body of curriculum material which can be defended on a basis of social worth" (Schorling & Clark, 1921). This comment and the Schorling and Clark article were significant because they represent a break from the almost monolithic essentialist point of view which retarded, at least somewhat, the growth of specific workers in curriculum making in mathematics. As the field widened to more diverse views of the mathematics curriculum, a greater need arose from the broader re-examination of the curriculum, rather than mere tinkering.

Another Teachers college professor, Percival Symonds of the Institute of Educational Research also reflected the broader point of view of curriculum (Symonds, 1921).

> The curriculum of future must find its justification in the needs existing in society. Those who will determine the curriculum will be men of extensive vision who can feel the pulse of social needs. The so-called subject matter specialist, by the very nature of his specialization, is not in a position to settle the place of his subject in the curriculum--but once the sociologist determines tnat any subject should be found in the curriculum and specifies the objectives that should govern it, then it is the place of the subject matter specialist to arrange the subject matter and the methods of teaching.

The sentiment was very much like that of Harold Rugg whose 1924 article broadened and developed this notion.

Educational method in mathematics grew in interest aided by the National Conference on Educational Method whose journal first appeared in September, 1921 and by an article applying method to mathematics in the January, 1922 Mathematics Teacher by William Heard Kilpatrick.

By 1921 the expanded concerns for curriculum and method had led naturally to the beginning of Educational Method mentioned above and discussed by Nelson and Singleton (1980). A specific curriculum journal had not yet begun but curricular concerns were growing and becoming much more articulate in their examination of the curriculum.

The essentialist view was broadened by more general education concerns reflected in a series of articles on the cultural value of mathematics. Some were scholarly pieces which sought to link mathematics and the curriculum for the student so that there might be (Kane, 1922):

> improvement or refinement of his mind, his morals, his tastes, and all his physical faculties to the end that he may better fulfill his mission on Earth by more freely discharging his duties to his fellow creatures, to himself and to his creator.

Some of these pieces, however, bordered on the ridiculous ratner than the sublime. Howarth's article was almost wholly a reprint of a high school student's story of personified subjects like Mr. Trigonometry, Mr. Latin, Mr. Geometry, et al.

Influence of Mathematicians and Curriculum Theorists

It should be noted at this point that the rising concern with professionalism mentioned earlier had caused many disciplines to seek national bodies in their field. Following the lead of the National Council of Teachers of English, a number of regional mathematics groups met in Cleveland in February of 1920 and agreed to form the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics. (Harold Rugg who also aided in the foundation of National Council for the Social Studies was elected first vice president of NCTM.) Scouting about for a journal, the NCTM leaders hit upon taking over Mathematics Teacher and the ATM group in the Middle States agreed to transfer control to the new national group as of January, 1921. At tnat point the journal went from a quarterly to a school year monthly. Seven years later, NCTM adopted Mathematics Teacher as its official publication.

During this period, then different sectors of education grew more specialized and "professionalized." Curriculum became more commonly recognized as a field of thought and practice. The application of curricular thought was of concern to most disciplines and mathematics was no exception. Betz's article in the December, 1923 Mathematics Teacher focused on this idea. Betz used recent curricular theories "to ascertain what should be taught in mathematics." "The quantitative aspect of each school subject is being adjusted in accordance with new criteria of selection" (Betz, 1913).

This particular article drew heavily on the curriculum-making work of Franklin Bobbitt, David Snedden, and W. W. Charters, but notes that there are defects in all their works since, "We must have positive criteria of curriculum building that will function not merely in a few highly favored institutions but also in our crowded city schools." Betz then goes on to offer an assertion tnat indicates a broader view of the curriculum than that offered by Schwatt in 1910. "The content of a curriculum will seem real to a pupil only if he can interpret new materials by means of bonds already existing in his mind" (Betz, 1923).

In 1924 the most significant curriculum article published in Mathematics Teacher up to that time appeared. Although it focused on mathematics to a degree, Harold Rugg's "Curriculum-making--What shall constitute the procedure of national committees?" was applicable to the entire field of curriculum.

Rugg began by focusing on the National Committee of Mathematical Requirements which he saw as having needed two types of "expert service" (Rugg, 1924):

> In the order in which they could be utilized they were (1) that of specialists in curriculum making, that is specialists trained in the study of intelligence and pupils' interests, in the study of social needs and in the analysis of leaning, (2) that of teachers of mathematics in colleges an secondary schools who were trained in the subject matter and were sensitive to the temper of teachers and the needs of the classroom...both are indispensable in the proper organization of any department of school work.

The National Committee, Rugg noted, employed only the second type of service, omitting the curriculum professional reacting to recent complaints of "educationists" interjecting themselves into a disciplinary area by making a course of study. Rugg shifted the burden by asserting (Rugg, 1924):

> it is the specialists in subject-matter who are out of their proper territory when then attempt to do the fundamental work underlying

> the making of curriculum, not the students of the science of education. Curriculum-making is rapidly becoming a specialized technical field of work, success in which requires...definite training and experience in the use of scientific tools of education-namely, objective analysis, measurement, statistical methods, and the techniques of experimentation.

Thus Rugg more clearly and forcefully than any previous writer in Mathematics Teacher called for the science of curriculum-making (although Schorling and Clark and Symonds had pointed in that direction in 1921). Rugg reiterated his programmatic functions for national committees that he admittedly had preferred before (in at least three other journals). Those functions were 1) deliberation, 2) organization of research needs, and 3) clearing house and forum. Rugg's suggestions did not stimulate noticeable response in the journal, but the mere inclusion of the article shows the broadening concern with curriculum as a field of study.

Little of a direct curricular nature appeared until a 1927 open letter to Franklin Bobbitt by a Chicago principal disagreeing with points made by Bobbitt concerning mathematics in How to make a curriculum.

The next year an article by a Detroit high school teacher stated that "is has become a truism to say that the school should fit the child rather than that the child should fit the school" (Beck, 1928).

The broader concern with learning environment and the curriculum was expressed by Joseph Jablonower (1928), mathematics department head at the Ethical Culture School in New York City. He noted that :

> It is now generally known that merely imparting information is not teaching and mere receiving of it is not learning. There must be favorable learning conditions which will bring about a mind-set in the pupil, an active attitude in which his whole being is enlisted. The act must have purpose which is the pupil's purpose...

This lauding of the project method of Kilpatrick also echoed some of the curriculum suggestions of Harold Rugg. "We see that the Project Method demands of the teacher that he organize his material shrewdly into gripping problem material..." (Jablonower, 1928). The bulk of this article was on learning and the curriculum with math merely a vehicle toward that intellectual end.

Curriculum redesign generally, not just in mathematics, also was of concern to Detroit high school teacher, William Edwards who noted the critical need for the neglected fourth dimension in curriculum, testing. In comments reminiscent of recent curriculum evaluators, Edward expressed a need for both summative and formative evaluation, "testing for mastery of skills" (Edwards, 1929).

By this time, of course, the 26th NSSE Yearbook had been published as well as works by Rugg, Bobbitt, Charters, et al., on curriculum construction. The need for a journal or journals focusing on this was becoming more evident. An article by Gertrude Jones of the high school in Lincoln, Nebraska illustrates the need for more specific curriculum attention and reflected the view of the social reconstructionists at Teachers College like Rugg, Thomas Briggs and Ros Clark (Jones, 1929):

> At present, educators everywhere are riding the wave of curriculum reconstruction ...Professor Briggs calls the curriculum problem fundamental in education since its content determines the organization of the school, the types of buildings, the method used, and the value of the school to the community.

Jones went on to propose local committees to apply the work of national committees. "On such a committee should be represented the expert in curriculum building, the administrative staff, and experienced teachers of mathematics in elementary school, junior high school, senior high school and college" (Jones, 1929).

The History Teacher's Magazine

Early Directions

In a letter to the editor titled "The field of the magazine," Andrew C. McLaughlin, Head of the History Department, University of Chicago, indicated the concern held by many historians regarding the lack of direction in developing a sequenced curriculum for secondary schools. McLaughlin suggested that The History Teacher's Magazine become a forum for discussion and exchange of opinions as he indicated:

> We are in special need of helpful discussion because we are still considering the elementary phases of our profession; we are not confident of the curriculum; we have no clear common opinion as to the purpose and end of historical instruction; we are pondering dubiously the problems that have long since been solved for other studies in the program.

In his charge to the fledgling journal, McLaughlin wrote, "Our task, then is to get and to give all the educational value of history; and experience proves that the task is a heavy one. We all hope that the new journal will help us lift the load and carry it" (1909). True to their word regarding the purposes of the journal, the editors attempted to provide opportunities for various individuals and groups to air their views regarding some of the issues of the day.

One of the most interesting issues involved in the direction in which the teaching of history should take. On the one hand were those individuals who attempted conscientiously to follow the recommendations of the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven as they focused on sequencing history offerings through four years of high school. Philosophically, the essentialist position was one of maintaining the traditional courses in history but introducing the subject at an earlier age. The essentialist group was made up mostly of members of the American Historical Association and some teaching practitioners in the schools. Their aim was to "push down" the history offerings in the curriculum in order to cover more history before the students went on to college. The essentialists felt strongly that history was the subject of greatest importance for developing the mind and encouraging successful citizenship.

On the other hand, such reconstructionists as Robinson and Beard sought to develop a curriculum in which history was taught in what the authors considered to be a relevant, practical approach. This group emerged mainly from within the American Historical Association and some leaders among public school educators. While the reconstructionists advocated the teaching of history, they felt strongly that societal problems needed to be examined in the curriculum as well. The reconstructionists advocated an eclectic approach in which the student studied about society from several different points of view.

The debates between the essentialists and the reconstructionists became a major portion of The History Teacher's Magazine through the ensuing twenty years. The journal soon became a forum for each side to state its position. Even though the journal's bias showed from time to time in favor of essentialists, the editors were responsive to the point of view of the reconstructionists and afforded them some space and attention. Just as the Mathematics Teacher sought a concept of curriculum, The History Teacher's Magazine dealt with methodology and placement of courses. Much of the dialogue in the pages of the journal was devoted to reporting on several national curriculum committees or providing guidelines for implementing the committee recommendations.

Classroom teachers and school administrators were caught in a dilemma over how to adhere to the ever-changing list of recommendations. The situation is described by Boozer in summarizing the work of the eleven American Historical Association committees on the curriculum between 1896 and 1953.

> The variations in the names of these committees have reflected the changes of emphasis in the school social studies curriculum: Beginning with the Committee on the Study of History in schools, there followed in due course the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the schools, the Commission on the Social Studies, and finally the Committee on Teaching. The journal for teachers of history and the social studies, with which the Association has been involved in varying degrees since 1911, in its titles has also reflected the changed emphasis over the years: The History Teacher's Magazine (1909), The Historical Outlook (1918), the Social Studies (1934), and (since 1937) Social Education (Boozer, 1960).

The report of the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association dominated the discussions among historians during the 1890's and the first decades of the Twentieth Century. The committee of Seven called for the high school curriculum to consist of ancient history in the first year, medieval and modern history in the second year, English history in the third year, and American history and civil government in the fourth year (McLaughlin, 1899).

From its inception in 1909, The History Teacher's Magazine was the information outlet for the American Historical Association. In fact, in 1910 when the journal was about to cease publication due to a lack of subscriptions, the AHA offered financial and editorial support in order to keep the journal alive. However, the journal made a concerted effort to publicize representative points of view regarding most major issues. The editors actively sought contributions from professional historians and practitioners in order to provide the readership with a well-rounded approach to issues, new ideas and development of the day. Each monthly issue of the History Teacher's Magazine followed the same general format including several feature articles which dealt with methodology, available resources, or some similar vein, followed by an editorial which generally addressed an issue of the day. There were a series of regular contributions which consisted of brief articles describing ideas related to each of the various history offerings in the schools. While much of the attention of the journal was focused on secondary education each issue did contain at least one article which dealt with elementary school offerings in history. Finally, each issue contained a section known as "Reports from the historical field" and some brief correspondence.

In the December, 1909 issue of the journal the editors, in an attempt to recruit new readers, issued a statement regarding the intended purposes of the journal. The editors indicated that they had acted "upon the belief that the time was right for such a publication." They believed that, "the awakening consciousness of history teachers" needed a national spokesman. They felt that, "the renaissance in history teaching, already showing itself in many schools, in a few books on methods, and in the activities of teachers associations, should be presented to a wider constituency." Further, the editors hoped to make the journal "the forum for the discussion of current professional problems." Occasionally the frustrations of dealing with the curriculum surfaced in the pages of the journal as one wag indicated that an Idaho cow puncher defined life as "just damn thing after another...It has also been pointed out that this is the best definition of history, as all too often taught and written" (Bowman, 1910).

History teachers had become saturated with committee reports indicating what ought to be contained in the curriculum which gave rise to a call for more attention to methodology. This prompted the editors to comment on the issue of teaching topically. In an open-letter format the editors of The History Teacher's Magazine addressed this issue and compared the history curriculum to the English curriculum. The editors indicated that the English curriculum had converted to topics which brought about a great deal of success as it permitted students and teachers to concentrate on periods of time and decreased the amount of detail to be covered (February, 1910).

The journal began to devote increased attention to the new reconstructionists as the members of the AHA debated the issue of relevancy in the curriculum. In reporting on one of the AHA conventions the editor of "reports from the historical field," a regular feature of the journal indicated:

> A phase of history somewhat new to some of those present was shown upon a number of occasions during the meetings. It was the emphasis upon the practical value of history; its use in interpreting the present, and its worth as a forecast of the future. Probably at no other meeting of the Association has this attitude been presented so strongly. It was evident in practically all the addresses made at the large public meeting in Carnegie Hall, particularly in that of Governor Hughes; it was shown again in the presidential address of professor Dewey and in that of President Lowe; and it was frequently expressed in the smaller conferences. The old reading and writing of history for its own sake gives place under this new practice to a conscious endeavor to use the facts of history in society of today (Cushing, 1910).

The issues espoused by the reconstructionists were to be bandied in the pages of the journal for the next twenty years as historians and practitioners alike sought a means of developing a meaningful philosophy of curriculum thought.

Professionalizing the Field

The difficulties of implementing a recommended curriculum change were emphasized in the journal. One indication of the difficulty was expressed by James Sullivan who was a member of the Committee of Five of the American Historical association. Sullivan commented

> in most parts of the country the course of four fields recommended by the Committee of Seven caused greater trouble than in New York City. In the latter, three courses...were absolutely required for a diploma, but in very many places the four fields were all given as options from which the student might choose. After the student had made up his schedule of languages, mathematics, English and the sciences, he "filled in" with history. This method, judging by the stated experience of teachers was far worse than the old general history course which the Committee of Seven had so thoroughly and justly condemned (1911).

A statement originally appearing in the journal The Nation was repeated in The History Teacher's Magazine, in which it was said,

> History, in spite of all the zealous discussion of its pedagogical conditions, is still one of the most carelessly and indifferently taught subjects and one of the least intellectual value in the secondary school curriculum (1911).

The editors of the History Teacher's Magazine tended to agree with the criticism and indicated that, in fact, while the content of history courses might be reliable, the methodology deserved some attention. One cause of the dilemma the editors argued, was that the subject matter itself contained too much emphasis on factual information. The editors indicated:

> No one would ever think of memorizing the figures and details given in the problems of a book on mathematics; nor would a teacher dare require the memoriter recitation of the exercises in a language book; yet in a history text containing several times the amount of printed matter found in a language or mathematical work, the pupil is expected to know the facts given in any one or in all the sentences or paragraphs of the book.

The editors indicated further that:

> ...The aim is not to acquire a large content but to learn a method, a habit, a mode of reaction, a rule by which a great many facts may be grouped together and judged..we do not deny the existence of a philosophy of history, or even of a science of history, but we do mean to say that history by the very nature of its subject matter presents a far greater number of discrete facts to the pupils' observation than any other major subject in the curriculum.

In recommending ways to improve the situation, the editors admonished the principal to: "realize that history adds no element of strength to his curriculum unless it is well taught; better that he should omit it altogether." The editors also blamed administrators for lack of attention to the teaching of history.

> These administrative officials are accustomed to assign the teaching of history to any unemployed teacher, or to some unoccupied part of the day's routine of studies and, when it comes to arranging for teacher's meetings they often ignore the subject in which teachers most need encouragement, and in which teachers can get the most assistance from a discussion of up-to-date methods.

The missionary zeal with which the editors sought to professionalize the teaching of history was not reserved for administrators alone. The editors criticized the organizers of education associations for not granting history a prominent place on their agendas:

> History has not received the attention at recent sessions of teacher's associations throughout the country, which it deserved. As one of the principal subjects of the elementary and secondary school curricula, it is entitled to as distinct a place in their meetings as arithmetic, geography, or grammar, in the elementary school program; and the classics, English, mathematics, foreign languages, or even the ubiquitous vocational works in the secondary school program.

In an article titled "The certification of teachers in the high school, with reference to certification in history," Snedden (1912) asked the question, "Why should one be certificated in history?" He then responded with a discourse on the broader question of why one should even teach history. Snedden said:

> When you say you teach history in order that he may know history you are setting up a definite goal. But when I ask you why should he know history, no one has told us. We do not know. We do not know why he should know some history, and until we do know, and until we can formulate our purposes, our methods and courses will be very lame and halting. The public today has great expectations of history teaching, or what is it the public expects from it?...The first suggestion would be that it encourages good citizenship and manhood, that it helps prepare our future citizens for their duties. The difficulty is that we do not know how our history teaching functions in that way as a matter scientific knowledge created. We only guess that it does. We have no valid standards at to materials or methods in teaching history. We are simply beginning at the wrong end of the matter. On the whole we should reverse the order (1912).

Snedden went on to advocate the inclusion of a sociological foundation in the history curriculum. Several papers including the Snedden article were taken from the annual meeting of the New England History Teacher's Association. The issue at hand was one of establishing the requirements for certification of teachers of history. While the focus was on certification much of the discussion tended to deal with what was to be taught in the curriculum.

Efficiency Movement

In 1913, the efficiency movement made its presence known in the pages of the journal. The movement was to have a lasting effect on the curriculum as school officials wrestled with an expanding curriculum subjected to various pressures from both within and outside the program. A Duncan Yocum (1913) in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Education sought to determine the "relative efficiency of the various factors involved in teaching the several academic branches." In his investigation, Yocum identified several factors in the teaching of history. Among those identified were the effect of grouping; in this category researchers attempted to identify the exact location of useful facts or events by year, month and day of the month versus general association with many-sided epics, reigns or events. Experimenters also attempted to identify exact locations of events related to knowledge and perhaps most important they attempted to determine the association of continually recurring historical events with a group of factors or conditions which might serve to outline the particular event. This first area indicated an attempt to organize the history curriculum in a topical manner which eventually might result in a conceptual approach.

The second experimental problem included gradation. The experimenter attempted to determine the effect of memorizing and reviewing of the meaning of essential but unfamiliar historical terms during the year preceding their use. Researchers attempted to match the aforementioned with the mastery of essential but unfamiliar historical terms as they were needed. In other words the experimenters were trying to determine the effect on efficiency of the memorization of factual information before the event in which the fact occurred was presented to students, i.e., terms such as clearing, settlers, etc., might be memorized before the student read about the colonial period in American history.

The effect of form of repetition was studied by the experimenters in order to determine the effect of the expression of ideas and descriptions of characters or events on student's emotions. Specifically, the experimenters were attempting to determine the format of the delivery system which would produce the greatest results among student's in the shortest period of time. In this regard experimenters were interested in visual modalities, hearing modalities as well as the effect of colored charts or maps versus mere reference to location or change of location. In short, the experimenters were asking the question, should emphasis on geographic location be limited to the few cases where exact location is useful?

Another area of investigation included the effect of interval in repetition. Here the investigations were examining repetition in sequence versus repetition after an interval in the initial memorizing of historical names, facts, or groups of facts. In this particular aspect of repetition the investigators were attempting to determine how often an idea or fact should be repeated before it is retained by the students.

The final area of investigation by Yocum included the effect of conditions favorable to general discipline. The experimenters were attempting to determine the effect of applying a general idea (or generalization) to certain other similar sets of circumstances in different situations. Further, the experimenters wanted to determine the effect of new applications on previously learned information.

While answers to the investigations were not immediately forthcoming, Yocum's experimental questions initiated a new direction for the social studies curriculum. The issue of efficiency was to be debated for some time and its effect on curriculum was profound. Curiously, little evidence of a defense or rebuttal to the efficiency movement is contained in the issues of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. Rather, the journal continued to deal with more immediate problems.

The Quest for Relevancy

In April, 1913, the editors repeated a plea they had made three years earlier for a topical approach to the teaching of history. As the editors viewed the situation, history was slowly being squeezed out of the curriculum in favor of other subjects. The editors were actually requesting that a unified curriculum be developed for history. By identifying topics for each of the separate history disciplines, the editors felt that history teachers would be able to demonstrate their organizational abilities. As the editors indicated, "History teachers must be prepared to justify their subject, both in content and in method if it is to be retained in our school curricula."

The "What is the purpose of history?" theme continued to draw the attention of historians and practitioners in the pages of the journal. Those who sought to adhere to traditional purposes of history had reported that the basic core of the public school curriculum was structured around historical subjects. Methods continued to consist of texts and a few supplements all of which dealt with the chronology of history. The reconstructionists appeared to make few inroads in their quest for relevancy in the social studies curriculum, until the 1916 report of the National Education Association Committee on the Social Studies. Since the original report of the Committee of Seven in 1896, the reconstructionists had been working diligently through various committees and in the pages of The History Teacher's Magazine to clarify the issues associated with the history curriculum. A pattern of sorts emerges as one closely examines the pages of the journal. Every few months an article would appear in which the relevance theme or the issue of revamping the curriculum was advocated. On several occasions the themes of teacher meetings were developed around the relevance issue. School officials were becoming exacerbated with the views of various historian dominated committees which dictated unreasonable curricular requirements on secondary schools. Written in 1918, an editorial by Albert E. McKinley of The History Teacher's Magazine noted:

> School administrators are willing to accept the judgment of historians upon the fields to be covered and the method of treatment...The administrators struggled manfully with the Report of the Committee of Seven, they tried to put it into effect, and their failure is not due to a lack of respect for historical views of the committee, but solely to the impractical demands upon the school schedule.

The conditions were right for a compromise position. Compromise was the interpretation given to the report of the NEA social studies committee. As a price of breaking the admission policy maintained by colleges, public school personnel were asked to reconstruct their thinking regarding methodology. The true nature of the progressive thought was contained in a bold plan for involving the student in current issues through a culminating course known as problems of democracy. The Committee stated:

> It is generally agreed that there should be a culminating course of social study in the last years of the high school with the purpose of giving a more definite, comprehensive and deeper knowledge of some of the vital problems of social life and thus of securing a more intelligent and active citizenship. Like the preceding courses, it should provide for the pupil's needs of present growth and should be founded upon what has preceded in the pupil's education, especially through the subjects of civics and history (1916).

While some were dismayed that the Committee on Social Studies did not reconvene following its 1916 report, the reconstructionists were prepared to begin construction of a new social studies program based on the platform established in 1916. The Committee provided as much official direction as they could and stopped just short of mandating a complete social studies curriculum. Such a national curriculum would, if proposed, have met with stiff opposition. As it was, the new proposals offered social studies teachers considerable opportunities to debate.

The new focus for the social studies curriculum hinged on the acceptance of the twelfth grade offering in problems of democracy (Singleton, 1980). One of the first organizations to raise a pessimistic note was the American Historical Association. Despite previous endorsement, it balked at accepting a course with primary focus on principles of economics, sociology, and political science emphasizing present day problems. In refusing to adopt the recommendation of its subcommittee, the historians set the stage for a continuing struggle to define the place of the problems course in the social studies' curriculum.

While the historians moved to block the adoption of the problems of democracy course, the sociologists and political scientists moved quickly to endorse the offering, particularly since those disciplines had for some time sought a niche in the curriculum. To the sociologists and political scientists, the problems course represented a crack in the history dominated curriculum; therefore, each discipline willingly voiced official approval for the course.

While the problems of democracy course was being debated among the professional organizations, reconstructionists wasted little time in taking their proposals directly to the school-house doors. Reconstructionists such as Barnard and Rugg vigorously moved the offering forward to acceptance by practitioners as well as state and local agencies. Rugg emphasized the need to deal with decision making as opposed to learning facts in social studies. From Rugg's point of view, a social studies curriculum which stressed knowledge as a base without considering decision making would provide little direction toward citizenship. A problems approach was advocated by Rugg when he stated:

> Not the learning of texts, but the solving of problems is what we need...For the pupil to think, he first must be mentally blocked and thwarted until he is obsessed with a desire to clean up the matter; he must also have at hand data, the facts on all sides of the issue, before he can think constructively on it; and third, he must be practiced in deliberation on situations that are somewhat similar.

Even though Rugg called for the development of problem-solving skills through-out the social studies curriculum, the problems of democracy course advocated by the revisionists would provide a means to accomplish the ends Rugg and others were aiming toward.

Barnard, a member of the 1916 social studies committee, successfully engineered the adoption of the problems of democracy course in Pennsylvania and admonished educators that (Barnard, 1922):

> The stand is taken that the pupil of the secondary school--the people's college--has no right, from a social standpoint, to send young men and women into the world lacking specific training in the problems of American Democracy--the problems whose solutions will soon be in their hands. Longer to side-step this all-important functioning is to reap the whirlwind.

In 1920, New Jersey followed rapidly by Ohio and Virginia, all with representatives on the original committee, mandated through legislative action the inclusion of the problems of democracy course at the twelfth grade. While the problems of democracy course was required through legislation in some states, still others introduced the course through either local or state educational agencies. Evidence of the gains made by the revisionists indicates that by 1924, problems of democracy courses were taught in more schools than medieval history, world history, English history, or sociology. Only civics, United States history and economics were more frequently offered than the problems of democracy course (Dawson, 1927).

Further evidence of the change in the social studies curriculum was contained in a brief, almost obscured notice by the editors indicating a new name for The History Teacher's Magazine. As of October, 1918 the journal would be called the Historical Outlook. The name change reflected the editors'..."desire to view the present and prepare for the future by a sane understanding of the historic past." The editors continued,

> that as citizens or teachers, we should retain an historical outlook upon the present ...that a knowledge of the historic roots of the present is necessary to intelligent thought and action upon our current problems.

Clearly, the field was changing, the curriculum was being opened up to admit courses other than history. The Historical Outlook took up the banner and advocated new approaches while retaining the historical context and the social studies curriculum moved on to new challenges.

Conclusion

Curriculum as a concept was not introduced to the practitioners or the scholar with much fanfare. Rather, the concept eased its way into the discussions and debates by virtue of the various individuals and groups who sought changes in the standard curriculum. It is safe to state the role of content specific journals was instrumental in forwarding the concept of practitioners. Both the Mathematics Teacher and The History Teacher's Magazine reflected Barnard's ealier claim that a curriculum evolves out of "matters of previous regulation and adjustment..."

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Bobbitt's 1914 San Antonio Survey: Much Ado About Nothing?

By Janet L. Hood-Hanchey

John Franklin Bobbitt and the efficiency movement in American education are legendary. Even the briefest survey of the literature in the history of curriculum reveals much comment on Bobbitt. For example, in his history of progressive education, Lawrence Cremin calls Bobbitt and Charters the two notable leaders of the group following in the footsteps of the Committee on the Economy of Time, and says, "Of the two, Bobbitt, who had originally worked with the Committee, serves as the quintessential example" (Cremin, 1969). Cremin goes on to cite the historic significance of Bobbitt's work in these lines:

> In Bobbitt's scientism lay the seeds of the life adjustment theory that proved the final manifestation of progressive education in the years right after World War II (Cremin, 1969).

Cremin further suggests that Bobbitt's brand of "scientism" would later allow educational workers to set themselves apart from the lay public as "professionals." He says:

> ...it enabled them to be progressive without incurring the stigma of racialism, an opportunity that must have been appealing in an era when the average board of education was a group of businessmen, lawyers, and farmers little interested in schemes to reform society, however moderate, gradual. or utopian they might have been (Cremin, 1969).

Mary Louise Seguel also connects Bobbitt historically with the Committee on the Economy of Time and the Efficiency movement, citing mainly Bobbitt's 1918 book, *The curriculum*. Tanner and Tanner also devote much attention to Bobbitt as the figurehead of efficiency and scientism. Similarly, Gwynn and Chase offer a treatment of Bobbitt and activity analysis, directing the bulk of their comment to his later works. All of these scholars, Cremin, Seguel, Tanner, Tanner, Gwynn and Chase, attest to the acknowledged place of Bobbitt, but it is Raymond Callahan who reserves it for Bobbitt for all time.

Callahan's landmark work, *Education and the cult of efficiency*, has had a galvanizing effect upon the Bobbitt legend. In addition, his student, Barnard George DeWulf, with his use of rare primary sources and personal memoirs offered to him by Mabel Bobbitt, has skillfully documented Bobbitt's development into this legend. At the time DeWulf wrote his dissertation on Bobbitt, there were only two other dissertations that had dealt with Bobbitt in any way: one from 1930, with only a brief section on Bobbitt, and one from 1938, which centered on a mere six of Bobbitt's nearly sixty writings (DeWulf, 1962).

Yet, should anyone doubt the contemporary existence of a Bobbitt legend, a scan of the *Social Studies Index of Citations* reveals a respectable thirty-nine references to Bobbitt in the periodicals between 1969 and 1977 to confirm Bobbitt's legendary status.

The Problem

The Bobbitt legend, as described by Callahan and others, is still with us; but what of the artifacts of that legend? What historical perspective emerges, for example, from a contemporary look at Bobbitt's school surveys? Can we learn anything new about a phenomenon in curriculum history, such as Bobbitt and the efficiency movement, by examining the circumstances surrounding one of its artifacts? Will this type of examination, for example, help us to reconcile the discrepancy between the reputed importance of a movement, such as the efficiency movement, and the actual impact of one of its artifacts? These questions emerge when one revisits Bobbitt's San Antonio survey of 1914. By investigating the local environment in San Antonio leading up to the artifact--in this case the survey--we can indeed see the cult of efficiency flourishing, to borrow Callahan's term. We can indeed see the ideas of John Franklin Bobbitt at work, and yet at the same time we can indeed see in the school board records following Bobbitt's visit, surprisingly little actual impact upon the surveyed school district.

San Antonio Newspapers: Ripe for Bobbitt

This lack of impact of the survey is surprising, for the impact of the efficiency movement in general was apparent in San Antonio in 1914. Local newspapers reveal much about a town's interest in and reaction to a trend, and the Alamo city of 1914 was no exception. The year's newspapers surrounding Bobbitt's San Antonio survey follow close on the heels of 1912, the year which Callahan identifies as the peak in the growth of magazine criticism of the schools (Callahan, 1962). A look at the *San Antonio Light* reveals a city mood simply ripe for Bobbitt's scientism.

The issue of Sunday, December 13, 1914, just a week before Bobbitt's arrival, features a paper by Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, who had been elected to the school board just four days before. She said in part:

> Our proportion of some one hundred graduates as compared with about fifteen hundred in the first grade is good or not according to the way we look at the matter. This may be a fair proportion of professional people as compared with the entering class of fifteen hundred, but what has become of all the others who dropped out along the line?...
>
> At the high school stage the falling off is perhaps more noticeable than in the lower grades, and the thought comes that perhaps schools do not exist for children of just one variety of mind, but to fit all children as well as possible for their future lives (Green, 1915).

Although there is no evidence in the school board minutes to suggest that it was Rena Maverick Green who nominated Bobbitt as the survey author, in her assertions that schools need to prepare children for the lives they will live, she comes amazingly close to Bobbitt's ideas. In the San Antonio survey, for example, Bobbitt would take a similar stance in rejecting what he saw as San Antonio's undue attention to handwriting for all students, regardless of their future needs. He wrote:

> People should be taught at public expense to write only as well as they need to write for carrying on their various daily affairs. This means that clerical people...should be trained to high quality and speed...(the city) is justified in spending money on any class for the actual needs of the whole population. It is justified in spending more to teach handwriting to certain classes of the population than to others. It is not justified, however, in spending money on any class for a quality of writing in excess of real social needs (Bobbitt, 1915).

Bobbitt's pragmatic approach to writing is duplicated in the survey in his remarks on the teaching of history. There too Rena Maverick Green, concerned citizen, school board member, and lay-person, presented ideas on the future of all the children that were surprisingly close to those of Bobbitt, who wrote in the survey:

> ...There is a good deal of medievalism yet in the college field, but I can see no reason why the businessmen of San Antonio should pay their much-needed money for the continued support of college medievalism...they should remember that the majority of high school students of San Antonio do not go to college. The high schools might at least prepare functional and purposeful history courses for this majority (Bobbitt, 1915).

In yet another similar category addressing the topic of children's future lives, Bobbitt reported that San Antonio was "...recovering normally from the Latin superstition." Mrs. Green's writing resembled Bobbitt's approach in another way. She too liked to draw her illustrations from business and industry. Just as in the Twelfth Yearbook of the NSSE Bobbitt compared the educational product to steel rails to be manufactured (Bobbitt, 1913), Rena Maverick Green's paper drew an analogy to hats manufactured in one size only to communicate her concern for the emphasis on only one kind of education. Her paper was reprinted in the San Antonio Light on Sunday. On Wednesday, the three-member committee on the school survey, of which she was a member, recommended to the board that her soulmate be hired to perform the survey.

The Light's article reprinting Mrs. Green's paper, with all of its similarities to the writing of the efficiency expert soon to be hired, was not the only newspaper column to suggest the public mood. On the very day of the school board's invitation to Bobbitt, the San Antonio Light carried an article on decorations for a "scientific Christmas." The featured story reads like an efficiency expert's dream, with wording such as "the science of a balanced ration, the science of cookery, the science of useful giving at Christmas time, the science of harmoniously decorating the home in holiday colors, and the science of attractively arranging a table" (San Antonio Light, 1914).

In other news coverage, one reads that just before Bobbitt's visit, the Texas State Teachers Association held a convention in San Antonio. The Texas Republic Weekly in its coverage of that event noted that TSA endorsed the abolition of the one-teacher school. The paper cited the related remarks on the event by W. F. Doughty, the state superintendent, who had recently told the paper that the schools in Texas "...were so low in efficiency that illiteracy in the state decreased only 1.8% during the last ten-year period covered by the federal census" (Texas Republic Weekly, 1914). The next line of the article is perhaps worth noting on the eve of Bobbitt's arrival at San Antonio. The article continues, "As the city schools of Texas may be classed with those of any other state, it is evident that the condition of the rural schools is responsible for the general low efficiency" (Texas Republic Weekly, 1914).

A Public Relations Gesture

From the detachment of a contemporary perspective, certainly even the most routine of the San Antonio news stories of the schools, such as those just mentioned, have about them the air of efficiency. Quite often the board seems to be gathering data with which to protect itself from charges of inefficiency. The air is unmistakable, for example, in another article, whose tone suggests the effort of a board to reassure the public that their schools are ever-so-very-efficient, even on the eve of holidays:

> The regular program of school work was carried out Wednesday, Christmas exercises having been held at school last Friday. So that the students could gain as much as possible while in school, no recitations were omitted Wednesday and the school session was of regular length (Texas Republic Weekly, 1914).

In the same month, the Texas Republic Weekly carried a story that illustrates the public concern for efficiency that permeated institutions other than the schools. The article charged, "The people of San Antonio pay $200,000 annually for police protection," and then asked quite bluntly, "Do they get it?" (Texas Republic Weekly, 1914). Again, reading these words from a contemporary perspective, one wonders just how close the San Antonio school board of 1914 was to asking that same question of its own public schools.

Actually it was Bobbitt himself who finally asked the question. He asked it in his introduction to the San Antonio Survey, in which he wrote:

> Things called into question [in this survey] in whole or in part involve an annual expenditure on the part of the city of not less than half of the school budget--let us say $250,000, or a million dollars every four years (Bobbitt, 1915).

In his second chapter, he asked it again: "What are the results to be achieved that are deemed so important that the people of the city are willing to spend

$500,000 a year?" (Bobbitt, 1915). Even more vigorously did he ask it in his chapters on subject matter. For example, in his chapter on English language training, he said, "The city's investment in English language teaching for the current year is in the neighborhood of $210,000. This investment is large enough to warrant careful examination of the nature of the work and the results" (Bobbitt, 1915). Bobbitt again approached the area of what the public was getting for their money in his comment on the teaching of spelling, when he asserted:

> Probably not less than half the time now devoted to the teaching of spelling and not less than half the $40,000 now invested in the teaching of spelling could be saved and invested in other needed educational work (Bobbitt, 1915).

He approached it again on the subject of high school mathematics, on which he commented,

> The amount of money invested and the amount of teacher and student labor annually consumed in what is here pronounced unjustifiable studies for most students is large enough to justify...investigation (Bobbitt, 1915).

To the San Antonio School Board, for Bobbitt, an efficiency expert, to raise the question of what the public got for their money seems to have been preferable to having the press raise the question, as they had in the area of police expenditures. A look at a 1914 newspaper's choice of headlines for columns heralding Bobbitt's upcoming visit suggests this very situation, in the words, "ELIMINATION OF WASTE IS SURVEY PLAN" (San Antonio Light, 1914). Even the secondary headline hammers it once more in "GREATER EFFICIENCY EXPECTED AS RESULT OF COLLECTION OF DATA." The article underneath begins with a statement illustrating the board's desire to clean up their own act, by themselves, if need be. The board's word choice is careful in the lines:

> A survey of the system of schools in San Antonio, with a view to possible (underlining mine) elimination of waste and the promotion of greater efficiency will be begun December 21 under the direction and supervision of J. F. Bobbitt, professor of educational administration of the University of Chicago (San Antonio Light, 1914).

Our contemporary perusal of this newspaper article also reveals that this bit of public relations on the part of the board was even a bargain, with the estimated cost to be from $2500 to $3000, including the cost of printing (San Antonio Light, 1914).

In a paper read before the Department of Superintendence. December 29, 1917, S. H. Edmunds, Superintendent of the Sumter, South Carolina Schools, reported that as of 1917 thirty school surveys had been performed, all within the past four years. The costs of those surveys ranged from a low of $126.89 to survey the schools of Waterbury, Connecticut and $500 to survey the schools of Montclair, New Jersey to $7000 to survey the San Francisco schools, all the way up to $125,000 to survey the schools of New York City (Edmunds, 1918). So it seems that the San Antonio school board was able to announce in the newspapers its policing of its own ranks, so to speak. It could set itself up as a forward-thinking, efficient board responding to one of the popular concerns of the day, waste and inefficiency, and all for a price much lower than the going rate for other cities. As a bonus, they even got free advertising on the need for a new high school building without having to go out on the proverbial limb themselves. The San Antonio Light of Tuesday, December 22 carried a column headed, "MAY URGE ERECTION OF NEW HIGH SCHOOL," with a secondary headline, "DR. J. T. (SIC) BOBBITT'S VISIT TO PRESENT STRUCTURE LEADS TO HOPE." The column stated that Bobbitt's visit to the high school "...encouraged many to believe that he will point out in his survey the necessity of erecting a new building..." (San Antonio Light, 1914). The article then went on to describe the inadequacies of the existing 1882 structure. Actually, their hope was a common one of school boards commissioning surveys. According to DeWulf, the South Bend, Indiana board had similar hopes that Bobbitt would assure the public that their $626,780 recently spent on a new school building was money wisely spent. Bobbitt surprised the board in that case, though, by issuing sharp criticism on several planning and structural mistakes (DeWulf, 1962). The San Antonio board's bargain in obtaining public relations along with the low cost of the survey, then, was something sought by other boards in other places as well.

Looking not only at the hopeful announcements of Bobbitt's appointment, but also at how often efficiency was appearing as a timely topic in so many of San Antonio's newspaper articles of the period surrounding Bobbitt's arrival. one can readily see how the San Antonio survey, though not as well known as other of Bobbitt's surveys, and not as expensive as other surveys of the era, is still a beautifully illustrative artifact embodying Callahan's claim that scientific management was applied to nearly every aspect of American life, including home, family, and even church (Callahan, 1962). In addition, when reading the San Antonio Light's article concerning Rena Maverick Green's paper, which is so similar to the writing that Bobbitt would do in the survey, one is haunted by Callahan's identification of the Ladies Home Journal as one of the two popular magazines to reach sales of over a million by 1910 and stir the public into action with their criticism of the inefficiency of public institutions (Callahan, 1962). Could it be that Mrs. Green, the only woman on the three-member committee, was one reader so stirred into action by the widely read Ladies Home Journal? Only the tracking down of a descendant of hers who had somehow found Mrs. Green's old magazines would support this bit of speculation in the story of the San Antonio survey conclusively, but the very speculation along these lines demonstrates the usual boundaries which one can cross in researching an artifact of the efficiency era.

San Antonio Represented at the 1913 NEA Convention

An effort to know with certainty just how the idea for a survey as a response to the public interest in efficiency emerged also requires that an investigator cross some boundaries. One must go beyond any speculation one can attach to the newspaper accounts, even beyond what is known to be true of the period generally, to the dusty, leather-bound tomes that record the proceedings of the San Antonio school board, for it is within these proceedings as much as within the general era of efficiency that the San Antonio survey has its genesis. In studying the school board minutes, one is tempted to look immediately for evidence of how the board decided upon Bobbitt. Mysteriously, there are no minutes that record any sort of discussion of a field of candidates for the job; yet gradually, delightfully, if one is willing to cross some boundaries, the fragments begin to come together into an understandable picture. One piece of the picture is sketched in the minutes of the meeting of February 5, 1913. These minutes verify that the San Antonio superintendent was sent to the Philadelphia convention of the National Education Association. Callahan sets the stage for that convention in these words:

> The superintendents arriving in Philadelphia in February of 1913 for their annual meeting and greeting the colleagues they had not seen for a year may well have sought solace from one another, for 1912 had been a trying year. They had received enough criticism and advice to last a lifetime, and the question they undoubtedly asked each other was, "What is to be done?" (Callahan, 1962).

From this introduction, which seems to depict what was at least in the consciousness of the San Antonio board, if not then out in the open in the form of violent public criticism, Callahan continues:

> It is also probable that they studied the program topics and the speakers carefully in the hope that a prophet would appear to lead them out of the wilderness. The chances are that they were most expectant about the session devoted to scientific management, for, after all, if this new system could work such miracles in industry, then perhaps it could solve their problems in education. Besides, they had been advised, urged, and even warned by businessmen and by some of their leaders to use the new panacea (Callahan, 1962).

Tanner and Tanner describe the year in terms similar to those of Callahan, saying, "Bobbitt's prescription [in the Twelfth Yearbook] that education borrow the new technology fell on sympathetic, if not desperate ears" (Daniel, 1975). This, then, was the environment to which the San Antonio school board sent the superintendent just nine months before their committee would meet to locate a survey expert, though the minutes could not have foretold what later impact the Philadelphia trip would have on the course of their year.

The address of most interest for the superintendents of that year's convention, according to Callahan, was the address by Superintendent Frank Spaulding, who detailed his own application of Frederick Taylor' system of scientific management to education in th schools of Newton, Massachusetts. The other majo effort to apply Taylor's scientific management Callahan states, was that of Franklin Bobbitt, whos work coincided with Spaulding's. Once again Callahan's detailed analysis of the national era provides clues to the San Antonio situation. Callaha comments that the National Society for the Study o Education exerted a huge influence. largely becaus their yearbooks were the most important professiona publications in the field. Their influence was all th greater, according to Callahan, because the annua meeting for the NSSE, at which the yearbook was discussed, was always held in the same city a day or s before the annual meeting of the Department of Superintendents (Callahan, 1962). That the San Antoni superintendent had heard of Bobbitt in 1913 seems then, not only possible, but also entirely likely because of his attendance at the 1913 meeting.

The Call of the Local Efficiency Expert

By 1913, it seems that the San Antonio school board was already being pestered by a local professional who wanted to perform a type of survey. On Jun 16, 1913, the minutes recorded an appeal made by Dr. Caswell Ellis of the University Extension Department o the need for proper ventilation, heating and sanitatio of school rooms (San Antonio Independent School District Minutes, 1913). By July 19, 1913, just after a successful bond election, Ellis proposed to perform a $20-25 per room survey, with his fee amounting to 1/2% or 10 cents per room. A resolution chocked full of efficiency rhetoric read in part:

> Whereas Dr. A. C. Ellis...is a recognized expert whose ideas on these matters have been adopted, practically tested and approved in many cities of this state...assisting the public in adopting scientific methods of conservation and...(Minutes, 1913).

The very next item reported in the minutes is a consideration of a second proposal by Ellis to act as a consultant for the sum of $1000 (Minutes, 1913). The minutes do not reveal whether the motion carried. Perhaps this solicitation of survey fees first planted the notion of going ahead with a search for a nationally known expert of the caliber heard at the superintendents' convention of 1913. In any case, we do know that there is a chance that Dr. Ellis was himself influenced by the convention and Bobbitt when he made his proposal; for the Twelfth yearbook, in which Bobbitt wrote his famous "Some general principles of scientific management applied to the problems of city schools," was distributed at the February 24, 1913 meeting of the NSSE. Listed in the roll of active members printed in the yearbook is Dr. A. Caswell Ellis of the University of Texas (Bobbitt, 1913). There is no one listed from the San Antonio School Board, but perhaps the superintendent, attending the NEA convention of February 13, also managed to hear Bobbitt.

Other gleanings from the 1914 minutes of the San Antonio school board reveal that by January 7, the census taker had become a surveyor of sorts for the fee of 6 cents per name (Minutes, 1913). At that same meeting there was recorded another instance of the efficiency-inspired pose adopted by the school's principals, who requested and received permission to hold exams on Saturday, in their recorded words, "thus gaining one more day for regular work" (Minutes, 1914). Such seemingly unimportant events do nonetheless characterize the age of efficiency in which the San Antonio school board sent its superintendent to the NEA convention.

Bobbitt's Hiring

On November 4, 1914, a seemingly out-of-nowhere entry in the San Antonio school board minutes reads,

> On the motion of Mr. Hood, the president was instructed to appoint a committee of not less than three for the purpose of getting all the necessary information as to cost, plans, etc., for making a complete survey of the entire public school system (Minutes, 1914).

With no record made of any discussion, the minutes simply state next, "The meeting was adjourned." In the minutes of the next meeting, November 8, 1914, absolutely no mention of the survey or its committee members appears. Then on December 2, 1914, Board President Terrell announces the appointments of Mr. Walton Hood, author of the survey motion, Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, whose ideas and metaphors were so close to Bobbitt's, and Mr. S. C. Bechtel (Minutes, 1914). The purpose of this committee as revealed in the press announcement of December 3 was "to investigate the cost and methods of procedure and to inquire as to a suitable person or persons to conduct the survey (San Antonio Light, 1914). From that point forward events moved rapidly, even though unaccompanied by fanfare. The minutes of December 16, 1914, sound uneventful:

> The Survey Committee...reported in favor of employing Mr. J. F. Bobbitt, Professor of School Administration, University of Chicago. Chairman Hood submitted a letter from Dr. Bobbitt estimating the cost of the work to be done from $1800-$3000. On the motion of Mrs. Herzberg, seconded by Mrs. Green, Dr. Bobbitt was duly employed to make a survey (Minutes, 1914).

On the next day, Thursday, December 17, 1914, the newspapers carried the letter that the board had sent to Bobbitt telling him of the adoption of the committee's resolution (San Antonio Express & San Antonio Light, 1914). Interestingly, the bottom limit of Bobbitt's former estimate of the survey cost increased to $2500 at the time of his acceptance. Also, from the related press releases, one finds that Bobbitt expected to take four weeks to make the survey and another two to four weeks (differing from newspaper to newspaper) to prepare the report for the printer (San Antonio Express, 1914). He was so personally efficient in his use of time that he chose to begin his work during the Christmas holidays on December 21.

Of the coverage in newspapers of the board's invitation to Bobbitt, the report in the *San Antonio Light* seems the closest to illustrating the local response to the national trend toward efficiency. While the San *Antonio Express* headlined their article with a modest, "SCHOOL SURVEY IS TO BE CONDUCTED BY CHICAGO MAN," the *Light*'s headline screamed, "ELIMINATION OF WASTE IS SURVEY PLAN," and in smaller print, "Greater Efficiency Expected at Result of Collection of Data (San Antonio Light, 1914). It is the *Light*'s treatment too that seems to reveal the intentions, the motives, that the board's minutes possibly hide:

> A survey of the schools, *not in criticism of the present school administration* (underlining by the present author) but with a view of ascertaining if the system needs improvement, has been under consideration by the board for some time (San Antonio Light, 1916).

PR, Politics and Personnel

Aside from the public relations ploy that seems afoot in the previously mentioned newspaper articles, the reality, of course, was that the board had considered the survey, not for "some time," as the press released stated, but rather for exactly the eleven days since the December 3 appointment of a survey committee. The board seems eager in the records to present itself as interested, like the public, no doubt, in efficiency. Yet the board seems to want to clarify at the same time that the schools are doing a good job at the present. Again, what is invisible in the minutes seems obvious in the surrounding press coverage. On the following Saturday, December 19, 1914, the front page of the *Light* proclaimed, "LEGALITY OF SCHOOL BOARD IS ATTACKED!" (San Antonio Light, 1914). The members of the previous school board were challenging the amended charter of the current school board in the area of terms of office. Perhaps this impending political infighting was also a motive for the new board's hiring of a nationally prominent efficiency expert. The board, even if under attack politically, could probably expect a vote of confidence from the public if they were appeasing the public concern for efficiency. Jesse B. Sears's history of the school survey seems to bear out this political reality. Sears writes in his 1925 book:

> People were already familiar with the work of the efficiency expert in business and industry. Naturally, then, when boards of education called upon educational experts to help point the way out of difficulties, the idea was promptly understood and sanctioned by the public (Sears, 1925).

Even if the mere fact of the board's having called in an efficiency expert did not satisfy the public that the board was effective and efficiency-conscious, there was always the reassuring comment of the efficiency expert himself. Upon his arrival Bobbitt said, "I am merely taking stock these three days before the schools close, *noting progress which is evident*" (underlining by the present author) (San Antonio Light, 1914). Combined with the earlier mentioning in this paper of the board's high hopes that Bobbitt would be the one to help them gain a badly needed new high school building, the political motives for the survey--hidden in the minutes but visible in the press--provide an entirely new angle for the retrospective understanding of the San Antonio survey.

Political comment is absent, for example, in the minutes of January 6, 1915, in which Bobbitt is reported to have already visited fifteen schools (Minutes, 1915). Oddly enough, there is absolutely no further mention of Bobbitt or the survey in either the press or the minutes until March 31, 1915, when the minutes recorded Bobbitt's letter, asking that he be paid for his services for six weeks at $159.00 per week and for clerical work in the amount of $160.95 for a total of $1,060.95 (Minutes, 1915). A similar lack of overt political overtones exists in the April 7, 1915 minutes in which Mr. Walton Hood moved that the board officially accept the survey and award the contract for the printing (Minutes, 1915).

One begins to see a glimmer of the political importance of the survey, however, in the minutes of April 16, 1915, when Mr. Hood's election to the presidency of the board is recorded. Additionally, with utterly no mention in the minutes of any reasons for a change in the superintendency, by June 3 the board was interviewing candidates for the job of superintendent. A humorous anecdote of the type no doubt recurrent in historical research is present in the note taken in the minutes of William T. Harris of Gulfport, Mississippi, who had apparently applied for the superintendency, and who felt that he had not been given enough consideration, and therefore wanted his travel money reimbursed (Minutes, 1915). Incidentally, the credentials of the man who was given consideration, who did win the job Harris sought, seem to reflect the board's ongoing interest in educational experts, perhaps by now a habit after their hiring Bobbitt; for the minutes of March 18 record that the new superintendent would be postponing his arrival in order to carry out summer lectures at Stanford University (Minutes, 1915). In less than a year the new superintendent, Dr. Charles Meek, would be basing his decisions on survey data. In the March 7, 1916 minutes, for example, Meek requested a survey of where the children in the school district actually lived, in order to plan where a new school should be located (Minutes, 1916).

Business as Usual: Bobbitt Disappears from the Minutes

It is interesting to note that in none of the minutes does the board mention Bobbitt again. Two more communications from Bobbitt did arrive, according to the minutes: a letter congratulating the board on the selection of Superintendent Meek, which the board ordered to be filed (perhaps as "evidence" that their choice was a good one?) and another note suggesting that the board sell copies of the survey for 30 cents each, except for institutions of higher learning (Minutes, 1915). Any further residual influence of Bobbitt upon the board seems to be indirect, if existent at all. The old air of efficiency that originally prompted the hiring of Bobbitt, for example, seems to re-surface only briefly one more time in the minutes of August 12, 1915, in the board president's report on a recent trip to the west, in which he observed several high schools at which "...all pupils are given an examination and treatment at nominal expense... increasing the efficiency of the pupils by 7% in one of the cities" (Minutes, 1915). Other than that echo, from the man who moved to hire Bobbitt only less than a year before, the board seems to have returned to their pre-Bobbitt business as usual.

In fact, just as in the pre-Bobbitt days, Dr. Caswell Ellis was once again offering his services, this time reducing his fee to an all-time low of only 7/20 of 1% on all building survey work supervised by him over and above the $300,000 bond issue (Minutes, 1915). Mr. Ed Rivas, the former census taker, was back again, too, this time raising his fee to 6 1/2 cents per child (Minutes, 1916), although Bobbitt had recommended in his survey that the board acquire greater accuracy in its census (Bobbitt, 1915).

This census story reflects perhaps the final, ultimate reality of the San Antonio survey, its seeming lack of impact. The survey, which this paper has shown to be much-touted in the press initially, seems to have had some political urgencies surrounding it; yet it apparently went largely ignored as a timetable, set of priorities, or list of changes to be made. Although a change in superintendent occurred, there is no evidence to suggest that Bobbitt'survey precipitated the change. Moveover, Bobbitt's survey issued one imperative. "San Antonio needs an assistant superintendent," Bobbitt declared, but his recommendation was apparently ignored. In the years following the survey, the minutes of the school board just simply do not record any discussion of the addition of an assistant superintendent or of any other changes made "on the recommendation by Dr. Bobbitt's survey." As it has been pointed out in this paper, Bobbitt is never mentioned again. He simply disappears from the minutes. Even the press seemed to forget their former newsmaker of the efficiency era.

Perhaps the unkindest cut of all is reflected in the April 10, 1915 article in the Texas Republic Weekly, which seemed to have forgotten that the board had ever launched a move toward efficiency. The article responded to a speech by Clarence Ousley of the A and M College, who said:

> ...the most efficient school in Texas is the Negro normal school at Prairie View: that coupled with the statistics which show that illiteracy among Negroes is decreasing more rapidly than among whites is food for the white man's thought (Texas Republic Weekly, 1915).

The Texas Republic Weekly responded, "The Republic knows nothing of the respective degrees of efficiency of the Texas schools, white or black..." (Texas Republic Weekly, 1915). It would certainly seem that the writer could have added, "except for the findings of Dr. Bobbitt, who completed the recently released survey of the San Antonio schools." The survey, commissioned in December, released in January, seems to have been forgotten by March. There is, in fact, no evidence that the Republic Weekly chose to remember any of their own 1914 writing on inefficiency in the schools. In their March 6, 1915 issue, they characterized the city of San Antonio as "an educational center long preeminent mong southwestern cities...not only holding its own, but gaining in reputation" (Texas Republic Weekly, 1915). In addition, the public's demand for efficiency in public institutions was as unquelled as ever in the Republic's eyes. On February 20, 1915, for example, even before their article responding to the A and M college efficiency rating, the Republic carried a story on the need to establish separate criminal courts for San Antonio. The catchword used had a familiar pre-Bobbitt ring to it, in the words, "San Antonio does not need another court so much as its needs greater efficiency" (Texas Republic Weekly, 1915).

The San Antonio Survey in Curriculum History: A Discrepancy

Perhaps this lack of action resulting from the survey is one reason that the San Antonio survey, Bobbitt's second, and his first to perform solo, is not widely cited, as are, for example, the South Bend survey, which he completed with Judd in September, 1914, or the Denver survey of 1916. Even Bobbitt himself did not seem to make much ado about his San Antonio survey. S. H. Edmunds's book on school surveys, published in 1918, includes a letter from Bobbitt which illustrates this lack of ado. The letter, clearly downplaying, soft-pedaling the survey, reads:

> My dear Mr. Edmunds,
>
> There is very little literature about surveys that is worth anything. L. V. Koos presents a good article--School and Society 5:35-41, January 13, 1917--entitled "The Fruits of School Surveys." You will want to read that, but in general there is only one way to learn the value and nature of school surveys and that is to read the surveys for oneself and estimate their values in terms of one's own experience (Edmunds, 1918).

Oddly, Bobbitt did not choose to share his own experience from the surveys he had performed. The letter to Edmunds ends without even one pitch for Bobbitt's own work in San Antonio. Bobbitt says merely:

> ...get Portland (World Book Company), Grand Rapids (from superintendent0, Leavenworth, Kansas, etc. Very Truly Yours, F. Bobbitt

It seems as if the San Antonio survey was not one of the more notable, recommendable surveys in Bobbitt's mind. Since the format of it is similar to other of his surveys, it seems entirely possible that he himself may have objected to the survey's lack of impact. In fact, Bobbitt's references to it in his later writings seem to be confined to entries on charts, as in his 1919 article for School Review, in which he compared the cost of math instruction in several cities per thousand student hours (Bobbitt, 1919).

Nonetheless Edmunds knew of the San Antonio survey and cited it in his remarks:

> ...I wish to call your attention...to these books particularly: The Butte Survey conducted by Dr. Strayer, the Salt Lake City Survey by Dr. Cubberly, the San Antonio survey by Dr. Bobbitt, the Portland Survey by Dr. Bobbitt and the San Francisco Survey just issued. A perusal of these books will open up our minds to the whole question of surveys as conducted by those from the outside (Edmunds, 1918).

Like Edmunds, other writers on the school survey knew of the San Antonio survey. Jesse Sears, for example, in his book for school administrators, listed the San Antonio survey and referred to it, as well as to the better-known South Bend and San Francisco surveys (Sears, 1925).

Once again, then, the contemporary investigator confronts the discrepancy between the Bobbitt legend, the importance attached to an artifact of the efficiency movement, such as the San Antonio survey, by subsequent writers such as Sears and Edmunds, and the documentable lack of impact by the artifact. How are we to understand this discrepancy, to reconcile the importance of the movement with the lack of impact reflected in Bobbitt's own lack of comment on the survey, in the lack of comment on the completed survey by the local press, and in the lack of post-survey action by the San Antonio School Board?

Conclusion: Reconciling the Discrepancy

We are to understand the discrepancy between the alleged importance and the actual lack of change by approaching the survey as a symbolic act. As Ezra Pound once wrote, "The age demanded an image." The age of efficiency seems to have manifested itself in an enduring image, the school survey. If we look at the San Antonio survey as a symbolic image, we go beyond the creation of the artifact in its historical period, the age of efficiency in America. We delve into the minutiae of the local setting where the artifact was commissioned. We see the national mood of efficiency translated into local stories on local inefficiencies. We see a woman named to the school board just a week after the publication of her speech on the inefficiencies of the local schools. We discover a local board's attempt to express in one overt act a whole complex of statements, such as "Oh yes we are concerned with efficiency in our schools, so concerned that we have hired a nationally known efficiency expert, " or "Our decision to build a new high school is indeed a sound one. The efficiency expert says so." When we consider the local need for a symbolic act, we gain a different perspective on the survey. The perspective is one that a traditional understanding of the survey as merely one of several that the legendary Bobbitt performed cannot give us. It is a perspective that allows us to understand the discrepancy.

Precisely because the surviving San Antonio records reported in this paper allow us this fresh perspective, allow us to explain this one discrepancy in curriculum history, the San Antonio Survey is far from being "much ado about nothing." On the contrary, our expanded understanding of it suggests a workable research model for investigating other artifacts of curriculum history. How many other puzzling discrepancies between legendary trend and actual change in local schools can we reconcile if we can reconstruct the local scene of a past era?

In addition to the suggestion of a research model, the San Antonio survey of 1914 provides us with a calming reminder as we are bombarded by the post-Proposition 13, Jarvis II, Golden Fleece, Minimal-Competency-Test rhetoric, as we feel ourselves being dragged to the brink of a neo-efficiency movement. (Some will call it a Renaissance.) The reminder is that at least once before in our history, in San Antonio, circumstances of other than genuine alarm at an alleged crisis in the efficiency of the schools brought in the efficiency expert as a symbolic act. When we read today's titles, such as "The school's efficiency index: A measure of the return on the educational investment" (Hazard, 1978), before feeling somehow assaulted, we realize because of our new perspective on Bobbitt's San Antonio survey, that someone, somewhere, is always ready to issue a symbolic, placating gesture to the public, as was the San Antonio school board of 1914. We can smile, knowing that the Bobbitt legend, the ghost of surveys past, is alive and well and walking among us.

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Three Generations of Curricula in Israel: A Retrospective Analysis

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Curriculum development may be perceived as one expression of the interaction between societies and their educational systems. This interaction is analyzed at different levels utilizing varied frames of reference. At a metalevel Oliver (1976) distinguishes between different social systems, the "corporate organization," characterized by a technically based social order, and the "community," a system based on a "moral" social order. These two social orders lead to different educational forms and styles, the first emphasizing cognitive ability and meritocracy, the second oriented toward a more comprehensive view of basic human needs.

This paper investigates the interaction between society and the process of curriculum development in attempting to show how a technical, meritocratic, approach to curriculum development can give way to a more humanistic approach, emphasizing personal understanding and social implications of knowledge.

Using biology curricula in Israel as a case study in curriculum change the following questions are posed:

1. Can one detect distinct trends and changes in the curriculum development process over time?
2. What is the nature of these changes, if any?
3. How can these changes be interpreted in the societal context?

Methodology

Biology curricula were chosen as the focus of inquiry in order to ascertain whether one can detect meaningful trends and changes in curriculum development over time. The reason for this choice was the richness and scope of available biology curricula and the long history of biology curriculum development in Israel. Content analysis of curriculum documents and interviews with developers and practitioners were main models of inquiry. The following documents were analyzed: curriculum materials including guidelines, student textbooks, teacher handbooks, and Ministry of Education circulars to teachers. All together 12 sets of curriculum documents in biology were analyzed (see reference list).

Interviews were conducted with curriculum developers, superintendents, heads of science teaching departments in schools, a director of a teacher center, and biology teachers. All together 15 protocols of interviews were analyzed. The following categories of analysis were used:

- nature of development process (i.e., selection and training of developers)
- characteristics of curriculum materials (i.e., format, inclusion of teachers' guides)
- approach to subject matter (i.e., the structure of the discipline approach)
- envisioned target populations (i.e., adhering faithfully to developers' intentions or acting as autonomous decision makers)
- mode of implementation (i.e., unstructured or highly structured setting up of implementation hierarchies)
- strategies of evaluation (i.e., goal based or goal free, formal or informal)

Findings

Three generations of biology curricula were identified and the findings can be summarized as follows:

The first generation of curricula, from 1948 (Establishment of the State) - 1966 (Beginning of formal curriculum activities in the Government Center of Curriculum Development), can be viewed as representing the 'prescientific' curriculum era. Development was carried out by officials of the Ministry of Education who focused on the transmission of knowledge and cultural heritage and on the organization of time in schools. The development process was not based on theoretical curricular principles and did not rely on formal evaluation strategies. Teachers were expected to handle the development of instructional methods using a variety of textbooks. No distinctions between differential target populations were made.

The second generation of curricula from 1966 to the late 70's can be viewed as representing the 'scientific development' curriculum era. Development was carried out by special teams composed mainly of subject matter specialists, teachers and curriculum specialists. The development process was characterized by the attempt to adhere to a 'scientific' model consisting of stages including formal evaluation. Teachers were viewed as faithful implementors of developer's intentions as embodied in the curriculum materials, including textbooks and teacher guides, which specified instructional strategies as well as content and objectives. Student target populations were differentiated. Subject matter was presented mainly as 'structure of knowledge.' Special implementation strategies were developed to ensure the dissemination and use of curricula.

The third generation of curricula starts around the late 70's and can be viewed as representing the 'humanistic' curriculum era. Perception of participants in the educational process; teachers and student, became important determinants in the curriculum development process. Responsibility for development was partly transferred to teachers and the process of development became less structured. The special and personal implications of knowledge were emphasized. Curriculum came to be viewed as the total experience of participants, learners as well as teachers, and to some extent parents. Teachers' autonomy and understanding of their educational situation became important curricular considerations. The nature of curriculum materials and implementation strategies changed accordingly. Curriculum materials became increasingly more modular and showed less of a predetermined sequence and rigid structure. Teachers were viewed more as active partners in the development process whose decisions shaped the curriculum in use in their classrooms (Blum & Silberstein, 1979). We shall focus now on specific elements of the curriculum development process and will indicate the expression of each in the different curriculum eras.

Characteristics of Curriculum Rationale (as stated in Guidelines)

Analysis of three Ministry of Education Guidelines representing different generations of development produced the following quantitative results presented in Table 1. Different topics are treated in the Guidelines and constitute the rationale of the diverse curricula. It is interesting to note that all guidelines are presented to teachers as proposals for classroom use. yet, the term 'proposal' is not to be taken too seriously as Ministry circulars (Director of Education Circular 1981, 124/125) state categorically that teachers are expected to adhere to the guidelines. The following categories were used in order to analyze statements in curriculum rationales: description of curriculum (i.e., this curriculum focuses on problems of genetics); nature of anticipated students (i.e., the curriculum was developed for slow learners); values and attitudes (i.e., the main value to be emphasized is love of nature); teachers' role (i.e., curriculum materials offer a rich variety of learning experiences for teachers' choice); nature of the discipline (i.e., biology can be studied only through active inquiry); instructional strategies (i.e., learning should be carried out in group work).

Different categories are emphasized in the rationales. Thus, we find that the role of teachers is stressed in the rationale of the third 'humanistic' curriculum. The nature of the discipline to be taught is elaborated in the rationales of the second, 'scientific' and the third, 'humanistic' curricula. The second generation rationale emphasized instructional strategies to be adopted by teachers implementing the curriculum, whereas the third generation rationale leaves more of the instructional decisions in the hands of teachers. It is interesting to note how intensely the rationale of the first generation in the prescientific curriculum era, relates to values and attitudes. It seems that curriculum developers who stress the transmission of the cultural heritage of mankind as the main educational goal, focus as well on positive attitudes towards the human body and its natural environment, as part of this heritage.

Approach to Subject Matter

The basis of curriculum development in the first pre-scientific era, was coverage of content. Teachers were expected to 'cover content,' and students to 'know content.' Content was interpreted in terms of detailed information. The rationale recommends that teachers should strive to achieve a "synthesis of science and pedagogy" in their teaching. A textbook that was widely used during that period implies that its goal is the attainment of a high level of knowledge in the presented subjects of study (Bartov, 1969).

Superintendents evaluated teachers' efforts according to their ability to cover the content specified in the curriculum guidelines. There was no uniformity in student textbooks, and teachers could choose among those available at the time.

In the 'scientific' curriculum era there occurred a shift toward 'processes of inquiry,' which became the heart of the development of new biology curricula. The dichotomy between form of teaching and content collapsed and the inquiry process was perceived by curriculum developers to be part of the content to be learned, and not only as a means to acquire knowledge. The syntactical structures of science found their way into the curriculum (Schwab, 1964).

An important goal of the curriculum is to recover and reconstruct the scientific mode. Positive anticipated educational outcomes of this approach are the promotion of student independence and autonomy of thought. "Understanding of scientific inquiry and promotion of inquiry ability" are stated as curriculum objectives (Plants and Water, 1974). These new goals brought with them a significant change in students' textbooks which dealt less with specific pieces of information and more with the 'structure of the disciplines' (Schwab, 1964; Martin, 1970). In order to achieve the new goals student textbooks were produced as part of the curriculum development process. These textbooks were perceived by teachers as curriculum to be implemented in their classrooms. It is interesting to note that some teachers tend to be unsatisfied with these new textbooks. "Because of the emphasis on concepts, principles and inquiry, there is a lack of basic knowledge. Therefore, we supplement our teaching with some of the old textbooks." (A 26-year-old biology teacher who has 6 years of teaching practice and has herself studied new second generation curricula while in high school).

The third generation of biology curricula shows a shift back towards more emphasis on specific content coverage. Learning of scientific processes is considered to be an outcome of learning specific content areas, which are perceived as important in their own right. Teachers are to be made aware of the curricular demands in the subject matter area and are held responsible for teaching basic concepts and information. They are, however, free to choose the appropriate learning materials to achieve these goals (Director of Ministry of Education Circular, 1981).

Approach to Students

In the first curriculum generation students were perceived as a homogeneous group. We find expressions like the following: "A general knowledge base in this area has been acquired by students at the elementary level" (proposal for High School Curricula, 1957). It seems to be taken for granted that all students share equal levels of knowledge at a given time and should acquire the same knowledge through further studies. Contrary to that approach, the second generation curricula are highly sensitive to diversity among students. This sensitivity expresses itself in different ways. Thus, the "Animal and its Environment" Curriculum has two separate versions, one for the general student population, and one for disadvantaged students. Teachers' handbooks suggest diverse instructional strategies for heterogeneous classes. For example, dramatization of a narrative is suggested for students with learning difficulties. Conversely, the teacher is requested to devise special learning assignments for students with high ability levels. Not all students are expected to carry out all learning activities. This consideration of students' needs is carried even further in the third generation of curricula here. Students are perceived as partners in decisions related to choice of subjects.

The Role of Teachers

Curriculum developers' approach to teachers' role in the curriculum enterprise seems to have undergone a metamorphosis. In the first generation, the curriculum guidelines were developed by Ministry officials, such as superintendents, without any collaboration of teachers. The alienation between developers and teachers can be detected even in the language of the guidelines. Teachers were not addressed directly, but in the third person, over their heads, so to speak. The rationale declares a striving for an unambiguous common curricular frame. The responsibility for curriculum development was transferred from teachers to agents outside the schools. Thus, extreme digressions, deletions or additions of content, were thought to be avoidable. On the other hand, teachers were given freedom of choice of student textbooks and the educational establishment did not burden them with elaborate handbooks specifying objectives and instructional strategies. In-service training sessions for biology teachers were organized by the biology teacher association in order to assist its members in their work. Some of the more experienced teachers used to meet regularly and elaborated instructional strategies and teaching aids. On the basis of these proposals new textbooks were published. The second 'scientific' curriculum generation perceived teachers a implementors of externally determined curriculum 'packages.' These packages contained specially constructed devices. A new term was created--the "conception" of a curriculum package. Curriculum packages were viewed as being specific educational messages to be transformed by teachers into classroom practice. Superintendents organized massive in-service training to familiarize teachers with the new curricula. Teachers were persuaded to participate in these training sessions and found it difficult to hold their own against subject matter specialists and external curriculum developers. The language of teacher handbooks is directly addressed to teachers and requests are phrased as politely as possible. "You are free to choose your own way of teaching the topic." Yet, "We would like the laboratories to function as the basis for instruction" (BSCS, Hebrew version, 1972).

Sometimes it seems that developers are 'afraid' that the degree of freedom given to teachers is too liberal and they ask teachers "to carry out instructions strictly as prescribed" (BSCS, Hebrew version, 1972). An interesting finding relates to what may be termed "teacher cultivation" carried out by curriculum developers in the second generation of biology curricula. It seems that the developers do their utmost to motivate teachers to use the new curricula, to promote their teaching abilities and to save preparation time of teachers. Thus, we find a great number of teaching aids included in the curriculum package (The animal and its environment, 1078). The teacher's handbook is sometimes more interesting, has more and better illustrations and is better constructed than the students' textbook (Man and landscape, 1981). From an initial stance of minutely specified directions for curriculum realization, a slow shift occurred toward more choice and deliberation on the part of teachers.

In the beginning of the second generation of curricula teachers were expected to adhere to developers' intentions and curriculum evaluation was fidelity oriented. As a matter of fact, the textbook constructed by curriculum developers as an embodiment of their intentions became the curriculum to be implemented. Another, mutual-adaptation, orientation to curriculum implementation came to be accepted (Fulland & Pomfret, 1977) in the third 'humanistic' curriculum generation. Developers' approach to teachers changed. Teachers are viewed as equal partners in curriculum development (Connelly, 1972). Sometimes teachers function as developers (Ben-Peretz, 1978; Sabar & Shafriri, 1978). They are generally expected to adapt curriculum materials to their unique teaching situation. This change was commented on by the teachers in the interviews. Thus, a young biology teacher commented on the extreme closed structure of "The animal and its environment" as opposed to the more flexible and open structure of "Plants and water." The new, third generation curricula in "Biology and agriculture" involve many teachers in the development process. A biology teacher, the director of a Teacher Center, perceives a change in the role of the student textbook which is not considered any more to be the embodiment of curriculum. Teachers' autonomy is viewed as a cardinal aspect of curriculum development. An interesting consequence is the preparation of localistic materials by teachers. These materials are intended for local use only and are not printed so as not to be transformed into a version of 'externally' developed curricula which are imposed on teachers.

Discussion

The trends and changes identified in biology curriculum development in Israel over time can be interpreted in their societal context.

The first pre-scientific generation of biology curricula was developed in a society in which teachers were viewed as professionals in teaching strategies. Knowledge, on the other hand, was perceived as produced by scholars to be transmitted from generation to generation as part of the cultural heritage. This heritage was supposed to constitute an uniting force in society.

The development of the second generation was the outcome of a number of changes in the Israeli society. In order to ensure the best education possible for a developing country, large resources in money and manpower were assigned to the educational establishment. In order to absorb the large wave of immigrants from developing countries and integrate their children into the established society and culture a new structure of schooling was adopted. The creation of this structure, the new integrated junior high school necessitated new curricula. The demand for intellectual and technological excellence, which was considered essential in a country struggling for its existence, was proper ground for adoption of discipline and inquiry oriented curricula. Teachers changing from the old school structure to the new situation and curricula were perceived as needing a large amount of guidance in the implementation process. Experts were brought into the country and Israelis were sent abroad to study educational innovations. 'Scientific' curriculum development was one of these innovations. Teachers were relegated to a secondary role and new curricula were imported, adapted or created. The change was revolutionary and given publicity in the media. As demand was created, parents, teachers and even students began to ask for 'new' curricula. The disillusion with these curricula, as well as a change in social priorities put an end to the large wave of curriculum development. Teachers began to rebel against the boredom of repeating the exact instructional directions of external developers. Many teachers, especially in biology, continued their education and found themselves as well prepared for curriculum development as the 'experts.' Parents began to take an interest in the curriculum of their children and demanded more impact on it. As a result of all these forces, the third generation of biology curricula began to emerge.

As respect for diversity among students and local needs of communities grew, biology curricula started to be developed. Political changes in the country expressed vividly the rebellion against cultural hegemony of the established society. As more and more newcomers from Asian and African countries became politically influential, schools started to reflect the move from a melting pot ideology, through which certain cultural norms were to be imposed, to an open framework in which cultural diversity could express itself.

Table 1: Quantitative Analysis of Rationales of Biology Curricula
(Statements in each category in percentages.)

Curricula	Description of curriculum	Nature of students	Values and Attitudes	Teacher's Role	Nature of Discipline	Instructional Strategies
Generation A	16%	16%	3%	5%	21%	10%
Generation B	10%	19%	10%	5%	32%	24%
Generation C	10%	20%	10%	20%	30%	10%

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The Problem of Purpose in American Education: The Rise and Fall of the Educational Policies Commission

By Paul J. Ortenzio

In June, 1968, the Educational Policies Commission (EPC) ceased all activity within the educational community after thirty-three years of service to the nation. The demise of the EPC caused a serious gap in the statesmanshiplike approach to the development of national educational policy. No group of equal magnitude has replaced the EPC.

What happened during the early years of the Great Depression had a direct relationship in the establishment of the EPC and the important role it and the National Education Association played during the duration of the economic crisis. The crisis the schools faced was not only of economic, but also of philosophic importance. The crisis caused much rethinking of the problems the schools faced and the possible solutions which might be applied to remedy the situation.

The Depression showed itself as a catastrophe from which the people and institutions could not recover without government help. Americans had overcome a number of economic depressions, but none so devastating. No individual or institution was powerful enough to redirect the situation as it existed.

The Educational Policies Commission was established in 1935 in Denver at the convention of the National Education Association. The immediate reason for establishing the Commission lay in the report of the NEA's Committee on the Emergency in Education which had recommended that there be a permanent body to take a long-range look at fundamental questions of American education, particularly with reference to its purposes and its major policies. The first consideration was the fact that no agency in American education had responsibility for long-range thinking about the course of educational events, the directions of and the need for change. Given the decentralized nature of American education, the Committee on the Emergency in Education sensed a need for a disinterested, independent, and respected group to make recommendations on matters of policy in American education.

The principal barrier to the establishment of a permanent commission was money. The NEA however, found sympathetic assistance from the then president of the General Education Board, Edmund E. Day. The General Education Board offered to provide an initial grant of $250,000 to help the EPC through its first five years. There was an understanding that the Commission would be continued by the NEA with support from the Department of the Superintendence. renamed the American Association of School Administrators.

With effervescent enthusiasm. the EPC met for the first time in Washington, D.C., in January, 1936, under the direction of William G. Carr, Secretary. A set of purposes were drawn up to give some meaningful direction to the activities of the commission:

To stimulate thoughtful, realistic, long-term planning within the teaching profession on the highest possible level. looking towards continued adaptation of education to social needs.

2. To appraise existing conditions in education critically and to stimulate educational thinking on all levels so that desirable changes may be brought about in the purposes, procedures and organization of education.
3. To consider and act upon recommendations from all sources for the improvement of education.
4. To make the best practices and procedures in education known throughout the country and to encourage their use everywhere.
5. To develop a more effective understanding and cooperation between various organized groups interested in educational improvement (Mackenzie, 1957).

The immediate focus of attention was to provide a statement of the purposes which the nation might hope would be served by public education. It was felt that understanding the purposes of education in American democracy would cause people to rally to assist institutions of learning--from public elementary and secondary systems to large state universities. The first statement, The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, presented an interpretation of the nature and obligations of education in our national life. The unique quality of the work, as the title suggests, was the tracing of the contributions of American education to the growth of American democracy.

The landmark of this early period was a statement entitled The Purposes of Education in American Demcracy. The document was not a rigid review and reclassification of the Cardinal principles developed by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, but a new classification:

1. The Objectives of Self-Realization
2. The Objectives of Human Relationship
3. The Objectives of Economic Efficiency
4. The Objectives of Civic Responsibility (EPC, 1938).

Each of these objectives was not seen as definitive, but represented "vantage points from which the purposes of education may be studied, the total result being a comprehensive view of the whole" (EPC). The objectives were viewed as a shared experience of the whole community, not the exclusive domain of the school. Forty thousand copies of this document were published in 1938 and an additional 3,000 in 1942. It was the objective of a series of pamphlets and radio programs throughout 1938. The reading audience of the document can only be stated in the tens of thousands. The Purposes of Education in American Democracy gave a new interpretation to the 1918 Report of the Seven Cardinal Principles and became the philosophical model for the Commission until 1961.

In the pre-war years, the EPC culminated its work on the relationship of the American public school to American democracy with a study entitled Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book. The document stressed by example and by lessons how education for democratic living might be carried out in every classroom.

In October, 1941, the EPC produced a document which questioned two of the most sacrosanct features of the New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps, and the National Youth Administration. The EPC asked two questions, (1) the role of the federal government, and (2) its powers in the domain of the states. The basic issue as the Commission saw it was:

> When education needs arise which affect the national welfare, cut across the bounds of states, and appear to be beyond the unaided powers of states to meet, should the federal government operate and control educational programs intended to meet these needs? Or should the federal government undertake to meet these needs by working through the state-and-local educational systems, strengthening these established agencies, supplying leadership and financial aid, but not exercising control over the processes of education? (EPC, 1941).

The document went well beyond the administration of the NYA and the CCC itself; it was the harbinger of a new policy framework for federal relationships to education. The war years, of course, obliterated much of the impact on government of this particular proposal. It did not however, give educators a series of guidelines from which to begin anew in the postwar years to deal with the involvement of the federal government in the National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA), and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA).

The EPC was convinced that there should be a new policy aimed at the well being of youth through a strengthening of the existing state and local educational units. Such strengthening was conceived as a safety valve against the inherent dangers of federal control of education. Many did not perceive the problem to be an important one, but simply an argument about jurisdictions.

James B. Conant, who had just been elected to the Commission for the first time, commented that the report on the CCC and NYA embodied a "radical doctrine, and I have been surprised that it hasn't stirred more comment outside the Commission's circles than it has" (EPC, 1941). Even among the Commission members there were continued shades of misunderstanding about the jurisdictional question. The Commission returned to this question in 1945 with the document Federal-State Relationships to Education. This was published jointly by the EPC and the American Council on Education. The guidelines of this report became the official guidelines of the NEA until 1957.

The ensuing years saw the United States engulfed in war, with public education facing a new challenge of contributing to the strength of the national effort. American Education and the War in Europe reached a circulation of over a third of a million copies. The EPC launched American education into one "dominant purpose--complete, intelligent, and enthusiastic cooperation in the war effort. The very existence of free schools anywhere in the world depends upon the achievement of that purpose" (EPC, 1942).

The most sensitive document concerning the relationship of human beings came from the war years. Education and the People's Peace, written in 1943, was valuable in its presentation of ideas and compelling arguments for democratic institutions wishing to seek and foster a peaceful way of international life through education. The document was instrumental in the later founding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. William G. Carr was a representative at the United Nations San Francisco Conference in 1945. Carr was also in London on the UNESCO staff and was present for the signing of the Charter. Education and the People's Peace called for "nothing less than the systematic and deliberate use of education, on a worldwide basis and planned to help safeguard the peace" (EPC, 1943).

With victory never in doubt, the Commission turned its attention to the general problem of planning the curriculum and program of elementary and secondary education. The EPC published Education for ALL American Youth in 1944; it was a blueprint; it was the ideal. It was written as a plan to guide; it was not written for every community to follow, but "such a development in secondary education," stated the report, "should be brought about within the framework of the local and state educational systems" (EPC, 1944). The document stressed curriculum and methods of instruction so flexible and adaptable that each youth may pursue that course which seems best suited to his abilities, his occupational plans, his personal life as a citizen, worker, and family member.

The comprehensive high school, with its program of common learning, was not to be seen as a proposal of soft pedagogy, that is, an aimless shifting from one point of transient interest to the next without sustained intellectual effort, but lessons of reality, of social context, and reconstructive experience. These aims, embodied in the "Imperative needs of youth", attempted to provide youth with the kind of knowledge "that all young people should have in common in order to live happily and usefully during the years of youth, and grow into the full responsibility of adult life" (EPC, 1944).

In 1952, the EPC undertook the task of revising Education for ALL American Youth under the subtitle A Further Look. The document was prominent more for its discussion than its application. It became a topic of consideration in many college courses, but unfortunately was given much lip service by professional educators. Youth grew, times changed, new national priorities overshadowed the concerns and plans of education, and the EPC's attempt faded with the blue covers of A Further Look. Cremin stated in retrospect that, "in effect, the Commission was projecting the 'schools of tomorrow' that the United States might have if it was willing to buy the progressive dream" (Cremin, 1964).

The years between the postwar planning and the nationalistic shift of emphasis as a result of Sputnik belong together in the history of the EPC. The progressive legacy of the best schools, the best mind, and a democratic cooperation for a better society characterized this period. "Education for democracy must be truly universal in its scope and purpose," stated the Commission, and "only by having in every community schools which meet this test, may we hope to achieve our historic purpose" (EPC, 1951). As the early years of the Commission were dominated by attempts to have the population aware of the unique function of education in American life, the Commission attempted to show that citizenship education and international understanding were the hallmarks of good education. The Commission stated, "the road to peace through education is broad and it may be long, but no other way can be either permanent or secure" (EPC, 1951).

The Russian space venture in 1957 greatly affected the character of American education. In the field of instruction, it carried an assortment of powerful prescriptions borne, however, by an ill wind. The treatment was worse than the self-induced disease. The demand that the schools be geared to academic excellence applied pressures on the institutions graduating teachers, local administrators, and an entire generation of students.

We need not dwell upon the activities of the various sponsorships during the era of the pursuit of excellence and discipline-centered curriculum reforms to know that they altered the course of events in American education. They affected all levels of instruction. In the aftermath of this era, the EPC was abolished in the changing social, political and educational environment. The important question is, how did the EPC fit into this equation and why was the EPC abolished in the aftermath of this traumatic time?

I have developed five lines of explanation: 1) the EPC relinquished its role to the private foundation and the NSF; 2) the EPC was overshadowed by the national pursuit of excellence; 3) EPC publications lacked impact in the last years of operation; 4) loss of leadership qualities; 5) the growing militancy of the NEA.

The EPC Relinquished its Role to the Private Foundations and the National Science Foundation

The EPC relinquished its function as a generator of policy to that of mirroring the larger influences of the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the private foundations; the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. The EPC position of embracing the disciplines-doctrine in the post-sputnik era was expressed in the publication of The Central Purpose of American Education and Education and the Spirit of Science. Embracing the position of the structure of the disciplines alienated a large segment of the educational population philosophically at a time when the nation was beginning to turn to social problems. The EPC continued to deal with the problems of the discipline-centered reforms while the private foundations were reordering their focus to social problems in the middle Sixties.

When the EPC had no competitors in the area of policy making, its existence was safe. The EPC began losing this positional safety in the postwar years as the large foundations encroached upon the realm of influence enjoyed by the Commission. Entry into the areas of education by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation brought vast sums of money, power and influence beyond the scope of the EPC.

EPC Overshadowed by the National Pursuit of Excellence

The deliberative style and progressive concerns of the EPC were overshadowed by the national pursuit of excellence in the late 1950's and early 1060's. The EPC became one voice among many; it was no longer the single voice. The aims of the educational planning fostered by the private foundations and the national curriculum projects were very different from those the EPC traditionally supported. The EPC became caught in an effort to make education's purposes oriented to narrow nationalistic goals.

EPC Publications Lack Impact

The EPC publications became ethereal and out of touch with the problems of curriculum development. Instead of continuing its traditional progressive long-range planning, the EPC mirrored the plans of the pursuit of academic excellence following Sputnik I. In the middle Sixties, the problems of the disadvantaged, the war in Vietnam, and the sense of social dissatisfaction claimed the nation's interests. The EPC, in effect, vacillated and the Commission shifted with the issues. It lost its steadfast progressive quality.

Loss of Leadership Qualities

It became more difficult for the EPC to get prominent educators to serve on the Commission. Part of the reason for the difficulty rested with the NEA. The Association insisted in the early Sixties that all commissions and committees be represented by a majority of classroom teachers in their ranks. A necessary lack of broad experience soon became evident.

The Growing Militancy of the NEA

The growing militancy of the NEA in the Sixties had a direct effect on the position of the EPC. The election of officers of the Association who saw as their main task the improvement of the social position of teachers caused dissonance between the EPC and its sponsor. A clear cleavage developed between the NEA and the AASA by the very nature of the teacher militancy phenomenon. In this schema, the NEA represented labor and the AASA, management. The EPC was sponsored by both and, therefore, walked a precarious path. The EPC leadership had voiced its opposition to collective bargaining and, therefore, caused frictions to grow between it and the NEA.

An Assessment of Influence

I have chosen to use Mackenzie's model of curriculum change and Dahl's definition of power and influence to assess the influence of the EPC in the areas of advocacy and communication, prestige, competence, money, policy, and cooperation (Mackenzie, 1957).

With reference to Mackenzie's model of curriculum change and Dahl's definition of power and influence, assessing the EPC requires that each of Mackenzie's sources of power be analyzed in accordance with the action taken by the participants.

Advocacy and Communication

Until the last half of the 1960's, the EPC advocated the widest possible expansion of the democratic way of life as the purpose of schools; and how to look ahead and plan for this eventuality. While it was interrupted many times, the Commission always returned to the citizen in American society as the key to the fulfillment of the democratic ideals of the nation, and of democracy itself.

The EPC produced 98 major policy statements from 1936 to 1968, with a total distribution of over two and one-half million copies.

Prestige

The EPC started its existence with prestige. It drew to itself for most of its tenure, prominent educators and laymen. Mackenzie has stated that the prestige of individuals and groups advocating a change is undoubtedly a factor in their effectiveness.

Only a partial listing of Commissioners is necessary to establish the fact that the Commission was prestigious:

Ralph J. Bunche
William G. Carr
Lotus Coffman
James Bryant Conant
George S. Counts
Lawrence G. Derthick
Dwight D. Eisenhower
John H. Fischer
Willard Givens
Charles Judd
James A. Killian, Jr.
Max Lerner
Isidore I. Rabi
Leo Rosten
John Sexson
S. D. Shankland
Alexander J. Stoddard
George D. Stoddard
George Strayer
John W. Studebaker
Stephen Wright
George F. Zook

Many educators through the years of EPC service, attested not only to its prestige and competence, but also to its earnestness. Even Rickover, Bestor, and Hofstadter's attacks were testimony to the prestige of the Commission. Obviously, if there had been no influence, there would not have been any attempt to discredit the Commission's stand and past work. If the Commission's work was insignificant, it could have been by-passed and forgotten, but it was not.

Policy

The purpose of the EPC was, from the beginnings in 1935, an effort to develop long-range planning for American public education based on democratic principles. While not always in the vanguard, the EPC, nevertheless, proposed policies which influenced and caused to influence those to whom a greater authority was delegated, chiefly the local superintendent and professional staff personnel.

In looking back over the 33 years of its existence, the EPC exerted more of a force for change than the quick change of a violent reordering of priorities caused by national reorganization of values and educational goals. The EPC was deliberate, steady and painstakingly optimistic about the future of American education for all those who dared to test the democratic faith in education. It had its audiences, those who cheered and surprisingly very few who booed. In its steadfastness it was always conscious of the purposes of American education.

The EPC is part of the past, but the lessons it hoped to inculcate should not be forgotten. At a time in our society when there appears to be so much searching for a sense of value in education, the work of the Commission stands as a hall mark of deep human concern.

While the use of the word democratic is conspicuously missing in much of the educational literature today, the understanding of the meaning of democracy expressed by the EPC is most important. More than ever, an appreciation for the social ideal and concerned community life for all has become a social imperative. When less than a community concern exists, men, women, and their children open the doors to a less compassionate government. The lesson of the EPC was clear: the inclusive purpose of the schools is the democratic life. The problem of purpose at present is to reconstruct society for all to share in the good life. In this role the school is vital.

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The Merger of Curriculum Journal and Educational Method: Effects of the Curriculum Field

By Murry R. Nelson, Pennsylvania State University
and H. Wells Singleton, University of Toledo

This study arose from the number of questions about the status of curriculum writing and dissemination in the 1930's and 40's. One question concerned the nature of professional curriculum discussion in journals, particularly the Curriculum Journal. Implicit in them were the questions of who contributed to Curriculum Journal, what the articles were concerned with, and what the goals of the journal were. Since Curriculum Journal merged with Educational Method in 1943, it seemed expeditious to ask the same questions of this latter journal, that is, what the goals of the journal were, what content was covered, who authored the articles, and, in addition, to what extent was the journal concerned with curriculum. O. L. Davis, Jr.'s article on the formation of ASCD discussed some of these issues briefly but these were really tangential to the professional merger and its implications.

Essentially lost in the shuffle of merger and the chronicling of it was an examination of how the field of curriculum was served in the new journal Educational Leadership as opposed to the former situation. Since no journal devoted exclusively to curriculum emerged until more than 25 years later (with the first "typed" copies of Curriculum Theory Network), an investigation into the status of curriculum vis a vis the three journals seemed apropos.

Questions immediately arose as to how such an investigation should proceed. It was agreed that two approaches seemed most expeditious, both of which are, quite frankly, more tenuous than would be hoped. First was the development and administration of a questionnaire, really an opinionnaire to a select group of individuals who seemed most closely associated with the journals under scrutiny. These individuals were members of the respective editorial boards or editorial staff immediately prior to the union of the two journals in 1943.

Most of the individuals were quite difficult to contact because of an inability to find addresses 35 years later. Some, of course, were deceased, but a few others were still able to be found without much difficulty. These latter individuals were sent, along with the opinionnaire, a sheet that listed editorial members not "accounted for" and space for filling in addresses, if known.

The questionnaire formulated tried to elicit response to the general concern--did the new journal serve the field as well (or in the same manner) as the former two had done? Authors, content, and utility of the journals were queried, and it was hoped that this data would aid in the second method used to assess the journals, that of direct examination of them by us.

The examination was an exhaustive process and involved going through each journal issue for various years to note stylistic, structural, and content changes as well as the affiliation of article authors. The hope was that a pattern, of sorts, might emerge to more easily justify conclusions. One very crude method used was to simply classify articles and authors as to content and affiliation. It is obvious that mere numbers are not always the most conclusive data, but there seemed to be no way successfully to measure the "true" importance of any specific article, especially in relation to any other.

Thus, our conclusions, meager as they are, are still very questionable as to their reliability and validity. However, that has not deterred us from presenting the data at this meeting; the conclusions, however, are subject to close scrutiny, by the Society for the Study of Curriculum History and by others.

Educational Method

As Davis notes, the journal was founded by and published for the National Conference on Educational Method in September, 1921. The National Conference was founded "to provide a means of unification of effort in the field of supervision and teaching." The new journal was intended to "devote itself whole-heartedly to the improvement of teaching." The purpose of the journal and the conference was further clarified by defining educational method as follows:

> The term educational method will be interpreted to mean not only the procedures of teachers, but also those of the pupils, on the one hand, and those of the supervisors and trainers of teachers on the other.

It is important also to note the intended audience and use for the journal as stated.

> Every number of the Journal will be planned with reference to its possible use by a supervisor in his meetings with his teachers or by an instructor in his meetings with his teachers or by an instructor in his classes in education.

The approach was holistic, Deweyean and the articles accurately reflected that. William Heard Kilpatrick wrote a regular column clarifying points of the method. Today that view is well served by developmentalists who follow the similar inspiration of Dewey or Piaget, though there are scholars, like Kieran Egan, seriously questioning the whole foundation of that thought.

The first issues of the journal consisted of the sessions from the first conference on educational method. The sessions (thus the first articles) and subsequent articles were concerned with supervision, testing and identification of students, methods of teaching, relating course of study to testing and experimentation and, to a much less degree, curriculum development.

With Volume V, the Journal changed publishers from the World Book company to the Bureau of Publications of Teachers College. The rationale for this move may have foreshadowed later economic concerns.

> For the sake of convenience the business office and the editorial office have been brought closer together. The move will, it

is hoped, result in greater economy and ease of operation.

This change would have no effect on the editorial policy which continued unchanged. Examining volume five does reinforce that statement since the substance of the articles does appear consistent with the first issues. There were some solid curriculum pieces such as a discussion of David Snedden's curriculum research and "The general pattern of teacher and pupil activities" by Orland O. Norris, but those were clearly exceptions.

In 1928 the National Conference on Educational Method became part of the NEA as the National Conference of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction and soon changed the "National Conference" to Department.

The articles in 1932 (volume 12) could very well be problems in curriculum if one uses the broad definition offered by Egan (1978) but generally the thrust of the issues was not toward considered deliberation on curriculum. The most common attention to curriculum was a listing of course offerings in a grade level or a subject area which then detailed the "projects" within the area (units, if you will). The extensive faith in the scientific view of education is obvious and probably inhibited a non-scientific based curriculum from being developed or, possibly, even considered. Again this is a broad generalization but articles like "Building an elementary school curriculum" by Mabel Simpson (1932) stand out as exceptions.

By Volume 15 (1936), Teachers College was no longer publishing Educational Method and the Department was now doing so on its own. An interesting article discussing "The distinction between course of study writing and curriculum development" based on a discussion topic of the July 1935 Denver meeting, appeared in the October issue. The November issue contained four articles which, though not specifically curriculum pieces, provided the type of philosophical underpinings necessary for rational curriculum formulation. These were "Education through work in a time of social change," "What shall our schools teach as patriotism?," "Democracy at the crossroad," and "But should we indoctrinate?" The remainder of the volume again gave short shrift to curriculum development, evaluation or deliberation.

Volume 20 revealed a larger editorial board (of eight), seven advisory editors and a list of state chairman whose function seems unclear. This latter structure was incorporated into ASCD after the merger and served (even today) as a prime organizer and recruiter of perpetuative programs for the organization.

Of the eight theme issues published that school year (1940-41), none focused on curriculum development, though here and there an article appeared that had that thrust (see Table 1).

The authors throughout most years of the journal were generally evenly distributed between college or university people and school people (teachers, supervisors) with a smattering of state education department people and others. It was impossible in many years to determine if school people were teachers or administrators since positions were not always given though institutional affiliations were. Table 2 gives a tally of authorship for volumes 15, 19 and 20. This was done forEducational Method, Curriculum Journal and Educational Leadership to see if changes from previously established patterns of authorship might have emerged after the merger. Admittedly, this was a crude measure but it is offered without any conclusive comments. (As it was, no significant patterns seemed to change in this area anyway.)

Curriculum Journal was a product of the Society for Curriculum Study. "The Society...a combination of groups of public school and of college workers in the newly emerging curriculum field, had been organized in 1929 under the leadership of Henry Harad" (Davis, 1978). Davis went on to say that the Curriculum Journal began publication in 1935 although a "News Bulletin" had been issued to members as early as 1930 (Davis, 1978). That proclamation of emergence really depends on one's definition of the Journal because its appearance as a formalized publication was almost accidental.

The first News Bulletins of the Society, now referred to (at least by reference librarians!) as Volumes I-III, were really occasional comments and compilations. Henry Harad did an annual bibliography of curriculum making and a few one or two page commentaries and announcements completed the bulletins. An announcement of interest to today's curriculum historian appeared in the June 22, 1931 News Bulletin. It stated that "of 373 research studies reported by 101 cities for the year ending August 1930, 24 were made in the field of curriculum" This was six percent of the total "which confirms earlier data showing that city school research bureaus are negligible sources of fundamental curriculum research." This is in marked contrast to school surveys later praised by this group (and the subject of a presentation at the Society for the Study of Curriculum History in April, 1979).

The September 28, 1931 Bulletin contained a survey (two sentences--two paragraph entries) of curriculum activities of city school systems with over 200 cities listed, but articles were still not a part of the Bulletin. What constituted these three "issues" were annotated bibliographies, lists and news of members (approximately 85 by 1932), quotes from other curriculum materials, program discussion, courses of study, a listing of these in Curriculum Making and brief articles (really comments).

The intended exclusivity of the Society was clearly presented in a statement in Volume IV, No. 2 (or News Bulletin No. 2 of 1933).

> The membership should be limited to the following workers: Curriculum directors; administrative officers in charge of curriculum making; supervisory officersin charge of curriculum making; special or general consultants in curriculum revision; authors or investigators in curriculum making; and instructors in curriculum making.

This statement appeared in subsequent issues of the News Bulletin. The November 27, 1933 edition bore for the first time both a Volume number (IV) and a table of contents though no articles were in the publication. The general tenor of the bulletins was one of "professional sharing" to help others in the field of curriculum making.

Starting with volume five, the journal published short, though legitimate articles (e.g., Bobbitt on Curriculum Theory in No. 1 which was the subject of three commentaries in issue 2). Issue three had six articles drawn from the annual meeting and there was also a list of the twelve active committees and committee members of the society. For a small organization, the Society was extremely active (as of Volume 5, No. 5, membership had risen to approximately 275).

With Volume VI, the News Bulletin officially changed and initiated the name *Curriculum Journal* which carried lengthier 3-8 page articles. (It should be noted that in the entire life of the *Journal* articles were never very long, in contrast to occasional lengthy pieces in *Educational Method*.) Also in Volume VI a stated Society purpose was proferred

> to publish one or more journals devoted to the advancement of sound curriculum revision; to promote curriculum investigation, experimentation and research.

Despite the addition of a dark paper cover for Volume VII and subsequent binding, the journal continued to be mimeographed as it always had been. This practice ended in 1937 with Volume VIII when the *Journal* was printed. The stated reason for this was the rise in mimeograph costs, but with this more professional appearance, the editor (Henry Harad) noted the loss of the former flexibility the *Journal* had possessed. The advent of professional appearance also heralded a more formal article format, but there were still sections of the *Curriculum Journal* devoted to professional reporting and sharing. In fact the *Journal* always started with four or five pages of curriculum news notes and *then* presented articles which were almost exclusively on curriculum development, evaluation and deliberation.

Occasionally articles that seemed more appropriate to *Educational Method's* goals appeared in the *Curriculum Journal* (e.g., "What is a unit of work?" by Paul Leonard) but these were as rare as Curriculum Concerns in *Educational Method*. This pattern held true in Volume 10 with articles like "Learning to read a paper," the exception to the curriculum thrusts.

Volume 11 generally grew in number of articles, but also increased the number of educational method or supervision articles as did Volume 12. Volumes 13 and 14, like the last issues of *Educational Method* were increasingly concerned with the war and the school's role in it. The content of the journals clearly had more overlap than ever before but the war was an atypical occurrence. It should be reiterated that merger talks had begun as early as 1936 but the issues involved were only concerned with the two journals on a very secondary basis. The authors of the last years of *Curriculum Journal* have been grouped by institutional affiliation in Table 3. As discussed previously, the pattern is similar to that of *Educational Method* so the affiliations of authors in the new journal *Educational Leadership* are of no critical consequence.

The last issue of both *Educational Method* and *Curriculum Journal* carried the statement of merger describing the new "Program of supervision and curriculum development," as approved by the Board of Directors at the Chicago meeting in March 1943.

The statement contained general beliefs, ideas for a long-range program, identification of immediate problems that must be faced and implementation ideas. Within the long range program were seven suggestions in the area of curriculum and teaching as they should be dealt with especially during "the present emergency." Some of these general notions, though noble, went no further. These included the de-emphasis of nationalism and the increased study of cultural diversity, global study of the human struggle to achieve a better life, a reanalysis of the curriculum and a focus on the tools or processes of learning. The statement was generally more concerned, however, with supervision, leadership, teacher training and policy analysis (in a simple manner) than curriculum. As for the new journal, its "major emphasis will be given to problems and issues raised in the statement of program." This consistency is to be admired but the result was certainly not advantageous to the field of curriculum making.

Educational Leadership. The new journal, *Educational Leadership*, began in October, 1943. Unlike the clear statements of purpose offered in the inaugural issues of both *Educational Method* and *Curriculum Journal*, *Educational Leadership* began with a vague, ambiguous definition of its role.

> The term leader as used to guide the affairs of this magazine will refer to all who in marked degree demonstrate two abilities in education--the ability to help their fellows see ahead those things that need to be done and the ability to help their fellows find the energy enthusiastically to do those things.

The first two years of the new journal were devoted largely to educational issues and the war and it seems unfair to compare that unique situation to other years. Volume three (1945-46) had eight issues, only one of which, No. 3, gave any significant attention to curriculum development and/or deliberation. *Educational Leadership* adopted the theme pattern of *Educational Method* and most of the themes were interpreted as not much to say about curriculum. Themes for Volumes 3 and 4 are shown in Table 4. Since issue 3 was on "Experimenting for a better curriculum," it is not surprising that there were articles in it with a direct curriculum thrust. No other issue however contained more than two curriculum articles and the professional curriculum sharing of *Curriculum Journal* had been eliminated almost totally.

As noted in the purpose of this study, there was an attempt made to contact educators who had been intimate with the editorial functions of one of the two former journals. These educators were sent a questionnaire (really an opinionnaire) that tried to discern their views on how well the new journal maintained the integrity of the new old ones. The response to this opinionnaire was disappointing. Of the seven sent, only one provided any detail at all--that of Lou LaBrant. She noted that the new journal looked more like Curriculum Journal (though sge was not a regular reader of it), but also said that she "did not follow the new magazine." Since Professor LaBrant was the last editor of Educational Method, it was hoped that her comments would have been particularly useful. Unfortunately they were not, though she answered congently and coherently. She stressed the economic difficulties in the two organizations (and thus the journals) and felt that, more than anything, led to the events that occurred.

Our own simple analysis of the new journal indicates that curriculum as a field of endeavor suffered greatly because of the merger. This is not to criticize Educational Leadership as to the timeliness of its goals. That criticism would not only be unwarranted but inaccurate.

What is being described was the destruction of an identifiable curriculum periodical that served many purposes. First its very existence served to further legitimatize the field of curriculum making as a professional educational endeavor. Second, the journal provided a forum for true curriculum deliberation on both a theoretical and pragmatic basis. Third, the journal served as a medium for professional sharing in the field of curriculum making.

Schwab's concern over a lack of curriculum journals was evident for twenty-five years previous to his observation but only within the last ten years have we seen journals devoted exclusively to curriculum reemerge. Do we need such journals? The question is meant to be rheotrical; of course we do. Similarly there was a need for them from 1944 to 1970 and the loss of Curriculum Journal may have retarded the field of curriculum much more than we realize.

Table 1

Themes for Educational Method
Vol. 20-22
(1940-41 - 1942-43)

Number	Volume 20	21	22
1	Professional Growth of Teachers	Supervision	School Opens in the Midst of War
2	Educational Method and Philosophical Theory	Art	Books and Teaching
3.	Reading and Reading Instruction	Children's Books and Magazines	War, School and Community Work
4	General issue	Methods	Freedom, Supervision and the War
5	General issue	Mental Hygiene	General (War focus)
6	Studies of Research and Cooperation Studies Between Schools and Universities	Basic Studies	War
7	Supervision and Leadership	Paper from Annual Meeting	Reading/War
8	Summer Reading	Summer Reading; the War	The Merger/General

Table 2
Educational Method
Author's Institutional Affiliation

	Volume 15 (35-36)	19 (39-40)	20 (40-41)
College or University	26	29	28
Public or Private School	26	17	15
State (or US) Departments of Education	2	6	1
Others*	4	4	7

*National Education Association
A Physician at a Private School
New York Public Library
Director WBNS/Radio
Kellogg Fund
Massachusetts General Hospital
Educational Policies Commission
General Education Board
Institute for the Study of Personality Development

Table 4
Themes for Educational Leadership
Volumes 3-4

	Volume 3	Volume 4
1	In-service	Our changing World
2	Skills	Frontiers in Teacher Education
3	Experimenting for A Better Curriculum	Balanced Living for Children and Youth
4	Changing Concepts of Supervision	Supervision--Adventure in Human Relationships
5	Educational Planning	The School Community
6	Teachers as Individuals	We Look at Grouping
7	Studies in Child Development	Teachers Evaluate
8	General Education for Twelve Years	Education in Operation

Table 3
Curriculum Journal
Author's Institutional Affiliation

	Volume 9	11	12	13	14(5 Issues)
College or University	28	18	17	16	8
Public or Private School	18	21	15	10	12
Departments of Education	2	4	6	6	1
Others*	1	2	2	1	1

*US Office of Indian Affairs
Minister
Camp Director
Rural Electrification Administration
National Congress of Parents and Teachers

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The Myth of Patriotism and the Preservation of Economic Control: A Theory for the Censure of Harold Rugg

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> The role of power in American life is a curious one. The privilege of controlling the actions or of affecting the income and property of other persons is something that no one of us can profess to seek or admit to possessing...
>
> Despite this convention which outlaws ostensibly pursuit of power and which leads to a constant search for euphemisms to disguise its possession, there is no indication that as a people, we are averse to power. On the contrary, few things are more valued, and more jealously guarded by their possessors, in our society (Galbraith, 1956).

In these passages we are reminded of a thread that passes through the varied fabric of our American society. That thread is power. During the 1930's varied social and economic viewpoints were brought before the public. Each of these viewpoints represented a particular group or political force in America. Two particular opposing forces sought predominance. One group sought political and economic change through social reconstruction. The other group, representing key conservative forces in our country, stood for the maintenance of the status quo. While neither group necessarily embodied the views of the vast majority of Americans, their views served to draw into sharp focus essential issues confronting America during a deeply troubling period.

Lasswell says "The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential (Lasswell, 1958). Power groups use pressure strategies and political influence as instruments for change. Their quest is for public consent. In America the last resort, when lacking consent, is to use physical force. This has never been accepted as an appropriate solution. Power, no matter what is the gradation of its authority (generally persuasive to autocratic), is built upon relations among human beings. Dahl reinforces this point when he states, "A political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule, or authority" (Dahl, 1963). Therefore, in the interactions of human beings in a democracy such as ours, there can occur attempts by one person or group to influence another. An essential element, resulting from such influence, is the acquiescence or consent of the person or group being influenced. In a democracy, it is posited that public consent is achieved through an informed opinion arrived at by means of a rational thought process (Ogle, 1950). Public consent, therefore, works best when it is built upon valid information.

The quest for public consent implies the necessity for "shaping" public opinion. This paper represents an analysis of one aspect of such a quest for public consent. The pressure group in question is the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). The NAM and several business and patriotic groups sympathetic to the free enterprise viewpoint, joined forces to thwart the influence of progressive educator Harold Rugg. Rugg's textbooks, in the hands of junior high school students, caused students to examine social and economic issues. The result, ultraright conservatives felt, was the creation of a public able to question the validity of the views these ultraright conservatives sought to bring before the nation. The quest for public consent required an appreciative, not a questioning, public. Harold Rugg, and progressivists like him, represented a threat to those American ideals of freedom and rugged individualism which these ultraright conservatives espoused.

Gordon N. Mackenzie (1964) has devised a system for analyzing curriculum change. Mackenzie's schema considers the participants, the sources of power, the phases in the process of change and the determiners of the curriculum. Each of these operates within the cultural context of our society. Mackenzie sees this cultural context exerting influence on each of the subparts of his schema. Professor Mackenzie (1964) notes that this cultural context is a "...pervasive influence...within which the schools..." operate.

Applied to this present research, for example, the Mackenzie schema might be read as follows: participants in curriculum change (e.g., the NAM, the Legion, etc.), have control of certain sources of power as well as methods of influence (e.g., advocacy, communication, prestige and money) which, when initiated by external participants (in the form of criticism, evaluation of proposals for change), results in the ability to influence the determiners of the curriculum (e.g., the textbooks, the subject matter and the teachers).

Influencing the determiners of the curriculum then becomes the chief purpose of those groups wielding power. By influencing the determiners such power groups can then actuate the changes in the curriculum that they seek.

This paper, to which I have given the title "The myth of patriotism and the preservation of economic control: A theory for the censure of educator Harold Rugg," is not born out of a doubt about patriotism nor out of consternation over the issue of economic control. Rather, this study is an attempt to focus on the politics of influence (power) by analyzing the quality of those issues, economic and patriotic, which surrounded the censure of Harold Rugg. Furthermore, this is an attempt to ascertain the extent to which patriotic issues were central to the motives and the actions of the NAM and those organizations that worked in concert with them during the late 1930's and early 1940's. Finally, this paper endeavors to put into the record an account of the interlocking political and economic relationships of these groups as they sought to deal with a common concern: what they perceived as the need to defend the American system of free enterprise.

One manifestation of such a mission, particularly as it related to education, was the NAMs efforts to influence the method and content of the social studies curriculum. The NAM's efforts extended beyond a concern for a presumed lack of patriotism or the teaching of economic theories seen as contrary to the free enterprise point of view. Their views on pedagogy were explicitly made known. At one of the series of joint conferences of business leaders and educators, Henning W. Prentis, Jr., vice president of the NAM, suggested that schools should stress mental training, and that this be accomplished in fundamental programs (Prentis, 1939). Prentis (1939) went on to say, "Elaborate equipment and advanced instruction in specialized subjects should be reserved for that minority of the population that can use it to their own advantage and that of the body politic." Dr. William F. Russell, at the time Dean of Teachers College, and Dr. Paul R. Mort of the Advanced School of Education, had initiated this series of conferences between business men and educators. Russell had recognized the deepening gaps between education and business. The schools, only a generation before, had been considered the "bulwark" of American liberties. However, in the intervening years, the influences of industrial technology, a world war, and the Great Depression, had conspired to put the social ideas of many American educators at odds with the more conservative elements of our society who had faith in the laissez-faire economic system.

The late 1890's and early 1900's had been the heyday of capitalism. In 1929 the bubble burst. Prosperity, good times, high employment--in short, all the things which pointed to a bright future seemed to come to an abrupt end (Bowden, 1974). William E. Leuchtenburg (1958) notes, "Never was a decade snuffed out so quickly as the 1920's. The Great Depression forced the public to take a hard look at the cause of this economic collapse. For some people the stock market crash was seen as a verdict handed down in answer to the irresponsibility and immaturity of extravagant men without social conscience" (Leuchtenburg, 1958). However, not all people felt this way. "Before the Crash, the more exuberant boosters had proclaimed a New Era. Poverty was to be vanquished by mass consumption" (Bird). In a sense this approach was seen as a patriotic duty (Bird). These attitudes reveal the divergent economic and concomitant philosophic viewpoints which prevailed during the decade of the Great Depression.

The Crash of 1929 left business leadership in disarray. Tedlow, in his dissertation, reveals the devastating effect the Great Depression had upon the National Assoociation of Manufacturers (Tedlow, 1976). By the end of 1931, the NAM was in a state of crisis. It was evident that the association could not, in their existing state, rally the business-industrial community. Corporations, cutting their expenses, terminated their affiliation with the NAM. By 1933, the membership of the NAM had dropped to 1,469; in 1922, it has been at a high of 5,350 (Tedlow, 1976). At a time when the industrial community should have looked to the NAM for leadership, industrial firms, instead, cut their ties. Attached and maligned by a public which only a few years earlier had held business and industrial executives in high esteem, business-industrial leadership fought hard to prevent what appeared to be the beginning of public interest in a socialistic order.

The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 had barely been accomplished when a group of wealthy businessmen, self styled the "Brass Hats," began to evolve a plan to revive the leadership role of business-industrial interests in American society (Hearings, 1939). Made up of a group of industrialists who had among them men who were known for their traditional hard line, the "Brass Hats" sought, through the restructuring of the ailing NAM, to revive the stature and influence of business (Tedlow, 1976). From this nucleus grew a more formal committee which ultimately set the tone and the direction for the NAM. Only quality leadership, it was recognized, could serve the goal of "business salvation" (Henderson, 1936).

A key element in the revitalized NAM's program was the establishment of a public relations committee whose function it was to initiate and carry out a public "education" program designed to bring before the public the business-industrial point of view. In time, the NAM's program of "education," that was initiated in 1933 and 1934, became a major component of their defense of the status quo.

Along with the development of an aggressive public relations program, the NAM undertook to rebuild the membership of the association. Within a period of four years, as a result of the NAM's field agents promoting the need for a united industry, the membership had more than doubled. At the same time a "power elite" was developing in the National Association of Manufacturers. Who are the "power elite?" Describing this group within the economic-political hierarchy, C. Wright Mills (1957) states that,

> The elite cannot be truly thought of as men who are merely doing their duty. They are the ones who determine their duty, as well as the duties of those beneath them. They are not merely following orders: they give the orders. They are not merely bureaucrats: they command bureaucracies. They may try to disguise these facts from others and from themselves by appealing to traditions of which they imagine themselves the instruments, but there are many traditions and they must choose which ones they will serve.

The NAM "power elite," much as Wright describes, were men who saw their goals as just and in the best interests of the America they envisioned.

Just as business-industrial interests began to regroup and organize in order to regain their position of authority in America, an equally aggressive group of social reconstructionists and experimentalists from the progressive education movement sought to make the social and economic institutions of America more responsive to the needs of society. The Social Frontier magazine provided a valuable forum through which these educators presented their views.

Progressivism, as it pertained to education, represented in its broadest sense as much a reaction to traditional education as it was a philosophic statement. Progressivism, while it was a twentieth-century phenomenon, had its origins in empiricism, naturalism, and pragmatism (Tanner, 1980). Recognizing this complex philosophical base is critical to understanding the diversity of educational approaches which were implemented during the 1930's. Furthermore, by having such an awareness it is possible to understand why the lay public would be confused. In fact, Burnett indicates that many teachers, not solidly versed in educational philosophy, muddled through their careers not fully appreciating the distinctions (Burnett, 1979).

In basic terms, progressivism was a way of approaching education which emphasized freedom, independent thinking, democratic social orientation, individuality, activity, purposeful learning, and problem solving (Gwynn, 1960). Within this movement, there existed several philosophic 'camps': romantic naturalism, social reconstructionism, and experimentalism. Of the three philosophic views, only two, social reconstructionalism and experimentalism are pertinent to this paper. Experimentalism prescribed an orderly reorganization of society through reflective thinking; emphasis, therefore, was on an educated public. Social reconstructionalists sought an ideal social order and provided for the analysis of society's flaws and for immediate corrective action; emphasis, therefore, was on social activism. Although they shared a common concern for social issues, the reconstructionist found experimentalism too neutral and individualistic. Tanner and Tanner (1980) provide a synoptic view of these philosophic differences.

Harold Rugg, who has been referred to in some research studies as a social reconstructionist, appears to this researcher to be more closely allied with experimentalism. However, it is not the intent of this paper to attempt to narrowly define the philosophical position of Rugg. To do so would be to divert the central purpose of this presentation. It is important, however, that Rugg be recognized not as a radical educator, but rather one who had a democratic view of how social and economic issues should be resolved through educational reconstruction. Rugg's leaning toward the experimentalist approach reflects his respect for the social and philosophic views of John Dewey. Rugg's efforts to help young people to learn to take thought before they took action is just one example of Dewey's influence on Rugg.

Harold Rugg's extensive writing on curriculum theory, as well as his textbook series Man and his changing society attest to his deep commitment to improving society through democratic educational institutions. These institutions would be conceived so as to help young people solve problems through reflective thinking and the scientific method.

Throughout this century the NAM has exhibited an interest in the school curriculum (Fern, 1959). During much of this period, the NAM had criticized the public school curricula and program of instruction. In 1928 the NAM suggested that some students would be better off going to work rather than going to school. Dewey reacted to the NAM's position. In a speech, he said:

> ...when we find a body of men approaching the condition of our public schools with the obvious purpose of using these evils (inadequate program in instruction) to detract from the significance and importance of the work of the public schools, that (sic) we have a right to be suspicious of any furher conclusions or recommendations which they put forth (Dewey, 1928).

He noted that he didn't see the manufacturers suggesting that children on Park Avenue should go to work instead of school. Dewey concluded his remark by stating:

> Any genuinely practical idealism will go upon the belief that what the wisest and best of human parents want for their own children that the community as a whole should want for the children of the community as a whole (Dewey, 1928).

In the late 1930's, the NAM was still suggesting a class system of education which, while it allowed for a basic education for all, in fact stressed an elitist program of advanced training using a process of selection much as was done "...in selecting applicants for West Point and Annapolis..." (Prentis, 1938). This approach to education went counter to those views expressed by progressive educators.

As it was initially conceived, the NAMs public "education program" was designed to project a particular viewpoint favorable to industry (Walker & Sklar, 1938). The NAMs early efforts included: a) Billboard posters praising America as a land of opporunity, b) A radio program called "The American Family Robinson," which dramatized how hard work and perseverance paid off, and c) A folksy cartoon character, called Uncle Abner, who gave out homely sayings on the state of government and the free enterprise system. These early efforts were designed to appeal to a general public. The nature of the material, however, was not geared to the felt needs of the individuals who made up this "general public."

Just as the manufacturers were reorganizing their association, there were those in their midst who, on a political front, were supporting the efforts of ultra-rightist causes. The American Liberty League (formed in 1934), the Crusaders and the New York State Economic Council were all recipients of large financial contributions (Saule, 1936). Those in leadership positions in the NAM had been closely involved in the formation of the American Liberty League (Wolfskill, 1962). Through the efforts of such a group and others, the NAM, and those in concert with their thinking, hoped to reorient the social and economic direction of America. In the process, they hoped to defeat President Roosevelt.

Roosevelt's 1936 re-election victory was not only a public vote of confidence in the reconstructionist efforts of the president, it was a rebuttal of the conservative viewpoint projected by groups such as the NAM and the LIberty League. What made this triumph so impressive was the margin of victory. Roosevelt had drawn "...nearly six million more voters..." than in 1932 (Weeter, 1948). Following the resounding success of Franklin D. Roosevelt's re-election, big business organizations began to realize that if they were to bring about a realignment of America into the path formerly held, it would require a systematic effort toward influencing public opinion (Tedlow, 1976). Business leadership envied Roosevelt's command of public opinion. Roosevelt's ability to gain support for his causes was recognized by business as the president's greatest asset (Tedlow, 1976).

The NAM, in 1936, began to realize that the selling of a business point of view was not enough. It was necessary for businessmen to realize that they must focus on specific issues in a more personalized manner. Don Francisco, a public relations expert who had helped businessmen in California overcome a negative public image, offered advice to industrial leaders (Walker & Sklar, 1938). In an address before the Congress of American Industry, Francisco said:

> In thinking of people some of you made the same mistakes that we did. In our studies of people we considered them simply as population groups, markets-consumers of the things we were trying to sell. Only in recent years have we begun to think of them as people-voters-men and women whose aggregate opinions about business are of great importance in our work (Ogle, 1950).

Francisco went on to explain the importance of a program which stressed specific things and ideas. True, it was important for manufacturers to sell their free enterprise philosophy: however, it was even more critical that they become personally involved (Ogle, 1950). Weisenburger, the executive vice president of the NAM, echoed this point at a NAM Pacific Coast Conference when he explained:

> You cannot afford to leave the job of talking to the public about capital and labor in the hands of those who haven't had capital and never did much labor (Weisenburger, 1938).

The NAM, through such meetings, sought to alert the business-industrial community to the need for each individual becoming personally sensitive to the social and economic issues developing in America. The NAM had begun to recognize that in the battle for public consent, there were others who were competing with them in attempts to influence the public. The NAM was concerned about: communists, impatient reformers, and teacher propagandists (Weisenburger, 1938).

The NAM attacked all groups that they felt stood in the way of their attempts to preserve the free enterprise system in America. A particular concern of the ultraright leaders of the NAM was the educational activities of society-centered progressivists. The NAMs ruling elite realized that future generations were being influenced by the progressivists.

Four decades ago, Harold Rugg represented a particularly appropriate target for conservative pressure strategies. The sales of Rugg's social studies textbooks totaled 289,000 copies in 1938 (Nelson & Roberts, 1963). By 1944, as a result of the propaganda tactics from the reactionary right, Rugg would see his early success and influence all but wiped out (Nelson & Roberts, 1963).

In the spring of 1939, the NAM had decided that the actions of "radical" teachers, who debunked the heroes of America, should be addressed forcefully. A campaign was set up to deal with this issue.

In April, 1939, Prentis (a leader in the NAMs attack on Rugg and progressive education) spoke before an audience of industrialists. He charged them with the responsibility of keeping the "republic" (Prentis, 1939). He reminded them that the founding fathers sought to establish a republican form of government. Of danger to this republic would be collectivist control. Prentis expressed concern for subversive teaching (Prentis, 1939). To ignore these trends, businessmen were told, was nothing short of turning their backs on the very heritage and foundation of our republic (Prentis, 1939). What was needed was a million businessmen focused on the problem of American society (Prentis, 1939).

Prentis went on to indicate that he was concerned that in America we had practically abandoned the study of classical history (Prentis, 1939). Prentis attacked progressivism and its "collectivist" views (Prentis, 1939). He also commented, critically, on what he perceived were the views of John Dewey (Prentis, 1939). Prentis closed his speech by urging the manufacturers to become interested in education. On that point, Prentis elaborated by suggesting, "...(a) Insist that the curriculum stress mental disciplines. (b) Insist on the study of classical history. (c) Insist on the study of political philosophy..." (Prentis. 1939). Naturally, the implication was that the political philosophy studied would be in agreement with the free enterprise system.

The tone of Prentis' speech provided a portent of the NAM's role in galvanizing businessmen's interest in the topic of subversive teaching in the public schools. This was the first of many such speeches Prentis would make in the next two years. In later speeches, Prentis linked Dewey with Marx, Hitler and Lenin (Prentis, 1940), and attacked Harold Rugg and the Progressive Education Association (Prentis, 1940). Prentis was an articulate spokesperson for the NAM. As a member of the NAM's ruling elite, his views usually coincided with the NAM's. In the area of education, he had a special interest. First, his father had been a high school principal (Winpenny, 1977). Second, Prentis held a masters degree in economics, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and had served as personal secretary to the presidents of two universities: the University of Missouri and the University of Cincinnati. He was well read, having accumulated by the time of his death 1500 volumes. From the references made in his speeches, it is clear that Prentis made active use of his library. A biographer noted, "His interest in education brought him a position as head of a committee on educational cooperation...'to give advice on educational problems too broad in scope to be solved by schoolmen alone.'" Thus, in April, 1939, when Prentis not only the NAM's views, but his own as well.

The essence of Prentis' speech was that business leaders had forgotten the very roots of the American way of life. Guiding the economic destiny of their companies had caused executives to be diverted from remembering the roots of America's heritage. Prentis reminded the audience that America's heritage was built upon a tripod consisting of constitutional government, civic and religious freedom, and free private enterprise (Prentis, 1939). Prentis pointed out that if one of these legs is removed the whole structure fails. Prentis told his audience that criticism leveled at free enterprise would, if allowed to flourish, destroy America. He noted, America was torn between those who glorify the individual and those who give sanctity to the collectivistic government (Prentis, 1939).

In the eyes of the NAM's ruling elite, those who criticized free private enterprise were communists; or at the very least, unAmerican. The NAM felt patriotic business men could not allow talk of that type to go unchallenged. Prentis worried about the "...mass of red potage..." which was before America (Prentis, 1939). He reminded businessmen that the NAM had, for the past six years, sought to contend with this situation. Now it was time for every businessman to join in the common cause.

The NAM sought to sensitize businessmen to the perceived crisis. In that sense, Prentis' speech served to focus attention on the issue of subversive teaching. The NAM felt such subversive actions posed a threat to the free enterprise system in America. These radical teachers, by capitalizing on their positions in the public schools, could influence generations of future citizens.

Within a month of this speech, the NAM's Public Relations Committee was proceeding with the next stage in the NAM's plan to resolve this crisis in American education. The report of a May, 1939, Public Relations Committee Meeting, revealed that the NAM had prepared a sixteen page outline of a program for the Advertising Federation of America (Report, 1939). The NAM and the Advertising Federation had a mutual interest. Both manufacturers and advertising agencies profited from the free enterprise system. Positive public opinion was essential for this to occur. Attacks or criticism leveled at either group would, in effect, hurt both. Harold Rugg, in his textbooks, had focused on the short-comings of manufacturers and advertisers. The NAMs leaders had been aware of Rugg. Weisenburger, the executive vice president of the NAM in his Pacific Coast Conference speech in the spring of 1938, singled out Harold Rugg. He mentioned that Rugg had said that the bulk of educators had only the "...most superficial grasp of the factors and trends which produce our industrial-democratic culture..." (Weisenburger, 1938). Weisenburger felt that businessmen were to blame.

Of particular interest in the Public Relations eport in May, was the fact that the NAM saw their plan s one which would "...form a nucleus..." for future ction. The report notes that the plan called for ooklets to be published and for the distribution of ess releases. The advertising Federation of America had a part to play in the NAM's overall schema. The report is not otherwise specific. The possible significance of this joint venture might be reflected in the actions of the Advertising Federation's leadership after this private meeting.

In June, 1939, the Advertising Federation of America embarked on a crusade. The Federation's president, Norman S. Rose, indicated that by the middle of June, the Federation had in place their plans to rid the public schools of subversive textbooks (Myers, 1940). Specifically, the Federation focused on the social studies textbooks of Harold Rugg. His books were in use in 4,200 school systems (Myers, 1940). The federation stated that they had made this issue their "...Number One Problem" (Myers, 1940).

The Advertising Federation, in one of their letters soliciting the support of businessmen and newspaper editors, included a testimonial from a Mr. Jay O. Lashar, advertising manager of American Chain and Cable Company. Lashar praised the Federation's "...vigorous campaign which should be wholeheartedly supported by everyone who appreciates...advertising" (Myers, 1940). It is of interest to note that W. B. Lashar, president of American Chain and Cable Company, had been active in the NAM. He had served in 1935 and 1936 on both the Public Relations Committee and the NAM's National Industrial Information Committee (Hearings, 1938).

As previously noted, the Public Relations Committee and the Advertising Federation of America included plans for booklets and press releases in their public information program. The federation during the course of the next year provided a booklet by A. T. Falk analyzing the Rugg textbook's treatment of topics such as advertising and business practices. Also included in the federations's publicity campaign were reprints of articles by B. C. Forbes, George Sokolsky and A. G. Rudd. Each of these men had written articles which maligned Rugg and his textbooks.

Sokolsky, a paid publicist for the NAM, wrote articles for the Hearst newspaper chain and Liberty magazine. During this period, his articles attacked Rugg's books because of the social and economic viewpoints found in them. At one point, Sokolsky suggested that the teacher's guides for the Rugg books were "...either a new dispensation in learning or the very evil of the devil's disciple" (Sokolsky, 1941).

B. C. Forbes, beside having a syndicated column for the Hearst newspaper chain, was the editor of Forbes business magazine. In August, 1939, and again in February, 1940, Forbes assailed the Rugg textbooks in editorials written for his magazine. Closely aligned with business interests, Forbes joined forces with Merwin Hart of the New York State Economic Council, as both men sought to obliterate the Rugg textbooks from the public schools. Col. A. G. Rudd, in 1938, had been successful in having the Rugg books thrown out of the Garden City, New York, school system (Schipper, 1979).

The individual efforts of men such as Hart, Falk, Forbes and Rudd were impressive. However, these efforts had their greatest impact in specific regions. Observed on a national scale these achievements were less spectacular. As long as they were limited in number, Rugg was able to defend (usually successfully) his textbook series. Newspaper accounts support this position. In some instances, the critics were able to achieve their objectives. The essential point to remember is that most of these early efforts were localized.

An important exception to these localized textbook battles was the national coverage given the attack on Rugg through magazine articles, prepared booklets analyzing Rugg books, and press releases. Of interest is the fact that the NAM had always received a favorable press. To a large extent, this could be attributed to the fact that manufacturers advertise in newspapers and magazines. The LaFollette Committee, in fact, revealed that much of the advertising and press coverage provided for the NAM had been without charge.

By January, 1940, the Advertising Federation of America's campaign was doing its job. Newspaper articles and editorials were pointing out how the Rugg textbooks treated advertising. An editorial in the Department Store Economist reminded its readers that this was no trivial matter:

> When "Your Money's Worth" appeared in 1927, it created something of a furor, but the tendency was to laugh it off. Yet, out of that book and its successors came the strength of the consumer movement--and that book was read chiefly by adults supposedly able to judge its statements with some intelligence, and assuredly less susceptible to misguidance than the high school minds now engaged in imbibing Professor Rugg's philosophy (Editorial, 1940).

In the NAM's inner councils, the decision had been made to commission a survey of the social studies textbooks then in use in the United States. In September, 1940, the NAM hired Ralph Robey, a professor of banking and economics at Columbia University. His job was "...to prepare objective abstracts of the social studies textbooks in general use" (Prentis, 1941).

The NAM headquarters, in an interview with The Publishers' Weekly (1940), explained that "...the investigation plan was worked out mainly by the Association's committee on educational cooperation..." The interviewer was also told:

> The plan is part of a general NAM program to encourage manufacturers to be more active in determing educational policies, and to "encourage educators to seek a better understanding of the private enterprise system so that this institution (free enterprise) can be explained to students more effectively as an indispensable concept of the American way of life" (Publishers' Weekly, 1940).

The Publishers' Weekly voiced concern that while the abstracts could be objective, "...there is no way of knowing what the character of local investigations will be..." (Publishers' Weekly, 1940). Furthermore, it was brought out by the interviewer "The members of the NAM may not take the trouble to read in their entirety, or with sympathetic understanding, the books in question" (Publishers' Weekly, 1940).

In a press release on December 11, 1940, the NAM stated that Robey had been commissioned to abstract, in an objective manner, the author's attitude toward our governmental and economic institutions (New York Times, 1940). To accomplish this, Robey was to select actual quotations.

To avoid having manufacturers and other interested citizens forming opinions on the basis of sporadic charges brought out in newspapers and magazines, the NAM thought (they said) it a public service to present the "real facts" (Social Education, 1941). The Robey abstracts were the solution. Robey was not to make any judgment nor to question the soundness of the textbook author's views (Social Education, 1941).

The nature of these abstracts and the controversy which they generated cannot be adequately covered in this presentation (Robey, 1941). What should be kept in mind is that these abstracts were planned by the NAM and that they were part of a larger plan to stimulate opinion against what they thought was subversive teaching and propaganda against free enterprise.

A review of the comments made at the time, both by the NAMs leaders and by the press, reveals that the abstracts were considered to be the most effective method the NAM could use for making their case against those textbook writers at variance with them. The abstracts projected an objectiveness by : 1) being made up of actual quotations from the textbooks, and 2) being devoid of subjective commentary. By selecting only the quotations which supported their case, the NAM was able to bias the information which at the same time appear to be unbiased and objective. Furthermore, while most of the abstracts consisted of two pages of quotations, whenever the NAM had a particular dislike for a textbook, the abstract would be much more extensive in the treatment. On such occasions, as with the Rugg books, this extensive treatment was not on the side of evenhandedness.

Although the NAM had carefully orchestrated the abstacting of social studies textbooks, they had not counted on Robey, in a press interview, personally attacking Rugg and other textbook writers. In their quest for public consent, the NAM was startled over the adverse reaction to Robey's comments, and in turn, the abstracts. The NAM personally agreed with Robey's views. Although they publicly disavowed the statements made by Robey, the NAM certainly did not make any effort to fire him (Robey, 1941). Nevertheless, the NAM stated in the press that Robey did not speak for the NAM. At the same time, the NAM was anxious for public opinion to go against Rugg and educators like him. Through careful press releases and contacts with leading educators, the NAM sought to placate the vast body of educators while continuing to attack radical teaching. The NAM, together with the NEA, initiated regional meetings for the purpose of bringing together businessmen and educators through the country.

In spite of the notoriety surrounding the Robey comments and the criticism leveled at his abstracts, the NAM's goal of thwarting Rugg was achieved. Nineteen forty-one was, to a large degree, the last year that Rugg was able to publish his materials.

From adversaries to conciliators, educators and the NAM had presumably come full circle by 1948. In an article in the Nation's Schools, B. P. Brodinsky (1948), interviewing Earl Bunting of the NAM, referred to the "...new liberalized NAM which has shown a heart as well as forward looking views."

The NAM's ability to win the battle for public consent had required a master plan. Not the least of such planning was a strategy for "educating" the public. To do this meant the ability to establish clear lines of communication. It was understood that propaganda works best when it is unimpeded. The NAM's power elite analyzed all sources of public resistance to their message on the free enterprise system. Ultimately, the NAM's attention focused on the social studies curriculum of the public schools. The NAM felt that children were being taught to question the free enterprise system.

Harold Rugg, from among many textbook authors, was singled out by the NAM for several reasons: 1) Rugg's textbook series was the most widely used in the nation, 2) Rugg chose, in his texts, to focus on specific aspects of business which the NAM held as inviolable, i.e., advertising, profit motive, management strategies, and environmental issues, 3) Rugg's books had a highly readable style making it possible, the NAM alleged, for him to subtly sway millions of immature minds, and 4) Rugg had, the NAM suggested, been able to adapt and implement the radical socialistic views of the Frontier Thinkers.

The attack on Harold Rugg served as a bitter object lesson for other textbook authors who were publishing social studies material. The NAM's Robey abstracts of 563 textbooks made it unmistakably clear that all authors were being scrutinized.

The issue of patriotism has always been an important element in the Rugg textbook controversy. The NAM, by the late 1930's, has been able to join the concept of free enterprise with the stereotyped issues of patriotism in such a way that if one criticized free enterprise, it was the same as being against America. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis refers to this strategy as "transfer" (Propaganda Analysis, 1937). With this strategy, certain words develop an aura of virtue. The Institute calls them "glittering generalities." Loyalty, patriotism, the American way, Constitution defender: these words suggest shining ideals. By tying free enterprise with patriotism, the NAM was seeking to transfer the prestige from the revered institution to one seeking to be accepted as such.

The meaning associated with a word can provide an emotional charge which goes well beyond a word's true authority and intent. Such words, well chosen and descriptive, have a force which history shows has caused men to be destroyed and ideas to be brought forward for consideration. Two such emotionally charged words are: "myth" and "patriotism."

The term "myth" has several possible meanings: 1) a traditional or legendary story, 2) an imaginary or fictitious thing, 3) an invented story, or 4) an improved collective belief used to justify a social institution. This last definition is the most appropriate for our purposes.

Montaigne, the famous sixteenth century French writer and essayst, recognized the ambiguity of words and the danger inherent in how people interpret them. Montaigne has said: "The word is half his that speaks and half his that hears it." It is important, therefore, that this limitation be appreciated. This researcher found numerous writers describing patriotism but virtually no one providing an appropriately concise definition.

Morray (1959) provides one of the most insightful studies done on the topic of patriotism. Morray sees patriotism as a powerful force which can bind or divide a nation (Morray, 1959). He sees patriotism as having a salutary effect on a nation when it emphasizes a concern for serving society. He says of the patriot: "His natural egoism has been overcome to the extent that in certain matters he sees he must subordinate his immediate private interests to the general welfare" (Morray, 1959).

Service to one's country without concern for one's own personal welfare is true patriotism. Duty, selflessness, sacrifice for the good of one's fellows: these become the heart of patriotism. Patriotism, naturalism, and Americanism have been used by some business, industrial and patriotic organizations as though they were the same thing. Lumley (2933) asks: "Is patriotism the same as loyalty to capitalism?"

Patriotism can be defined, for our purposes, to be the love, devotion and support given altruistically to one's country.

The issue of patriotism becomes emotionally caught up in the meaning and the intent of the person or group using it. For the NAM, Rugg was considered un-American because his social and economic views were counter to the laissez-faire concept of social and economic control. How genuinely did the NAM believe this position is conjecture. The fact that the Rugg textbooks had been out for seven years before they were considered un-American suggests that patriotism was not the primary concern.

Likewise, the concerns noted most often in the speeches, the press releases and the materials the NAM published, are those which deal with free enterprise. The NAM, while talking about patriotism, was more specifically concerned with maintaining the private free enterprise system. Perhaps the point was best made by Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel. He said: "Patriotism is a beautiful thing, but it must not be permitted to interfere with business" (Seldes, 1943).

Finally, the 1939 records of the Public Relations Committee reveal that the NAM saw the worsening conditions in Europe as fostering a revival in patriotism among those living in America. A report states: "Events in Europe served to crystalize a surge of patriotism which has been mounting in the last year." They evidently helped encourage the NAM to use this issue as a means of achieving their primary objective.

Most local businessmen associated with the NAM had only the best of motives in endeavoring to focus on the threat of subversive teaching posed by the NAM's leadership. However, armed only with the "facts" that the NAM's power elite chose to give them, the businessmen were at a disadvantage. And in a like manner, so were the schools.

George Washington in his Farewell Address said: "Beware of the impostures of pretended patriotism."

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Neutrality, Imposition, and Indoctrination in the Writings of George Counts

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Background and Development

Counts was not in the mainstream among the progressive educators. While other were focusing their attention upon the methods of teaching and classroom techniques, Counts had ventured into the arena of social aims and purposes of schooling. Upon examination he found that progressive education was not truly progressive in this respect. In time he began to criticize his colleagues for what he considered to be their myopic view of education. As he dissected their position more thoroughly, he sharpened his attacks and became more critical.

The point above all others on which Counts raised much controversy was the idea of neutrality. Plainly stated, his entire argument for using the school as an agency for bettering society rose and fell on this point. He was satisfied by reason and evidence that the school could never be neutral in the true meaning of the term. Therefore, he attempted to demonstrate that efforts to prevent any impositions upon the life of the youngster were futile and misplaced. Rather, he called for a close examination of the forces at work in an attempt to control them toward positive ends.

This chapter attempts to examine and explain Counts' endorsement of imposition. It hinges on the belief that neutrality is impossible and the pursuit of it ultimately dangerous. Therefore, Counts' effort to destroy the basic supposition of those who held opposing ideologies is discussed followed by his view on the nature and role of indoctrination and imposition in education. In addition, criticisms of his position by his contemporaries are included to provide the reader with evidence from both sides of the issue.

Progressive Education during the first part of the twentieth century can be viewed as having existed in two separate camps. One constituted what can be termed the child-centered philosophy while its counterpart was the society-centered school of thought as championed by George S. Counts.

The child-centered advocates generally favored a program based on the interests of the individual youngster. Following Rousseau's sanguine notions on the nature of the child, they sought to make the child's interests the centralizing factor in the school curricula. This group was a response, in part, to the traditional subject-centered approach in the school which tended to ignore individual interests and talents. Therefore, to make the child the center of all activities would enable a departure from the seemingly burdensome tradition of the past.

For an educational movement to be progressive in Count's view, it had to have orientation and possess direction. In spite of their somewhat altruistic tendencies in supporting liberal programs, the people who were most supportive of the progressive schools, both parents and pedagogues, had severe shortcomings in their outlooks. According to Counts they lacked deep and abiding loyalties, possessed no convictions for which they would sacrifice much, would find it hard to live without their customary material comforts, were somewhat insensitive to the accepted forms of social injustice, were content to play the role of interested spectator in the drama of human history, refused to see reality in its harsher and more disagreeable forms, rarely moved outside the pleasant circles of the class to which they belonged, and who, in the day of severe trial, would "follow the lead of the most powerful and respectable forces in society and at the same time find good reasons for so doing" (Counts, 1932).

Counts did not disparage the child-centered progressives for their interest in the child. He saw their efforts as having important insights. For instance they recognized the psychological truth that interest was a condition of effective and economic learning. Therefore, there was sound justification for having the immediate concerns of the young play a large role in education (Counts, 1952). Counts took issue with the movement because it lacked a solid social foundation. A school could not become socially progressive by mere resolve. Unless it reached down into the substratum of society and tapped the deep flowing currents of social life, it could only be another pedagogical experiment, of interest to the academician but destined to an early grave. He likened the difficulty of founding a progressive educational movement to that of founding a progressive political party. If it was not rooted in some profound social movement or trend, it could be but an instrument of deception (Counts, 1929).

Counts' position of using education to inculcate deep democratic sympathies among the young was completely antithetical to the viewpoint of those who favored child centeredness. They shunned the notion of directly influencing the child, or so they believed. C. A. Bowers provided an example of the tormented position of the child-centered sympathizers when he explained that they got chilled at the thought of indoctrination but rather preferred that the "American dream could best be realized by changing the 'hearts' of the students and making them more critically minded." But they failed to delineate just how the hearts of the students were to be changed (Bowers, 1969). So it can be said that these particular progressive educators called on education to have a vision, but the nature and context of the vision were never put forth. Their vision contained no content of the good life.

Counts attempted to analyze the origins of this posture held by many adherents of the "new" education. Many of them had been reared as children by adults who held rigid fundamental views in morals and religion. As a result of this strict childhood conditioning they later had to undergo a long and painful struggle in order to transform their early inheritance of belief and allegiance into something consonant with scientific outlooks and principles. It was, he suspected, from the perspective of their own poignant personal struggles that they interpreted the meaning of education for freedom. Feeling that they were victims of narrow orthodoxies imposed upon them during childhood, they assumed that an ideal pattern of education would be precisely the opposite of that which they have suffered. Hence their desire to have children live in a world of their own, free from the burdens of adult traditions, institutions, and standards. They assumed that each child would become free and independent and health-minded as he or she was left alone to work out his or her own career and objects of belief and allegiance (Childs, 1956). Therefore, Counts did not feel that the child-centered progressives were very concerned about democratic and educational principles. They were instead responding to their past ratner than creating and developing a program that could meet the needs of both the youngsters and the society.

Another interesting observation concerns the methods employed among college professors involved in teacher education. Those who opposed anything resembling indoctrination were curiously enough involved in the process of having their charges adopt the methods of the "new" education, which naturally held the hope for the future of education. One wonders whether their preferences for the new teaching ideas were adopted by their students vicariously or through osmosis, since it can be assumed that every effort was made to avoid imposing the new outlook.

Counts, then, selected his grounds for battle precisely on the issue of neutrality for it was the anithesis of what he had held to be the democratic and political purpose of the public school. Disheartened by the role to which the public school had been relegated, he saw a need to demonstrate the necessity of waking the sleeping giant for the fulfillment of its mission. Though historical justification existed for education's major task, opponents defended the status quo assiduously when suggestions were made that the task should be achieved.

Good results would not occur as a natural consequence of education. They had to be the goal of education in order to be realized. The neutral posture of many of his contemporaries represented a severely naive faith in the good that results from education. To support his assertion, Counts turned to examples of how education had been used for bad purposes. The fact that education by itself was not enough was demonstrated through a brief look at modern history. All the Axis powers had spent enormous sums of money and vast energies on developing the minds of their young. It was obvious that the development was not for democracy or freedom. In reality, education was the midwife of catastrophe (Counts, 1962).

Surely the tyrants did not fear an educated populace for literacy among our vanquished enemies of World War II. In fact, Japan and Germany could boast of literacy rates at that time which were equal to or greater than the levels that exist in America today. In the Soviet Union they have boasted for decades that they have 'eradicated' illiteracy.

These examples serve to demonstrate that education as literacy cannot serve to free people from the forces of tyranny. In the United States people have operated under the assumption that if democratic processes are present then the results of those processes will be good ones. The fact is that the ends could also be disastrous. Simply guaranteeing a democratic process in no way guarantees good results (Bayles, 1960).

If faith in education is based on the supposition that ultimately the democratic process will yield good ends, then the educational apparatus must be faced in such a direction. A close assessment of the role of organized education in history from pre-literate humans to the middle of the twentieth century "fails utterly to support the traditional faith in the beneficence of schools and other agencies for the rearing of the young." The period between the two world wars of this century have been cited in this respect. "The record should teach us that only an education designed to serve beneficent ends can ever be beneficent in any human conception of the term" (Counts, 1958).

Counts gave little credence to the notion that if youngsters were given an opportunity to see the true facts, they would naturally come down on the side of democracy. To demonstrate the point, he related a conversation once held with Mr. A. V. Lunacharsky, the Commissar of Education in the Russian Republic until 1929. Mr. Lunacharsky had assured Counts on that occasion that Soviet educational leaders did not believe in indoctrinating the children in the ideas and principles of communism. When Counts queried whether the children became good communists while attending the school, Lunacharsky answered that the great majority did. Counts sought an explanation to this remarkable phenomenon and was informed that "Soviet teachers merely tell their children the truth about human history. As a consequence practically all of the more intelligent boys and girls adopt the philosophy of communism." Counts then recalled his rearing in a Methodist sect which also confined its teachings to the truth (Counts, 1932a).

It was this framework of thought and analysis which led Counts to defend the thesis that schools, by their very nature could not be neutral instrumentalities. He held that education could never be a purely autonomous process, independent of time and place and conducted according to its own laws. Therefore, education was to be seen in a civilizational context.

> There have been as many educations in history as there have been human societies. It is as much an integral part of a culture or civilization as an economic or political system. The very way in which education is conceived, whether its purpose is to enslave or free the mind, is an expression of the society which it serves...of necessity an education is a most intimate expression of a particular civilization (Counts, 1958).

Counts objected to the claims that schools ought to be neutral and defended his position on the grounds that all education contained a large element of imposition, that this was inevitable, that society's existence and evolution depended upon it, that as a result, it was eminently desirable, and that the frank acceptance of this fact by the educator was a major professional obligation. Moreover, he argued that a failure to do this represented a repudiation of a most crucial educational responsibility, the clothing of one's own prejudices in the garb of universal truth, and the introduction into the theory of education of an element of obscurantism (NEA, 1932).

Counts was not alone in assuming that schools were established by societies so that children could become something which they would otherwise not become. Boyd Bode also accepted the view that neutrality was impossible and stated:

> "Since the transmission of racial and national heritage inevitably calls for interpretation, it seems reasonably obvious that there are and can be no neutrals in education. Perhaps the most unedifying spectacle in present day education is the persistent and fatuous attempt to avoid the whole issue by a specious claim of neutrality" (Ennis, 1961).

Smith, Stanley, and Shores revealed a similar view in their curriculum text by stating that

> the context of the curriculum, regardless of how it is selected, educates either for the status quo or for changes in it; and the curriculum worker could be on more defensible grounds if he accepted this fact and frankly took a stand for, or against, a carefully analyzed and consistent view of social reconstruction (Smith & Ennis, 1961).

David Gordon was more direct by stating that "on the face of it, neutrality can always be achieved by abdicating from one's educational role. For instance, a teacher can achieve neutrality, it would seem, with regard to a particular issue by not teaching it at all. However," he continued," it is a tacit assumption of most discussions of this sort that this solution will not do. In other words, despite the fact that neutrality is a central value in the western liberal tradition, no one seems to think it reasonable or sensible to demand of teachers and/or educational institutions that they be neutral about the process of education itself" (Smith & Ennis, 1961).

Counts persevered on this point and maintained that whenever choices were made involving a school program, values were involved and consequently claims of neutrality had to be relinquished. Consider for example the shaping of the curriculum, the selection of a textbook and then the materials within the textbook, the grading system employed, the organization of social activities, the choice of pictures and paintings hung on corridor and classroom walls, the selection of teachers, even the architecture of a building--all impose the preference of others, usually adults, upon the world of the students (Counts, 1969).

Many would likely agree that imposition of some kind is inevitable in the education of the young. Counts believed that indoctrination of sorts was an unavoidable fact if not a desired one and he believed that educators had a responsibility to know, in so far as possible, what they were doing. In this way they could avoid the effects of undesirable imposition and maintain those aspects considered to be desirable. Yet many felt a strange profanity in any effort proposed to understand, plan, and control the process of imposition or indoctrination. In other words what was needed was an ability to control the process, not merely a submission to it. He concluded, therefore, that complete impartiality was utterly impossible, that the school had to shape attitudes, develop tastes, and even impose ideas (Counts, 1965).

He declared that from the beginning of homo sapiens, education, in both formal and informal aspects, had embraced the complete process of inducting the young into a given society with "its culture, its ways of acting, feeling and thinking, its language, its tools, its institutions, its ethical and aesthetic values, its basic ideas, religious doctrines, and philosophical presuppositions." Accordingly, education was not an autonomous process governed by its own laws and being the same everywhere (Counts, 1969). All these represented imposition even if only tacitly.

Language provided a convincing example when its role in the evolution of humankind was compared to that of the machine. The modern age has held machine technology in awe and it has been credited with furnishing a profound impact upon the nature of modern civilization. Yet it appears clear that machines would likely have never materialized if each generation has not imposed language on its successor. If the genuine goal was to avoid imposing upon the young, then no language should be learned until the age of twenty-one at which time the person could choose the language he or she preferred (Counts, 1969). Strange as it may seem, the case for neutrality, when pushed to its ultimate justification, becomes ludicrous indeed. For once the decision has been made to pursue a course of impartiality, there can be no exceptions. The reality of such a posture is brought to bear by the example of language as demonstrated above. Therefore, grave doubt is cast on the plausibility of the neutral position.

Since the educational enterprise could not be a neutral undertaking, Counts favored employing the apparatus to serve democratic ends. The energies of organized education needed to be directed to the defense and strengthening of the democratic traditions and way of life. Political liberty, if it was to endure, had to be something which was imposed because of the demands it placed on human nature and on the character and mind of men and women. This, in his estimation, was one of the most extraordinary impositions in the entire history of homo sapiens (Counts, 1969). He acknowledged that there were inherent difficulties in such a declaration, due to the cherished democratic respect for individual personality which did not appear in autocratic regimes.

> But such admission merely serves to support the basic argument. To those who would see in the dedication of the schools to the teaching of democracy an unfair imposition of the viewpoints of the adult world upon the child, or of the present upon the future, the point can be made that the ideas, values, and outlooks of democracy are quite as much the

> product of man's creative genius as language or number, and quite as precious. To live by them is far more difficult than the conquest of the alphabet or the mastery of the multiplication table (Counts).

Fallacies of the Progressives

Counts attempted to explain the neutral position by developing what he considered to be its underlying assumptions. It was curious to him how the same people who rejected imposition or indoctrination could often be quoted on the desirability of having students develop democratic sentiments. Confronted with this anomaly, he endeavored to explain it. In so doing he outlined and described what he considered to be widely held fallacies concerning both humankind and education. These fallacies accompanied the viewpoint of his opposition. If they were better known and understood then there would be less justification for resistance to his call.

He began with the fallacy that humans were born free. This was a fallacy since humans were born helpless. A person's freedom was achieved through the medium of culture. Each individual was born into a particular culture. As a result, he or she became Chinese, Apache, Irish, or Aborigine. "Yet, even if a particular soul should happen by chance to choose a Hottentot for a mother, it should thank its lucky stars that it was born into the Hottentot culture rather than entirely free" (NEA, 1932).

Culture is imposing in forms that affect everything from survival to happiness. Children born into affluence learn at an early age that the garbage is a place in which they are not to play, while children born in severe poverty learn very soon that the garbage is often a place to acquire sustenance for another day. The importance of language and the role it plays have been suggested earlier, but the perpetuation of culture can hardly be envisaged without the medium of language.

Culture is also responsible for a tradition of achievement along a particular line. It can be argued that the imposing of traditions upon children involves a severe restriction upon their freedom. However, Counts maintained that, provided the tradition is vital and suited to the times, such imposition releases the energies of the young, sets up standards of excellence,and makes possible great achievement. Moreover, "the individual who fails to come under the influence of such a tradition may enjoy a certain kind of freedom, but it is scarcely a kind of freedom that anyone would covet for himself or for his children" (NEA, 1932).

A second fallacy was that the child is good by nature. In Counts' view, the child is neither good nor bad at birth. The newborn child represents a bundle of potentialities which may be developed in varying directions. "Guidance is, therefore, not to be found in child nature, but rather in the culture of the group and the purposes of living" (NEA, 1932). The point was clarified sometime later by Counts when he contended that ordinary men and women seemed to be neither inherently good nor bad. "The men and women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who led the struggle for the emancipation of the masses made the mistake of assuming that the masses of the people were created in their image" (Counts, 1949).

He continued by saying that there can be no good individual apart from some conception of the good society. The good society, professed Counts, is not something that is given by nature. It must be fashioned by the hand and brain of humans in harmony with some accepted ideals. Furthermore, the process of building a good society is an educational process (Counts, 1932). It must also be kept in mind that aiming for the good society will result in the imposition and molding of the child.

The third fallacy held that the child lives in a separate world of his or her own. Those who see the adult as an alien influence in the life of the child make it sound as though it represents an invasion by a foreign power. This dualism is completely artificial for regardless of the view of the adult, "the child knows but one society; and that is a society including persons of all ages" (Counts, 1932). In fact, it was precisely this gap, Counts believed, between the adult outside world and the school which robbed education of much of its meaning.

The next false assumption held by many was that education is something pure and mysterious which is unchanging for ever more. In this case, education is seen purely as method which exists independently of cultural milieu and is equally beneficent in all times and places (NEA, 1932). This assumption must be related to that which claims humankind's inherent goodness. Even a brief survey of human existence during the twentieth century will reveal the error in the above assumption.

The fifth fallacy was the notion that all education should be impartial in its emphasis, and no bias should be given to instruction. Having explained the role and function of culture, suffice it to say that a similar process operates in the school and that a degree of conscious direction must be present. As a further illustration, it is obvious that the whole of creation cannot be brought into the school. Some choice is made when selecting what to admit and what to omit. By favoring this over that, whether it be a teacher, a book, or a subject, bias has been employed (Counts, 1932). To bring the issue into closer focus, consider the teaching of homosexuality as a school subject. Given the opporunity to vote on the matter, parents and teachers would vote overwhelmingly in opposition. This surely represents the preference of one value system over some other. Imagine the number of choices made daily by the teacher alone. The plan for neutrality becomes more difficult as the issue is pursued.

Next was the mistaken belief that the great objective of education is to produce the college professor, that is, "the individual who adopts an agnostic attitude toward every important social issue, who can balance the pros against the cons with the skill of a juggler, who sees all sides of every question and never commits himself to any, who delays action until all the facts are in" knowing that all the facts will never come in (Counts, 1932). Consequently, he or she can hold judgement in suspension indefinitely and continue to remain above the din of difficulty. His or her position is given support by the fact that any number of solutions are offered for any social problem, yet he or she can wait until the correct solution comes along.

Fallacy number seven is closely related to the sixth. It is that education is essentially an intellectual process with intellectual goals. There Counts again injected the concept of the ideal which he felt gave meaning, direction, and significance to life. He was referring to the element of faith or purpose which lifts one out of one's self and above the level of one's more narrow personal interests. He later stated, "We are able to contemplate the universe and find that all is vanity. Nothing really stirs us, unless it be that the bath water is cold, the toast burnt, or the elevator not running" (NEA, 1932). Being moved by no great faiths, lacking a sense of vision and mission in life, it was no wonder, he felt, that people were so fearful of indoctrination.

The eighth fallacy was that the school is an all-powerful educational agency. A more realistic appraisal is that the school usually works in harmony with other social forces (NEA, 1932). To head in a completely different direction from those forces would be met by resistance on the part of students as well as parents and community leaders. However, by believing the school had such ability and power, many feared indoctrination on these grounds.

Fallacy nine held that "ignorance rather than knowledge is the way of wisdom." By ignorance, Counts meant leaving things to chance rather than attempting to understand, plan, and control the process. This results from teachers realizing the molding effect the environment has on the child and then refusing to control their acts or consider the consequences. Inherent in this concept is the assumption that the child's rights can be protected only if the teachers' influence upon him or her is thoroughly concealed under a heavy veil of ignorance. "If the school can do no better than this, it has no reason for existence" (Counts, 1932b). And if this is an accurate appraisal of the situation, then the schools operate under false pretenses. Counts was able to point his dismay directly at Progressive Education in this regard, which he claimed wished to build a new world but refused to be held accountable for the kind of world it built (Counts, 1932a).

Last was the fallacy that in a society which experiences prodigious change as does ours, education has a major responsibility to prepare youngsters to adapt to change. Implicit in this notion is that individuals must hold beliefs and values tentatively in order to adapt. The danger is that under this conception of life and society, education can only bow down before the gods of chance and reflect the drift of the social order. It is a conception essentially anarchic in character which exalts the irrational above the rational forces of society, "makes of security an individual rather than a social goal, drives every one of us into an insane competition with his neighbors, and assumes that man is incapable of controlling in the common interest the creatures of his brain." Counts closed the last fallacy with a stirring and impassioned admonition:

> Here we have imposition with a vengeance, but not the imposition of the teacher of the school. Nor is it an enlightened form of imposition. Rather is it the imposition of the chaos and cruelty and ugliness produced by the brutish struggle for existence and advantage (Counts, 1932b).

It seems a fair assessment to say that some of the above mentioned fallacies are only partly false. Indeed a few are hyperbolic but the point remains the same; many educators of the period arrived at their pedagogical beliefs without a careful investigation of the underlying characteristics, historical and social, of the age. If it is the case that their basic assumptions were distorted, then their pronouncements and solutions are open to serious question. As widely held assumptions they represent a solid base for error in judgement and perception in educational decision making.

Indoctrination Defined

Before examining Counts' program for democratic education, it may be helpful to review what he thought indoctrination was and was not. Since foes of indoctrination feared blatant mind control or the inculcation of a mindless patriotism, he clarified his position on the matter. Though he viewed indoctrination as inevitable, he too was fearful of both a misunderstanding of his use of the term and the potential for misuse of the practice itself.

Webster defines indoctrinate as to instruct in doctrines, principles, theories, or beliefs; to instruct; to teach. It is derived from the Latin doctrine--to instruct. Counts expressed his concern over the employment of the word by asserting that he did not intend its interpretation to be pejorative and that it was possible that indoctrination was too strong and uncompromising a word to apply to the kind of influence which he had in mind. Perhaps imposition was better, but he warned that even this term should be made to carry its milder connotations.

This clarification, it should be noted, was issued in 1932 before his Dare the school build a new social order was widely read and criticized. He continued to hold his position on the nature of imposition, however, over the course of his career. The choice of the word indoctrination could have been better considered, possibly, but it seems Counts thought that in the field of education, others would view the term differently.

He placed the matter in proper perspective when, years later, he related an experience he had had with Professor John Dewey in 1932. He and Dewey engaged in what Counts described as a full-blown debate that year over the idea of indoctrination. Counts defended his thesis that a measure of indoctrination was inevitable. Although he rejected the proposition that anything should be taught as fixed, he defended the idea of "imposition" as a basic and inescapable aspect of the process of rearing the young in any society.

A few weeks later, Counts was giving an address at a meeting of teachers in New York City. Present in the rear of the auditorium was John Dewey, When the address had ended and it was time for questions and remarks from the floor, "The great philosopher stood up and said that he had checked the meaning of the word 'indoctrination' in Webster's dictionary and discovered that it meant 'teaching'"(Counts, 1969).

Though Counts disavowed favoring the use of indoctrination and imposition in ways that would be frightening to most, a clearer picture can be drawn by surveying what he declared was definitely not to be incorporated under indoctrination.

As has been pointed out, he was aware of the clamor over the term indoctrination which resulted in part from a failure to define terms. But to assuage the voices of opposition, he stated in 1932 that "if indoctrination is made to imply the establishment of a state church, the adoption of a set of sacred dogmas, and the teaching of these dogmas as fixed and final, then few of us while in our right minds would care to subscribe to the idea. Certainly I shall make no attempt to defend any such conception of education" (NEA, 1932).

During the second world war, when pressure was increased for the inculcation of patriotic values, Counts opposed such attempts to bring what he saw as despotism into the public school under the guise of teacher patriotism. Patriotism, if it was democratic by nature and concerned with the interests of the people as a whole, could be appropriate (Counts, 1940). However, this was not to be confused with a mindless indoctrination of the flag-waving variety.

It was important for educators to realize, nonetheless, that a refusal to create a vision of a future America immeasurably more just and noble and beautiful than the America that existed, meant that the efforts of the so called 'patriotic' societies could be introduced into the schools as an honest attempt to meet a profound social and educational need. In order to be justified in opposing the efforts of such groups, a finer and more authentic vision would have to be fashioned (Counts, 1932a).

The younger generation was entitled to such a vision. Walter Lippmann described it this way:

> If a civilization is to be coherent and confident, it must be known in that civilization what its ideals are. There must exist in the form of clearly available ideas an understanding of what the fulfillment of the promise of that civilization might mean, an imaginative conception of the good at which it might, and, if it is to flourish, at which it must aim (Lippman, 1929).

In this statement, Lippman set forth the very essence of what Counts had characterized. Only through an adequate vision based on democratic values could the young be able to find their place in the world and at the same time improve upon it.

Counts' version of patriotism in the schools is represented quite accurately by James Conant in _The education of American teachers_ in which he states:

> Our social and political structure rests on an assumption that is no less than the belief that each successive generation in the United States, through the democratic process, will shape to some degree the social order. Liberals and reactionaries alike must agree that we need to develop future citizens whose actions will assure the survival of our free society. Call it education for citizenship or developing loyalty to the American way of life, twist to the right or to the left--within wide limits the postulate remains (Conant, 1963).

To Counts, this was not to be confused with having the school dogmatically inculcate as fixed or final any social doctrine whether it pertained to a new or old social order.

Counts envisaged the many challenges which would likely confront the coming generation and he felt that the future of democracy, whether it would survive and if so in what form, would be decided by them. In spite of the likelihood of future vicissitudes, he warned that the teaching of blind loyalties to democracy's traditional machinery would doubtless be the surest way of destroying it (Counts, 1937). There was no need to defend the abstract articles of the democratic faith or all American institutions in their inherited forms. Furthermore, it was not to be something rammed down the throats of resisting pupils. Instead, the institutions should be freely and critically examined so that a more complete fulfillment of the democratic faith in the United States could be realized (Counts, 1941).

He warned contemporaries, however, that though there was a need for developing an independent and critical mind among members of the younger generation, it must be realized that such development was clearly a form of imposition! Possessing a critical mind is not a characteristic at birth. It comes from the careful development of one's critical faculties. To say that the goal of education is to develop the critical and inquiring mind so that individual may choose things freely for themselves is to favor the imposing of certain qualities upon the mind. That in itself favors one outlook over another and does not satisfy the criterion of neutrality.

A good example of how Counts treated indoctrination, a true litmus test so to speak, would be to examine how he responded to the issue of patriotic teaching during the purported threat of communism as championed by Joseph McCarthy. Discussing the matter of studying communism in American schools, Counts declared: "I assume that the word studied means careful, comprehensive, systematic, and critical examination of facts to achieve understanding; not the inculcation of political doctrines." He then averred, "in fact failure to provide for the serious study of Russian communism at the upper levels of our educational system would be enough to convict the older generation of stupidity or violation of trust." He concluded by stating that "in today's world, any person who does not have at least an elementary knowledge of Russian communism--its controlling ideas, its institutions and practices, its impact on the world, its powerful outward thrust, and its challenge to our democracy--must be regarded as politically illiterate" (Counts, 1951).

Counts' version of political education did not rest on the development of democratic habits, dispositions, and loyalties alone. Equally necessary was knowledge, but not merely any knowledge. It had to be knowledge with a purpose. It had to be the knowledge that would set the members of society free and make them masters of the state while enabling them to safeguard their freedoms. Included in the program should be the following, taught without rancor or passion, without any effort to arouse class or national hatreds, and taught with the highest standards of scholarship: the nature and history of man, the story of American democracy, the rise of industrial civilization, the present structure of American society, the contradictions and conflicts of the contemporary world, the social ideas, philosophies, and programs now in competition, the agencies and methods of propaganda in current use, and the purposes and potentialities of American democracy (Counts).

The responsibility of the school, then, would be to develop a challenging conception of the perspectives and potentials of democracy in the United States. This would require of youth active and creative attitudes along with a living and heroic spirit, a positive sense of social obligation, an eagerness to improve society, and a faith in both the ends and means of democracy (Counts). If this was imposition it was so because liberty was itself a social achievement which was possible only in an organized society. In a society where people did everything they pleased, anarchy reigned. Such a condition, to Counts, represented the surest road to despotism.

Therefore, the schools could teach democracy. The choice of ballots over bullets demanded that the education for the society reflected that conscious choice. To abandon the democractic procedure would offer what history had revealed--civil war and dictatorship, military justice, secret police, arbitrary arrests, persecutions, individual and mass terror, intellectual slavery, and "the creating of a heritage of hatred and bitterness to corrupt the relations of men for generations." For this reason, it was important for the masses of the American people to know that their political liberties, imperfect though they were, were precious beyond price. To surrender them would likely mean they would be surrendered forever. Hence Counts believed that those who favored advancing the cause of popular liberty had to devote their energies to marshalling available cultural resources and formulating a program designed to make the institutions and procedures of political democracy function effectively (Counts, 1938).

Counts' ideas on democratic education or educating for democracy were directed toward those Progressives who saw the chief aim of education as being the cultivation of the interests of the child. They represented a substantial number of educators so in the process of making his case, he managed to antagonize many of them. In addition, criticisms of Counts' position came from other than child-centered progressives as well.

Paul R. Hanna questioned Counts' proposals from the standpoint of teacher training. If, as Counts had admitted, teachers were not adequately prepared to address the social themes of the day, Hanna wondered about the realities of Counts' position. As it was, only a few educators were attempting to grapple with the great issues. If these few were finding it difficult, what was to be expected from the large numbers of teachers who simply lacked the background to address these matters? As Hanna saw it, this dilemma represented both a great obstacle and also a great opportunity to carry out Counts' ideas (Hanna, 1932). The answer lay in teacher training.

Hanna's question was precisely that, a question, and it addressed the mechanics of achieving Counts' aim rather than raising a substantive point concerning the proposals themselves. Elsie Clapp, on the other hand, challenged Counts on a point which, if his position contained flaws, seemed to be a soft spot. She felt that Counts was in reality attacking the nature of the world in which the child lived, including the ideology, the ambitions, the indifferences, the acceptances, and the training of the people who surrounded the child. She conceded that by and large his attacks were justified by the facts, and the changes he proposed would have some effect on the child. Nevertheless, one must put beside his criticisms the inescapable fact that "indoctrinating, in schools and out, of whatever kind, is another thing than learning and living. He asks schools to indoctrinate children with their ideas of social betterment because children are indoctrinated anyway--and generally against social betterment--and because he desires social betterment, as he sees it" (Clapp, 1932). This was a question of a fundamental nature because even if agreement could be reached on the matter of the school seeking social betterment, the battle would ensue at the point of deciding what that better society would be like. Counts had his vision in mind but surely others of differing political, economic, and social persuasions would have dissimilar futures to offer.

If the education of the past was faulty, a point on which Counts and the child-centered advocates agreed albeit for very different reasons, then, wondered Ellen Geer, how would the products of that faulty education be expected to have the wisdom needed to confront the political, economic, and social issues? And what would be done with the improved "progressive" cure all? "Nothing more or less," she affirmed, "than to proceed to indoctrinate the impressionable minds of our pupils with our own theory! Let us ask ourselves prayerfully how greatly that differs from the policy of education of the past which we unite in criticizing" (Geer, 1932).

To this particular kind of criticism, Counts deserved defense. His rationale never rested on an assumption that indoctrination was fine and the only thing to determine was the kind of indoctrination to be employed. Rather, he contended that indoctrination in some form was inevitable and therefore instead of fearing it and hoping it would go away, he favored confronting the fact and dealing with it forthrightly. Beyond that he argued that if we wanted to maintain political and individual liberty, then we had to educate with that end as an educational goal. Democratic structures were not the result of fate and chance but were rather, he insisted, fashioned by the mind and hand of humans. Not to appreciate that fact as a society left little hope for the future of America's great democracy. Once democratic spirits and outlooks were understood by the masses, Conts believed that attempts then aimed at bettering the social order would occur within that framework. The democratic framework was the pivotal aspect for Counts and that point should not be forgotten. As R. Freeman Butts explained, Counts' version of imposition was generally never understood. Counts said repeatedly that "undemocratic means destroy democractic ends. Such means, if long continued and widely practiced may bring twilight both to...American education and American democracy "Butts, 1976).

Professor Geer, on the other hand, supported an education that developed critical faculties and open, discriminating minds. She did call for pointing out to students the deficiencies in the existing social order, but without imposing a new one in its place. She favored allowing the students to change their society based on their knowledge, not based on the new and modern dogma.

One critic who seemed to want to get directly at the point was Nathaniel Peffer. Speaking of America's educators with direct reference to Counts, Peffer wrote in 1934, "they mean to save the world, at least in America--a prospect which would never occur to anyone who knows the world or America or the results of American education in recent years." And on the question of indoctrination he stated, "for educators to debate the merits of new social indoctrination in schools and universities is either an interesting but meaningless intellectual exercise or it is to clothe themselves with a fictive importance." He concluded that "They are followers, not pioneers. To attempt to endow themselves with a grander role is to waste motions or court heartbreak" (Peffer, 1934).

Peffer maintained that despite what education was culturally or as a concept, as an institution it was not independent or self-sufficient. It could reflect but could not create. It could not generate new social ideas but could only transmit those which were already accepted. It was an institution which had to bend to the collective will around it. Therefore, in social ideas it could only rise as high as the source of the thought, feelings, and beliefs of the dominant groups in the society in which it existed (Peffer, 1934). Counts accounted for this by desiring to elevate the teaching profession to a level of existence which would enable it to be one of the dominant groups. Short of that, Peffer and Counts did not seem to be in such major disagreement. Counts too, felt that the schools, in fulfilling their traditional role, did not reorder society in any fundamental way. He held out his challenge for the school to become something which it had not customarily been.

Finally, though Peffer's criticism was a valid one, he later appeared to fall prey to his own judgement. Having criticized social reconstructionists for seeking to give the school direction and goals, something he seemed to believe was outside the proper purview of the educators, he then admonished education for its lack of direction! He stated in part that "the unhappy truth is that education is at sea and rudderless, and has lost is bearings. Its grandiloquent fantasies and wild divagations are an escape from the harshness of facing the realization that it is without direction." It lacked a philosophic grasp, in his estimation, one which commanded authority from within and which could give criteria by which to interpret the facts which had been accumulated (Peffer, 1934). It can only be concluded that Peffer wanted a rudder but not the one offered by Counts.

Probably the best challenge to Counts' views of indoctrination appeared in the journal of which he was the editor, *The Social Frontier*. In January 1935, several scholars were asked to provide their ideas on the issue.

Four of the writers favored indoctrination but for reasons or in ways not suggested by Counts. F. J. Sheed favored indoctrination of the Catholic perspective since it was essential, he contended, that the purpose of life be the issue of first consideration, after which indoctrination could then serve that purpose. Lawrence Dennis favored its use to maintain the status of ruling elites. Earl Browder favored its use to bring about a workers' revolution. And George A. Coe wanted indoctrination to bring into being a classless society where intelligence would be used for cultural advance.

Only two of the scholars opposed conscious imposition. Harry D. Gideonse sought to preserve the traditional liberal version of laissaz-faire economics, a position which needs no elaboration here. The other view which opposed its use was that offered by Boyd Bode.

He analyzed the shift in values over time and underlined the erosion of the strict adherence to fixed and final principles. He saw in Counts' position the abandonment of a traditional outlook and the instituting of a new outlook. In both the problem was the same: the school indoctrinated to that end. On the other hand, if fixed truths were unavailable, then something quite different would have to emerge. "The lack of a fixed and final end shifts the spotlight from the result to the process. The important thing in education, as we are frequently assured, is growth." Valuing this as the key, Bode promised that "this end is secured by encouraging pupils to engage in personal undertakings in which they learn to rely on their own intelligence. With increasing maturity they are expected to deal increasingly with the reconstruction of beliefs and attitudes, in the same general way" (Bode, 1935). This would, in Bode's view, result in growth as desired. In short, he simply reiterated the pragmatist's perspective a la John Dewey. Bode also pointed out repeatedly, however, that there was no room for an assumption of neutrality in his position. Adopting his perspective would result, he believed, in an educated populace that would make indoctrination of any kind ultimately impossible.

In the final analysis, it is of importance to reiterate Counts' antipathy to the concept of indoctrinating fixed dogmas. He believed that the adoption of such a policy would be disastrous and would mark the end of liberty in America. The spirit of freedom was not something that could be evoked on command, even by the highest authority. Rather, it was a tender parent that could be nurtured in the young only by those who practiced, understood, and loved it (Counts, 1952).

Nevertheless, the schools were to provide a purpose with truly American qualities. In the past, the word America has been synonymous throughout the world with democracy. It represented the child of revolutionary ideas and impulses of the eighteenth century and became the embodiment of a bold social experiment to develop the capacities and redeem the souls of common men and women. In time, America's influence had grown to impel the human will everywhere to rebel against ancient wrongs. In Counts' estimation, this spirit was the finest jewel in America's heritage and was the thing most worthy of preservation. In his words:

> If America should lose her revolutionary temper, she will no longer be America. In that day, if it has not already arrived, her spirit will have fled and she will be known merely as the richest and most powerful o the nations. If America is not to be false to the promise of her youth, she must do more than simply perpetuate the democratic ideal of human relationships: she must make an intelligent and determined effort to fulfill it. The democracy of the past was the chance fruit of a strange conjunction of forces on the new continent; the democracy of the future can only be the intended offspring of the union of human reason, purpose, and will. The conscious and deliberate achievement of democracy under novel circumstances is the task of our generation (Counts, 1932a).

The last segment of this passage demonstrates again his two-fold faith; faith in democracy first and foremost, and faith in education's potential for aiding in its realization. These two strains in his thought represent points of consistency throughout his writings over the course of more than fifty years. The warnings that Counts put forth concerning the continuance of America's democratic society seem as relevant to today's circumstances as they did over a half century ago when they were formulated.

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Curriculum History: Whither Though Goest

By Laurel N. Tanner, Temple University

The 1982 meeting marks the fifth birthday of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History. To have been invited by our president, Murry R. Nelson, to comment on the past and future directions of the Society is a great honor, and I am deeply grateful. It affords me, as a founding member, an opportunity to document our accomplishments and to offer a point of view on how we may have fallen short of our aims. Birthdays can be useful occasions.

The Society was founded in 1977 as a direct response to a problem: the ahistorical character of curriculum reform in our time. Its purpose is to generate good historical studies and to serve as a means of building on past experience with an ever-increasing effectiveness.

There is no mistaking the need for more disciplined inquiry into the history of the curriculum. We have addressed this need. Our papers and symposia reflect our members' work and research contributions in curriculum history. Our publications have generated interest in and clarified understanding of the past in the curriculum field.

We have accomplished much with the first aspect of our work. A capsule history of curriculum history will drive the point home. Until relatively recently few curriculum scholars subjected the history of the curriculum to analysis. The Committee on Curriculum-Making of the National Society for the Study of Education published a major study of the early years of the curriculum field but that was back in 1926. Significantly, the Committee, under the leadership of Harold Rugg, realized that no useful discussion of curriculum theory was possible except in the light of the history of the field.

"This book (the Twenty-sixth Yearbook) gives the best presently available account of the early development of the organized curriculum movement," declared Hollis L. Caswell at a curriculum conference at Columbia's Teachers college in 1966. Caswell's observation tells us something about the availability (or lack of it) of good historical studies. Granted that the Twenty-sixth Yearbook was a remarkable accomplishment, forty years had passed since its publication. As Caswell clearly implied, a new work was in press. Seguel's *The curriculum field: Its formative years* (1966) made its appearance shortly thereafter. Seguel gave us a substantial account of the early years,and Caswell, who was a pioneer in the curriculum field supplied much of the material. More interesting still, however, is that during the four decades following the publication of the Twenty-sixth Yearbook, no major historical investigation of the curriculum movement had been produced. Seemingly, interest in curriculum history reached its high-water mark when the field was in its infancy. This did not bode well for advance in the curriculum field. As Kliebard (1968) observed, each generation was left to discover the problems of the curriculum field anew.

Why did interest in curriculum history subside with the publication of the Twenty-sixth Yearbook? Perhaps curricularists were too busy making history to write about it. As Tyler recalls about the Eight-Year Study and the challenges of making schooling useful to youngsters in the Great Depression, "It was a great time to be in education" (Tyler, 1976). And in the 1940's and 1950's, leaders in curriculum development were very active in state and regional projects to improve educational programs. There is no doubt that, for whatever reason, curriculum history was neglected. As a result, there were few studies for curriculum students to read.

For a period of some eleven years after midcentury, there was no definitive history of the progressive education movement--the movement which began around 1890 and yielded to the forces of conservatism after World War II. Then in 1961, Cremin published *The transformation of the school* which filled a long existent need. Cremin is an historian of education and the book is, strictly speaking, an educational history. Educational reform must, of necessity, revolve around the two major curriculum questions: what should be taught, and how it should be taught. The story told by Cremin concerns the emergence of a different way of answering these questions and the development of a new American educational tradition. The transformation was immediately recognized by curricularists as the important resource it was. Perhaps the ultimate sign of recognition came from Hilda Taba who cited it twice on the first page of her classic, Curriculum development theory and practice (1962). In retrospect, the publication of Cremin's study is a kind of watershed. Following Cremin, scholars began to turn their attention to the era when the curriculum field was marked by vital and creative changes. The era of profound neglect was over.

Now, the entire problem of ahistoricism in curriculum reform is usually summed up as the need to study curriculum history. However inadequate this view, there is still a shortage of studies. This is the paradox of ahistoricism and it indicates clearly why we must study our own history and why this emphasis if our Society's work is so important. Even five years after our founding, it is hard to realize how long and how badly curriculum history was neglected.

Are isolated historical studies a sufficient means of building on our past experience with an increasing effectiveness? I have discussed this problem at some length elsewhere (Tanner, 1982) and time does not permit an explication here. The answer, in brief, is that they are not enough, which is why the founding members in their wisdom had a second purpose: using curriculum history to improve our curriculum efforts. It is here, in the area of influence on practitioners, where we have fallen short.

There is a danger that the Society may be drifting toward the easy path of investigating curriculum history for its own sake, rather than engaging in the kind of research which will reveal lessons from the past in shedding light on contemporary problems. A number of schools and universities are seeking to use history as a means of countering ahistoricism in education. There is wide interest in the history of the curriculum, but there is a danger that it may become a preoccupation, rather than a means of addressing pervasive educational problems. I believe that we must not forget the distinct problem which led to our founding. We must focus our efforts on examining how the study of curriculum history can be used to solve substantive educational problems. The central fact of ahistoricism is that it tends to occur in the educational situation --through those who play roles in the policy making and conduct of schools. How can we help administrators and teachers to build on their past experience? This problem is still ours.

And let me note, too, that we are none too sure of the success of our mission in the university. We have no means of judging the adequacy of existing programs in preparing curriculum researchers in curriculum history. There is a need to do so, and to communicate the findings to the profession. I would like to propose a survey of key curriculum professors at leading research centers in education to ascertain:

1. What is the nature of the research in curriculum history currently being undertaken by professors of curriculum?
2. What attention, if any, is being given to investigating the phenomenon of cyclical reform movements in the curriculum field?
3. What doctoral studies in curriculum history are currently in progress and what problems in curriculum history are being investigated?
4. To what extent if any is curriculum history an integral part of the preparation of doctoral students in the curriculum field? What course offerings are available in curriculum history? When were these courses implemented? What were the circumstances that led to their implementation? Are new courses in curriculum history currently being developed? What areas of curriculum history are treated in these courses?
5. What pervasive educational problems need to be addressed from the vantage points of curriculum history?

The findings of the study should be communicated to the profession through the Society for the Study of Curriculum History, Professors of Curriculum, American Educational Research Association (Division B), and Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

I should also like to propose that we establish a network of leaders in the curriculum field to work on a continuous basis in identifying and investigating problems in curriculum history which may shed light on significant present-day educational problems. The foregoing proposal will be submitted to the Society for the Study of Curriculum History at its business meeting.

In closing, I would like to state my admiration and gratitude for the achievements of my colleagues in the Society. We have made a remarkable beginning. We will continue to turn dreams and plans into reality.

(Editors' note: The proposal was submitted and approved on March 19, 1982.)

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Possible Directions for the Study of Curriculum History

By **William H. Schubert**, University of Illinois-Chicago

I decided to respond quite directly to the three questions that our president, Murry Nelson, suggested for us.

The first question (Do you feel that the Society is operating in a way consonant with its original mandate?) is interesting because it caused me to reflect on what could be taken to be an original mandate. As I reflect on the suggested purposes discussed at our founding meeting at Teachers College in 1977, and as I remember the business meeting discussion at the first official meeting of the Society in Toronto in 1978, the vision that seems to have impelled us is that of a group that would enliven and encourage historical curriculum scholarship. Put less positively, a central purpose was to prevent those who engage in curricular pursuits from being consumed by rampant ahistoricism. We hoped to do so by demonstrating the worth of studying curriculum history. I sincerely believe that during the past five years we have made an effective dent in the problem of ahistoricism. The papers presented at our annual meetings have contributed to greater understanding of curriculum as a field of inquiry and to our knowledge of curriculum practice. Moreover, the appearance of our first Proceedings in 1981 marked a formalization of our work (Tanner, 1981).

We have moved in less anticipated directions as well. To use the insightful labels of Pressman and Wildavsky (Pressman, 1979), our policy has been more disposition than mandate and our work had been more evolutionary than mere implementation of prespecified ends. Our co-sponsoring of sessions with Division B and the Special Interest Group on Creation and Utilization of Curriculum Knowledge and the Special Interest Group on Philosophical Studies in Education at Annual Meetings of the American Educational Research Association represents a prominent diversification of our efforts to disseminate knowledge and interest in curriculum history.

I think, too, that we have had an important indirect impact on one another and on the larger community of curriculum scholars. By meeting together, we know experientially, not merely in an abstract fashion, that colleagues share a sense of direction. This not only relates to papers prepared for Society meetings but to other efforts to contribute to curriculum history. I must say that my experience with this group, in its informal as much as formal aspects, has been an important impetus to my own work in curriculum history. I was not doing research and writing for a nondescript audience as I worked on Curriculum books: The first eighty years (Schubert, 1980a); instead, I had actual readers in mind for whom I tried to provide a useful piece of scholarship. I am certain that I am not alone in this regard--that many of us have been impelled to contribute books, articles, and research papers by the image of colleagues in this Society who would profit from the knowledge that we create. Moreover, we can not only benefit from imagining the appreciations of colleagues, but from anticipation of their probable criticism.

Thus far I have dwelt with formal and informal benefits that accrue from being part of this Society. An additional dimension must be mentioned, viz., the impact of our group on others. Though difficult to empirically verify, it seems reasonable to assume that if our own interest and involvement in curriculum history is augmented, it extends into the work of colleagues and students with whom we interact.

The recent appearance of curriculum history articles in journals that are not principally curriculum journals is quite promising. I am thinking of Kiebard's excellent piece (Kliebard, 1982) on curriculum ferment at the turn of this century in Educational Researcher, a journal for educational researchers generally; the analysis by Atkin and House (1981) on federal roles in curriculum development since 1950 in Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, a journal for policy analysts and evaluators; and Ornstein's (1982) recent review of historical tendencies in process and product orientations to curriculum in Kappan which has a large audience of school administrators. While I certainly do not impute a cause-effect relation between our Society's activities and these articles, I do wish to suggest that the articles represent a growing awareness that historical inquiry is critical in the consideration of educational problems, and that at the root of educational problems lie basic curriculum questions about what is most worthwhile to know and to teach. It is refreshing that the ahistorical tendencies so widely acknowledged in the Sixties and Seventies are receding on several fronts and we are helping in that process.

Thus, in response to Murry's second question (Are you satisfied with the direction that our meetings have gone?), my response is Yes. This, however, does not mean that I would be satisfied if there were to be no further developments.

This leads directly to Murry's third question (Can you support ideas for improving the meeting on furthering relationships with one another in the pursuit of curriculum history?). My suggestions center on the considerations of possible additions to or variations on our conception of curriculum history. I will first mention something about that conception and then raise some possible directions that we might consider.

In reflecting on the papers presented at our meetings, 1978-1982, I feel that it is warranted to assert that we primarily have treated the history of curriculum as the study of the curriculum field, a field which has not existed in a formal sense except in the twentieth century (Schubert, 1980). Surely, it is worthwhile to focus on curriculum thought in this century and to study curricular practices in schools. However, I believe that we should consider the additional value of probing beyond the present boundaries of analysis and interpretation. In thinking about possible directions, I found it helpful to employ the following prepositional descriptors to the term curriculum: before, within, behind, beside, and beyond. I will briefly discuss each.

1. Before Curriculum. Should we not consider giving greater attention to curriculum thought found in philosophical, social, and religious classics prior to the twentieth century? During the past several years, I have been struck by the vast lack of acquaintance of graduate students (not to mention researchers) with these literatures. In using Robert Ulich's collection entitled Three thousand years of educational wisdom (Ulich, 1954) to give historical perspective to an advanced seminar in curriculum theory, I have been astounded at the lack of familiarity with the likes of Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Bacon, Emerson; or even with those more directly engaged in education, such as: Quintillian, Erasmus, Comenius, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel and Dewey. The point suggested is that we who study and teach curriculum history should not confine ourselves to the curriculum field of the present century; rather, we should seek renewed interpretation of curriculum thought that permeates the classics where we sometimes find that curricular issues are treated rather directly as in Book VII of Plato's Republic (1945). In fictional works, curricular problems are less directly identified; nevertheless, I submit that a wealth of uncharted responses to what we ask and should ask people to learn can be found in the likes of Shakespeare, Goethe, Dickens, and Twain. Surely, we have only touched the tip of the iceberg in studying the classics for the insight and criticism that they offer curriculum.

2. Within Curriculum. What has the study of curriculum wrought within the lives of curricularists and within the lives of those who experience curriculum? Here I refer to the potential of biographical studies. Our Society meetings have seen several fine biographical studies of curriculum scholars. Knowing more fully the lives of contributors to our heritage can provide valuable insights not found in large scale analysis of events and trends.

Similarly, the study of biography itself can enliven philosophical, cultural and psychological dimensions of curriculum, much as the study of The education of Henry Adams (1927) enlightened the liberal and practical studies of students throughout their second year of study in Alexander Meiklejohn's Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin just prior to the depression (Meiklejohn, 1981). Both the study of artistically constructed biography and the creation of biographical and autobiographical accounts of curricular experience would seem to fall within the province of curriculum history. Such study brings us closer to the identification of what Dewey called "collateral learning" (Dewey, 1938) or "hidden curriculum" as it has been known since the late 1960s (Snyder, 1970). Certainly, biography and autobiography and their close relative, the case study in its several variations, enable us to see the power of uniquenesses within curricular situations to which more sweeping historical treatments cannot attend, as useful as the latter otherwise can be (Schubert, 1980b).

3. Behind Curriculum. Surely, we need to continue to look carefully at the social, economic, political, and psychological culture in which curriculum has been embedded. What combinations of events and human interactions have contributed to curriculum problems? Put conversely, what events and interactions are symbolized by the curriculum? Much of the work in curriculum history has focused on this type of questioning, and I believe much more is needed especially in the realm of creating strategies to determine cultural influences on curriculum. Conversely, again, the actual and possible influence of curriculum on culture must be addressed. Broudy has productvely labeled this the study of "life consequences of schooling" (Broudy, 1972).

4. Beside Curriculum. Should we not study curricula that exist in parallel with that usually analyzed? The study of curriculum has focused almost exclusively on schooling (Schubert, 1982). While it is far from my wish to suggest that we discard attention to school curriculum, I believe that what economic and social theorists sometimes call the "communications revolution (Theobald, 1976) makes it impossible to focus on curriculum history without studying the histories of any non-school aspects of life in which action is taken on the issue of what is worthwhile to

teach and learn. The journeys of learning (to capture the mythological root of our study) offered by families, media, clubs, peer associations, vocations, avocations, churches and other institutions contribute massively to the evolving outlook of us all, especially the young. The history of what is taught and learned (be it overtly or covertly determined) in these spheres of life is critical to what human beings become (Schubert, 1981). This implies a notion of curriculum history that attends to any cultural events that are curricular because they respond to the question of what is worthwhile to teach and learn.

5. Beyond Curriculum History. Does not the fact that we devote considerable attention to what has occurred, make it incumbent upon us to take an ethical stance as to what should occur? Do we not need to address, as Benjamin Bloom admonished at last year's meeting, how we best can reach those who could benefit from the perspectives that we have to offer? Should we who do curriculum history not feel a responsibility to advocate a basis for the critique and the creation of curriculum? In other words, to offer a variation on Santayana's (1948) well known adage that those who do not know history are condemned to repeat it: is it not fair to condemn those who know history and shirk the ethical responsibility to advocate? What can we offer today's curriculum creators, policy makers, and implementors, and how can we best offer it?

In sum, I am proud to be a part of the contributions that we have made, and I suggest that we have a great deal of serious work to do in considering possibilities for historical curriculum inquiry that are before, within, behind, beside, and beyond its present parameters.

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Reflections on the Field of Curriculum History

By **Mary Louise Seguel**, Northern Illinois University

The emergence of the field of curriculum in the late thirties has been traced by only one person to my knowledge (Seguel, 1966). Curriculum appears to be too important a field to leave its history to one point of view. There have not even been thoroughgoing, extended critiques of this point of view. The whole notion of how the curriculum field came to be does not appear to have been deserving of professional attention.

More serious is the failure to trace the development of the field after its emergence. Roughly forty years have passed since the field emerged, just before the second World War. This period has been tumultuous. Observers of the current social, economic and political scene appear to be at one in characterizing the present age as one of intense ferment and change. Today's crises seem to be the outcome of processes begun long before the time of the founders of our field, but it is fair to say that they too were aware of the fissures in the social fabric and the long, slow but seemingly inexorable upheavals making their way in history. We may surmise, however, that their reaction to these problems was much more in terms of a consensual culture still relatively solid, than in terms of today's self-consciously pluralistic society contemplating severe shocks to the basic social fabric and uncertain of the shape of things to come.

One achievement of this period of curriculum maturity has been the thorough establishment of the concept of the standard or basic curriculum. The assumption made today by the developed and underdeveloped nations alike of the primacy of basic schooling in the national life is supported by the further assumption of a basic curriculum. The citizen submits to the socialization implicit in one central institution in the name of a generalized social good but also submits to the content, covert and overt of one central curriculum, the instrument of the desired socialization. Although there is good evidence that the founders of the curriculum field were aware of the problems of centralized control, they themselves, participants in what was still largely a consensual culture, trusted to the basics of that consensus to serve as endorsement of a basic curriculum. We need to explore today how far the culture has moved away from that consensus and what import such a move may have had for the notion of a standard curriculum.

The most trenchant challenge to the state's power to compel attendance at the central institution and thus to force citizens to come under the influence of the standard curriculum came in the late sixties and early seventies in the shape of the de-schooling movement. De-schooling was a logical reaction to the gradual monopolistic control of socialization by a state controlled institution, the school. The proponents of free schools asserted the right of the freeborn to control their own basic socialization, as a century or so ago they had achieved the right to control their religious observances. Private schools have always been recognized as adequate substitutes for public schools. At first glance it appears that the pattern of the disengagement of the state from a state supported church has been the pattern of disengagement of the state from a state supported school. But the freedom of the citizen neither to believe in any religion at all nor to submit to the control of any church is not paralleled in the case of the schools. Although citizens are not compelled to attend the state school, they must attend a school. They must be schooled. The instrument of that schooling is the curriculum. Free schools discovered that, freed from overt state control in the form of administrative structures, they were still under outside control in the form of the standardized curriculum. The process of schooling, itself, as mediated by the curriculum was unavoidable. As someone remarked, the trouble with schools was schools. The notion that there is a basic body of knowledge, skill, and attitude, a basic socialization essential to becoming a good citizen of the nation, is deeply embedded in the national consciousness. This notion of the standard curriculum was still novel to the founders of the field and the culture of the time. But the same notion is now bred in the bone of the present culture. De-schooling as a movement has almost disappeared today, save for the lonely few who still insist on educating their children at home. The culture simply cannot think except in terms of schooling. And schooling means the development and imposition of a standardized set of knowledge and belief deemed essential for the good conduct of the citizen.

We should trace the mature curriculum field as a manifestation of the ultimate power and success of the concept of universal schooling. We are too close to this development to realize its full import, but as historians of the curriculum field we should make the effort.

As one illustration of the problem, we should consider the current emergence of the New Right, not a new phenomenon but rather a new version of an old one. The monopoly by the state of the basic socialization process mediated by the standard curriculum has always resulted in a restless, incessant struggle among competing forces for the power to determine that curriculum. Although to most people that same curriculum appears benign, a wide range of sub-groups in our culture have characterized the curriculum as untruthful about their group, and even overtly hostile to the claims of their group for greater social recognition and justice. Attempts to improve the standard curriculum by means of greater accuracy and a more positive picture of the group's achievements, have resulted in a backlash on the part of other groups who regard the standard curriculum as a bulwark against forces of social dissolution. Further, individuals from all groups, aware of current social, economic, and political realities threatening the common good and the common welfare point either to elements of the standard curriculum which have outlived their usefulness, or to the current preponderance of bland, neutral items which crowd out more pertinent and pressing ones.

All groups taking part in this kind of polemic assume the inevitable value of the standardized curriculum as basic fare for all. Even the free-schoolers make this assumption. Only the true de-schoolers pose any effective challenge to the assumption of a basic socialization mediated by a basic curriculum.

We need to examine the rhetoric of the founders of the curriculum field in the light of their cultural scene, and rethink elements of their rhetoric that continue to be accepted today as axioms in the light of a changed cultural scene. Several questions come to mind which seem relevant.

> Are there elements of our curriculum past which are powerfully present in a world today which may be different from the one in which they were shaped?
>
> If we can identify these elements, trace their origins, and make clear the conditions under which they were developed, will we perceive what, if any, commonalities the past has with the present?
>
> If there are commonalities, may we then preserve what of the past is useful?
>
> If there are few commonalities, may we then discard what of the past is no longer useful and contemplate new ideas?

The current examination of the nature of school materials by Anderson and Tomkins (1981) is an example of the kind of inquiry which well illuminates the development of the curriculum field and its current state. An example in the same vein is the examination of accepted school room organization. The basic organization of the classroom has not changed since its inception in the middle 1800's. Originally, as now, the class consists of a group of students and a teacher. They process a curriculum which represents a presumed community consensus on the values and knowledge the ideal adult should possess. The teacher is the community filter through which the accumulated wisdom of the culture passes to the group of students. This simple design may have been adequate for a young, developing culture seeking unity and cultural consensus. But this same design may well be totally inadequate for a more mature culture, experiencing severe shocks of cultural dissolution. The contrast between the experiences of the founders and our experiences might well be put in the form of questions.

Did the founders of universal public education foresee the cultural drift toward technology based on the mutual service of science and industrial development, and the resulting demands on schooling to produce the technologically trained person? Did they foresee that, although both class membership over generation and the possession of wealth are powerful determinants of social and economic class, the new technology would permit its possessors to challenge the older determinants? The founders hoped that the school would contribute to upward mobility. Did they foresee that when the possession of technical knowledge and skill became major determinants, the ladder would become crowded and that, as a result, whole groups would need to be educated to accept the lower rungs?

Did they foresee the development of the measurement technology, as an instrument for sorting? In the beginning, its authors were content to measure those things that could be measured, and to judge the rest, using human estimate and wisdom. Did they anticipate that the passion for mathematically exact measure would eventually swallow up the whole thrust of schooling and reject as unimportant anything which could not be exactly measured?

Did they foresee the contemporary emergence of the global village, created by communication tools outside their experience, and mediated by images rather than by direct face-to-face contact? Their metaphor was the citizen of the town meeting, the city state, the nation, secure in the sense of a community of assumption and aspiration, and in the reliance on knowledge as integrated to a commonly perceived purpose. Their ideology was that of a society of free men and women. What has emerged, however, is a global commonality, not based on face-to-face interaction but mediated by images of people one will never see, places one will never visit, and cultures one will never know well, and where the possibility of talking with is almost nonexistent. The resultant ideology is radically different from the one experienced by the founders. How is the ideology which they espoused useful today?

Did they foresee a specialized culture which would have no real place for children and youth, except in a separate institution? The family has been transformed from a productive economic unit to an emotionally satisfying personal experiene, participated in after working hours. Children as well as women have become, to a large extent, economically emancipated from the family. The humanizing of the child, the development of such characteristics as courage, prudence, endurance, loyalty, human sensitivity, curiosity, and creativity is no longer carried out by the family, as it was in the days of the founders. Did they foresee that the school would be charged with the development of these qualities, and blamed for their absence?

What the founders would make of these changes is a useful speculation, since their ideas are still powerful in educational thought and practice today. One of the ideas which is affected by current social, political and economic changes is that of the basic classroom unit, controlled by the omnipotent teacher armed with the omniscient text. Today groups whose members will be destined for the lowest rung of the occupational ladder are not satisfied with the decisions made by the omnipotent teacher armed with the omniscient text. Community consensus on the issues posed by the global village is too weak to serve the single teacher mediating knowledge and attitudes for a class of students. The task of humanizing the child and simultaneously fitting the child for a specialized world is mutually contradictory when undertaken by one teacher with a heterogeneous group of students. The problem is sharpened by the lack of firm community consensus to support the single teacher's efforts.

One consequence of the retention of this pattern, has been that the technology of education itself has remained at a fairly low level of development. Precise techniques are ignored by the profession because they are unworkable in the one teacher, one class organization. The search for the all purpose method which has characterized and plagued educational thought may be derived from the primitive nature of the classroom organization for which it is planned.

This kind of organization has also served to keep the teaching profession from becoming as specialized as other professions. Educational specialists have developed to fit the basic pattern. The specialist is someone who assists the primary person, the teacher. The implication is that the teacher's performance is, per se, too general, as in truth it must be. The specialist suffers from frustration in confronting too simple an organizational form.

Is school organization, one teacher, one class, an element still powerfully present in a world today which is quite different from the one in which it was developed? Should this idea be thoroughly researched, and if the evidence supports it, should it lead to some proposed changes in the current school organization?

Many curriculum people perceive the curriculum past as characterized by fad and fashion. They see curriculum development as cyclical, as certain particular items occur and recur. They hope that a closer examination of the curriculum past will dissuade educators from their faddish ways. It is more reasonable however, to examine these cycles in terms of problems which being unsolved must continually recur. The institutional and behavioral regularities whose existence Sarason (1971) has so persuasively disclosed, if unchanged, may make our efforts to deal with the problems they cause ineffective. We need a closer examination of our curricular past for a variety of points of view, especially in pursuit of past dogmas which served their time, but which may today be obstructive, and if unchallenged, actually prevent us thinking clearly about the nature, purpose, and future of our field.

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PART V

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Craig Kridel, *Editor*
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PART VI

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RUFUS KING: EDITOR, GENERAL OF THE ARMY, AND MILWAUKEE'S FIRST SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

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The Board of School Directors is currently searching for a superintendent for the Milwaukee Public Schools. It was reported recently that no one attended a public meeting to discuss the desirable qualifications for the next superintendent. It has occurred to me that it might be helpful to review the qualifications and circumstances related to the first superintendent. While a comparison of the qualifications may not be of great help in the present search, perhaps a little "history" won't hurt.

Milwaukee was incorporated as a city in the Wisconsin Territory in 1846. In February, 1846 the legislative assembly of the Territory passed a law placing the common schools of Milwaukee under the control of a Board of School Commissioners consisting of three members from each ward appointed by the Mayor and the Common Council. This board had complete control over the schools, but at that time had no authorization to employ an executive officer. What evolved was a president who also served as a secretary and a committee system whereby the administrative and supervisory functions were divided among the members by serving on a number of committees.

The constitution for the State of Wisconsin was adopted by the voters on March 13, 1848. Rufus King, through his participation at the constitutional convention and through his editorials in the Sentinel, played a major role in the final form of the document--especially in Article X which provided for "the establishment of district schools which shall be free to all children between the ages of four and twenty years." Included in Article X was the provision that each town and city be required to raise taxes for support of the common schools.

Rufus King was elected the first President of the Board of School Commissioners in 1846. He served continuously as a Board member from 1846 up to his election as superintendent in 1859. He also served as president of the Board in 1851 and 1855. It is interesting that he continued to serve as a

Board member while superintendent and for a year after his resignation. He left Milwaukee in 1861 to serve as a general in the Union Army.

The Legislature passed a law authorizing the Board to appoint a superintendent in 1852. However, there was no appointment until 1859 when Mr. King was elected at an annual salary of $2,000 - the limit established by the Legislature. By 1859 the enrollment in the Milwaukee schools was about 4,000 and it was generally recognized that a major problem of the schools was a lack of "professional" supervision. It was also acknowledged that there was no uniformity in the schools including the course of instruction and the selection of textbooks. Historian Donnelly said of Superintendent King's appointment:

> General Rufus King was eminently fitted to perform the duties of the office. He was a man of liberal education, and had long been a member of the School Board. There was a decided improvement in the schools after the date of his becoming president.

At the time of his election as superintendent in 1859 Mr. King was editor of the Milwaukee Sentinel and he continued to carry out those duties. It was not until 1865 that the Legislature amended the school law to require academic and professional preparation for the position. It has been suggested that at the time of his election Mr. King and the Sentinel were in dire financial straits and his friends determined to help him by electing him superintendent with a rather healthy salary for the times of an annual salary of $2,000. It is interesting to note that his successors for many years received a salary of $1,000.

Mr. King served as superintendent for one year. There are conflicting views as to why he resigned. One was the burden of continuing as editor at the same time as superintendent. The other, that the politics and "spoils system" did not suit him. Historian Stearns states:

> "Had General King been permitted to continue his services, the schools would have been the gainers. The salary then paid, although it was considered liberal for the time, was not sufficient pay for the entire services of such a man as General King."

Now as to Mr. King's qualifications to be a superintendent of schools. As has been noted, there were no academic or professional requirements for the position until 1865.

Rufus King was a descendent of a very prominent family of New York. His grandfather fought in the Revolutionary War, was an active participant in framing the Constituion, served as a United States Senator, and as a minister to England. King's father had fought in the War of 1812, was editor of the New York American, and served as president of Columbia College. John King, his uncle, served as a Representative in Congress and a Governor of New York.

King graduated from West Point at the age of 19. As noted, historian Donnelly called him a man of liberal education. (It is interesting to contemplate whether West Point offered a "liberal" curriculum in those days.) Following a brief stint as an Army engineer, he resigned to take up a career as a journalist in Albany, New York. Through his associations in Albany, he was recommended for the position as editor of the Milwaukee Sentinel and moved to Milwaukee in 1845.

While Mr. King may not have experienced what might be considered a "liberal education" at West Point, his journalist experiences evidently helped him develop views on the numerous issues of the day. Through his position at Albany he became associated with the Whig party. He became a Republican when the Whigs dissolved and generally supported the Republican platform including the support of Lincoln in 1860.

Upon his arrival in Milwaukee, Mr. King became intensely involved in local affairs including the development of the common schools. (It is only fair to say, however, that the previous editors of the Sentinel had been interested in the schools as is evidenced by editorials in various issues starting in the first edition in 1837.) Mr. King became editor on September 19, 1845. On September 20 there was an article in the Sentinel titled: "Street School" which dealt with "the horrible results of non-education." This was followed by numerous articles and editorials in subsequent issues on the need for schools and education. It should be noted that the school situation was not the only issue--local, state or national--which caught Editor King's attention and became the subject of his editorials. He often referred to the Civil War as the "irrepressible conflict" and to slavery as the "peculiar institution."

It did not take long for Editor King to make known his interest and views on schooling. In December 1845 he, along with a Mr. Holton and a Mr. Randall were appointed to a committee to "examine the conditions of the common schools." The committee reported that at the time there were 13 schools in operation--4 public, with 228 students and 9 private, with 356 students. It was estimated that there were over 1,000 students ages 5-16 not in school and for which there were no accommodations. The committee reported that there were few funds for schools, primarily because of the political system of selecting school commissioners. There was little money to hire teachers, to maintain buildings, and to buy instructional materials. The committee pointed out there was "confusion" in the course of instruction and in the selection of textbooks. They stated there were but two public "school houses" with "one hardly deserving the name." They also found that the administration and supervision of instruction was poor. In many respects this committee report may be viewed as the basis for the development of the Milwaukee Schools as a "system."

Following this report, Mr. King served on a committee to propose a plan for the schools. At a meeting on December 17 (less than a week after the first report) the committee recommended that all of the "common schools" be put under the control of a Board of School Commissioners elected or appointed from the districts or wards. Subsequently the committee recommended that the Board would elect a president who would also serve as the secretary and clerk. This then was the organizational structure which was included in the first city charter. Mr. King became a member of the first Board and the first president. Remember this was in the first year after Mr. King arrived in Milwaukee.

Beginning with Mr. King's election in 1859, the superintendent also served as secretary of the Board. In 1866 Thomas Desmond was hired as a clerk for the Board, and in 1872 he became the first paid secretary of the Board. The initiation of a salaried secretary developed into a very interesting administrative organization which should be given careful consideration in choosing the next superintendent. Since the time of Mr. Desmond, the positions of superintendent and secretary-business manager have become separate, independent offices. There was an attempt to change this in the

Legislature in recent years, but did not receive adequate support. Fortunately, over the years, the persons serving in these two positions have been compatible.

In 1861, King received an appointment as the United States minister to Rome. However, he decided not to accept the appointment and instead secured an appointment as a Brigadier General in the Army. He served under General McClellan in the Peninsular Campaign. There are various interpretations as to the distinctiveness of his military service. He resigned from the Army in 1863 to accept a position as minister to Rome and served in that position until 1867. He left the ministry, again in dire financial straits, because Congress had withdrawn funds supporting the ministry. He never returned to Milwaukee and after years as a semi-invalid died in 1876.

This, then, is a brief commentary on Milwaukee's first superintendent of schools. There have been over twenty who have served in the position since, with varying qualifications and records. Alpha May was elected in 1862 and quit after one week. Edwin DeWolf (1863-65) was characterized by one historian as a "blatant politician" which resulted in bringing the schools into the "cesspool of politics." James MacAlister (1874-1878 and 1880-1883) brought the Milwaukee school national attention in an exhibition at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Carrol Pearse was the first outsider to be elected--but only after over 200 ballots during four evening sessions of the Board. Mayor David Rose was furious, especially because of the $6,000 salary while the Mayor was only receiving $4,000, and the Governor $5,000.

Curtis Miller whose masters thesis dealt with "Rufus King and the Problems of His Era" sums up his contributions as follows:

> It is sometimes stated that the mark of a man's lifetime is measured by what he leaves behind him. If this is true, Rufus King will not easily be forgotten. He left his mark indelibly upon the nation's, and more especially, Wisconsin's history. However, not all of the causes he espoused came true, nor did he solve all of the nation's problems. Being a Whig and later a Republican in a predominantly Democratic area, King more often than not found himself on the losing political side. The United States engaged in a war with Mexico against his wishes. Despite his attacks, the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law. The "American system," favored by King, never fully developed during his lifetime. Nevertheless, King did see Wisconsin attain statehood under a Constitution he helped formulate, his support of Taylor in

1848 and Lincoln in 1860 did aid them in attaining the Presidency, and the "peculiar institution" no longer cursed the nation. His services to both nation and state are a matter of public record. In the end, King's life, like all others, consisted of successes and failures--no more of one, than the other. However, Rufus King succeeded in fulfilling his heritage. Like his grandfather, he signed a Constitution, fought a war and served as a diplomat. Like his father, he edited a newspaper and served in the field of public education. After his death the family traditions were carried on by his descendants, especially his son Charles. Thus did Rufus King, editor, soldier and diplomat, pass across the American panorama.

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players;
> They have their exits and their entrances;
> And one man in his time plays many parts . . . .
>
> -- Shakespeare

Be assured, according to the records, that each of our school superintendents has been an interesting person. And be assured that our next will follow suit. The nature of the position and those who aspire to it guarantee it.

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Significant Developments:

The following is a list of some significant developments in the Milwaukee Public Schools from 1846 through 1860--the time when General King was serving as a Board member from 1846 through 1860, as President in 1846, 1851 and 1855, and as Superintendent in 1859.

- ... in 1846 the common schools in the city were placed under the control of Board of School Commissions with three members from each ward. Editor King was elected President. (No provision for an Executive Officer was provided for until 1852.)
- ... no school could receive any public money unless there was 30 average attendances and unless English was taught as a branch.
- ... a total of $2,207 was spent be the Board in 1846.
- ... in 1849 money was borrowed to build 5 new brick school buildings.
- ... enrollment went from approximately 700 in 3 public and 10 private schools in 1846 to 2400 in public and 2600 in private in 1856. (There were less than 50% age 5-16 in schools during this period.)
- ... the schools were organized in 3 departments: primary, intermediate, and principal (later changed to grammar). (A 10 grade structure was adopted in 1865.)
- ... there were three school terms: 1) second Monday of April to last Friday of July; 2) last Monday in August to just prior to Christmas; 3) second Monday of January to last Friday in March (shades of Nation at Risk).
- ... in 1857 the Board adopted a resolution to organize three high schools. (Two were opened but closed in 1859 because of the financial panic. The third did not open until after 1862.)
- ... the course of study included reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history and writing. In 1855, algebra, geometry, dictation, higher mathematics, astronomy and civics were introduced plus voice culture if the principal "allowed" it.
- ... the selection of textbooks and purchase of materials was a major task and tribulation for the Board.
- ... the Board admitted the pay for teachers--$400 per year for male, $200 for female--could not be expected to attract "persons of the most finished education and highest order of talent."

... in 1852 the Board adopted a resolution to "have the teachers form themselves into a 'teachers' institute' to meet monthly for mutual consultation with a view to systematizing and introducing a uniform method of teaching."

... in 1852 the State Legislature empowered the Board to elect a superintendent (Milwaukee did not do so until Mr. King was elected in 1859).

Rufus King: Chronology

1814: Born January 26, in New York City

1829: Entered West POint, graduated 1833 at age 19

1829: as Second Lieutenant of Engineers assigned to Captain Robert E. Lee in construction of Fortress Monroe

1836: married Ellen Eliot, daughter of John Elliot, noted "apostle" to the Indians

1836: resigned from Army, took position as Engineer re Erie Canal

1838: began journalistic career with Albany Evening Journal (proprietor was Thurlow Weed, a strong supporter of William Seward who later became governor of New York, was to play a role in King's future)

1838: pursued study of law

1838-42 appointed by Governor Seward as adjutant general of the State of New York (served for 4 years)

18 takes engineering trip to the west

1845: moves to Milwaukee, becomes part owner and editor of the Sentinel

1846: in April elected president of Board of School Commissioners (served on the Board continuously until 1861, as president 1846-48)

1848: delegate to second Constitutional Convention for Wisconsin 1851 and 1855.

1857: Sentinel "wrecked" because of financial Panic--but new owner gave him editorship and interest in business

1859: elected Superintendent of Milwaukee Schools (served one year)
Major general in militia
member of first Board of Regents of University of Wisconsin

1860: supported Seward for President - Convention, nominated Lincoln whom he supported

1860: traveled to Washington seeking position as postmaster of Milwaukee

1860: informed that Lincoln, at Seward's request had appointed him Minister toRome

1860: upon arriving at New York for trip to Rome, heard of firing on Fort Sumter. Travled to Washington, asking Lincoln to give him commission in the Army.

1861-62 in command of a brigade of Union Army stationed at Arlington (the estate of General Robert E. Lee)

1863: captured General Lee's son (notified Lee that his son was safe)

1861: returned to Milwaukee in May as Bridadier-General to organize volunteer regiments

1861: in August in Kalorama Heights outside Washington organizing brigade (President Lincoln often visited his headquarters). His son Charles attached to the brigade as a mounted orderly.

1862: by March brigade in good order, King ordered promoted to command of the division. Asked to be excused so as to stay with his brigade. Suggested appointment of General Sigel to satisfy soldiers of German descent.

1862: division marches on Fredicksburg. There was great controversy over the actions and decisions of the officers of this division of the Union Army in this area and times including what orders General King did (or did not) receive. While it was generally agreed thatGeneral King was not guilty of any error, many people--including his son Charles--believed he should have called for a court of inquiry to clear his name and remove doubts that some had expressed. Note that during this time he was suffering ill health.

1863: resigned his commission because il health, but Secretary Seward saw to his return to the minstry of the Papal States at Rome.

1867: made deputy collector of the port of New York

1870: returned to Jamaica in ill health where he died in 1876

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PUPILS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
OF
MILWAUKEE

1. The Pupils must all appear at the appointed hours, with their hands and faces clean; and hair combed, free from lice, itch, scald head, and other contageous diseases; and with their clothes clean and mended.
2. They must be careful of their school books; which are not to be *soiled*, *torn*, or *scribbled* in.
3. They must be regular in their attendance; and never loiter to or from school.
4. They must obey their instructors; and strictly observe the rules adopted for their government.
5. They must attend diligently to their studies.
6. They must not study aloud, or make any improper gestures, or unnecessary noise.
7. They must neither write, talk, nor whisper to each other during school hours.
8. They must not leave their seats without permission; nor remain at play longer than the time prescribed for them.
9. They must in all cases speak the truth.
10. They must not quarrel with, strike, or abuse each other, on any occasion.
11. They must not, either in speaking, or writing, use profane, indecent, or offensive language.
12. They should be polite and respectful in their behaviour; and, neither do, nor say, anything to injure the person, feelings, or property of their neighbors, or associates.
13. No scholar shall be admitted into the school room, who does not appear within fifteen minutes of the appointed hour.
14. None but the children of actual residents, shall be admitted into the Public Schools; and no pupil shall be received, in any quarter, after the end of the first month, unless the parents have recently moved into the district, or the pupil has been detained from school by sickness, or other sufficient cause.

By order of the Board of School Commissioners.
RUFUS KING, President.

H. G. Abbey, Secretary.
Milwaukee. Dec. 1846.

CURRICULUM TRENDS IN THE WESTERN WORLD IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(1983)

William F. Connell

The twentieth century has been notable for its unique contribution to the study of the school curriculum. For the first time in modern history an effort was made to examine systematically the content of the curriculum and to study the most appropriate ways of constructing new curricula.

In examining trends in twentieth century curricula three matters are of particular significance: changes that have taken place in the content of the curriculum, methods used in developing curricula, and the persistent problems of curriculum construction.

Changes in Curriculum Content

A school curriculum may be seen as a process of intellectual development and a way of acquiring useful knowledge. It may be thought of as a means of expanding a student's experience and developing his character. It may be regarded as a way of entering ino a set of social and political ideals, or of developing taste, discrimination and good judgment. Whether it is some or all of these things, it is a form of induction into important aspects of a society's culture.

The instruments of induction are the content taught in the school program and the processes of teaching and learning through which the students are educated. What is taught is a selection of cultural knowledge and cultural experience. Who makes the selection? What does the selection consist of?

In various degrees of mix those responsible for constructing curricula have been the school teachers, educational officials, members of examining boards, academics from universities and teacher education institutions, and persons elected to local, state, and national boards and governments. Each of the groups has been subject to pressure from a variety of interested parties wishing to retain, reject, or reorient aspects of a curriculum with which they have some concern. Each of the groups also can usually be shown to have an interest in the maintenance of the main elements and the main tenor of the curricula to which they have become accustomed and which matches their perception of their culture.

It has been frequently pointed out that the kind of selection of curricular programs and teaching practices made by members of these groups has reflected a social class bias and a tendency towards the maintenance of the middle class culture of which they tend to be representative. Since the early 1920's, when Counts looked comprehensively at the social composition of school boards in the USA, there has been some questioning of the various biases of those responsible for school curricula. From the late 1930's through to the 1960's sociologists, first in the United States, and later in other English speaking countries and in Europe, explored the relationship of educational opportunity to social class. They demonstrated that middle class children, and particularly upper middle class ones, had more chance of receiving a lengthier education and succeeding in it than students from a lower social class. In the 1970's considerable attention began to be given by educational historians and sociologists to the extent to which school curricula reflected the values and preferences of the ruling culture within a society and tended to strengthen the power and control of the ruling class. It was argued that the school curriculum was an instrument of cultural and economic control of society, adjusting it from time to time as circumstances changed. It is an approach which helps to explain the distinct conservatism of the mainstream of curriculum development throughout the twentieth century. It has not yet accounted adequately for the evidences of change in curricular patterns, and, more particularly, in the processes of curriculum construction.

The secondary school curriculum has usually been arranged in content packets called subjects. The broad changes in the curriculum can therefore best be described as changes which have occurred from time to time in the selection of the subjects upon which the schools have laid emphasis in their teaching.

At the turn of the century in the western world the classical languages held pride of place in the secondary school curriculum. They were, however, under threat, both in the USA and in Europe. Even in one of their main strongholds, France, two alternative secondary courses, classics and modern, had been set up in 1890, and the Ribot commission of 1899 and subsequent legislation had devised several possible secondary courses. In addition to a classical course, there were some which contained Latin and no Greek, and others with no classical languages at all. The pattern was similar to that recommended by the influential Committee of Ten in the USA in 1894, and the Prussian secondary school reform of 1900.

It was a clear indication that new forces were entering into consideration in the secondary school curriculum and were challenging the established tradition. The Ribot commission outlined them when it affirmed that the traditional culture could not meet the needs of the rising classes in the contemporary social and economic revolution, that science and technology had acquired great significance and required closer attention in schools, and that modern conditions of living demanded intelligent persons with originality and a willingness to act, while the traditional curriculum inclined its pupils towards more intellectual analysis and contemplation. It was a challenge to remodel both the content of school work and the methods of teaching it.

The classicists defended the primacy of their position on two grounds: its educational value, and its contemporary relevance. Learning the classical languages, it was argued, provided an intellectual discipline. It gave an insight into the structure of language, and provided a training in exactness of expression, memory, and perseverance. The fact that the languages were regarded as difficult instruments to learn was by some defenders regarded as an advantage. 'Latin without tears is not Latin at all' was a view taken by those who argued for the value of the general mental and character training that resulted from learning the classics - an idea based on faculty psychology and a belief in the automatic transfer of training that educational psychologists in most western countries were starting to demolish in the first decade of the century. The classical languages, nevertheless, were put forward also as vehicles relevant to the needs of contemporary culture. They provided models of lucid and powerful expression for most occasions. They displayed specimens of a wide variety of human behaviour for study. They furnished examples of creative human minds analyzing political, social, and philosophical problems with unequalled simplicity and clarity. These were interesting and largely valid arguments. Unfortunately for the classicists they were arguments that could be urged with equal force in favour of the study of one's native language - English, French, German, or Spanish as the case may be. And the vernaculars were increasingly seen by most educators to have the greater relevance.

Early in the century native language study began to take the leading place in the school curriculum. It was a move that fitted the patriotic fervour of the time, it was a natural continuation of elementary school work, and it suited better the educational requirements of the twentieth century movement towards universal secondary education. This was the first revolution in curriculum content, a shift from the classics to the vernaculars. There was, however, no radical change in method of objectives. In France, Germany, England or the USA the conscientious teacher of French, German, or English carefully stressed the grammatical structure of each language, and painstakingly examined the meaning of words, expressions, and ideas in selected poems, plays, and prose writings to produce a feeling for aptness of expression and insight into human character. The typical method of dealing with subject matter was to present it in organized fashion to the pupil who had to learn, analyze, and do appropriate exercises on the material presented to him. In the 1920's and 1930's more attention was given to the encouragement of students' oral and written expression and to creative writing. This approach developed in popularity by the 1950's and remained henceforth an important element in language teaching.

Simultaneously, interest in modern foreign languages also grew. The literacy culture, formerly resting on a study of classical languages, was maintained by the vernacular and the study of classical languages, was maintained by the vernacular and the study of one or more European languages. For many persons, modern languages had practical advantages either because of close proximity to a foreign-speaking neighbor or because of the commercial or scholarly uses to which they might be put. There was in addition a common argument, widely advanced but poorly substantiated, that a person cannot really know his own language unless he also knows another.[1] For various utilitarian and educational reasons the study of foreign languages, except perhaps for English as a foreign language, remained a part of a typical secondary school curriculum in all western countries up to about the 1940's. In the 1950's and 1960's there was a noticeable decline, and by the 1980's there were few western countries in which they still held a central place.

Ribot, at the beginning of the century, had emphasized the importance of the study of science. It was a view expressed in all western countries by a substantial number of educators. Mathematics had long had a firm place in the secondary school curriculum and was justified on educational and utilitarian grounds similar to those used by the defenders of classical studies. The mental link between them was maintained in some countries well into the twentieth century.[2] In the early twentieth century, science began to grow in popularity in secondary schools and to become closely linked with mathematics. In the early years of the century there were strong moves to highlight measurement and the inquiry method of science in science courses, but for the most part teachers simply presented to students the body of pre-organized knowledge that they accepted as science. In the 1920's general science began to emerge into popularity as the typical introductory course for the lower secondary school. It offered a wide range of content and considerable variation in the approaches that were used. Science lost popularity in the 1930's. In the 1950's, and particularly in the 1960's, following Sputnik, enrollments in science greatly increased. In the 1970's, however, western countries reported a decline in its popularity. It had by then become a well-established area of the curriculum but not one which all students were likely to study throughout the whole of their secondary school education.

One other group of subjects, the social sciences, had a substantial rise during the twentieth century. History and geography were established subjects in all western countries by the beginning of the century but neither had content of much social significance. One of the principal developments that has taken place in both subjects during the course of the twentieth century has been the comprehensive way in which a more social approach has become prominent in their subject matter. History has become largly social history, and, in geography, human and economic geography have become popular. Economics has developed as a school subject in its own right, and in the second half of the century, sociology, anthropology, and psychology or topics centered on these disciplines began to enter the curriculum at senior secondary school levels in most western countries. The heightened social consciousness of the depression of the 1930's and the years of protest against war, pollution, and discrimination during the 1960's and 1970's increased the interest in learning and teaching the social sciences. Throughout the twentieth century, also, there has been a continuing effort to produce an integrated course in the social sciences called by various names, most commonly, social studies, social science, or study of society. The earliest substantial and continuing course was probably that in moral and civic instruction developed in the 1970's in the early years of the Third Republic in France. It was an analysis of contemporary French society designed to impart civic knowledge and arouse patriotism. In much more sophisticated form it continues to the present. Of wide impact on western curricula was a movement largely started during World War I in the USA to stimulate greater civic consciousness among both soldiers and civilians. It led to an extensive development, in the 1920's and 1930's, of social studies courses and textbooks of which those produced by Harold

Rugg became most widely known. Outside the USA interest in social studies began largely in the 1930's and increased steadily in the post-World War II period. During the 1960's and 1970's it began to expand considerably, probably a little at the expense of the physical sciences. From then it adopted a problem-solving approach, and adapted it to the process of decision making for use on social topics which lent themselves to investigation and possible action by students.

As the sequence of subjects changed over the years, so too did new teaching/learning methods develop, somewhat matching the emergence of the subject sequence. As each pattern emerged it did not supersede the previous pattern, but continued to be a resource used by teachers as they saw fit.

There have been four teaching-learning patterns during the Twentieth Century. The first, the "instructional pattern," basic in 1900, assumed that knowledge is something known that is to be presented to the pupil. The steps in such a pattern were preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application. This pattern has continued to be used till today, though with diminished emphasis.

A second pattern is the "inquiry pattern." This pattern assumes that the world is developing and unfinished, and that knowledge has to be discovered. The sequence of teaching steps in the inquiry pattern are formulation of a problem, development of a hypothesis, data collection, testing of the hypothesis, and conclusion. This pattern was prominent in science from 1900 to 1920, and emerged strongly again for science and social studies teachers in the 1960's.

The creative pattern, the third teaching-learning pattern, assumed that knowledge is something to be made or created out of experience and by expression. The steps in this pattern include presenting a stimulus, is a variation of examples, practice and learning incidental skills, production, and appreciation. The creative pattern was important in language teaching in the 1930's, and subsequently became common over a wider range of subjects.

The fourth pattern, the interactive or decision-making, was grafted onto the inquiry pattern and used principally in the social sciences. This pattern assumes that knowledge is part of social activity, comes from inquiry, and leads to the making of decisions. The first step included in this pattern is inquiry, which includes identification of a problem, gathering data, analysis of data, and understanding. The second step is communication, which includes discussion and sensitization. The third step is choice, which includes an assessment of value judgments and decision-making. The final two steps include action and evaluation.

The curriculum at any particular time is not simply a reflection of the educational thinking of that time. It is a construction which reflects the degree to which the ideas of contemporary educators have become politically and culturally acceptable, and conversely, the degree to which the ideas currently making their way into a position of political and cultural authority have become acceptable to the educators. In both cases there is a lag in time, the length of which is related to the tenacity of existing educational practices and the intensity and pertinence of the new stimuli. Thus, the curriculum is a slow response barometer of cultural change. For example, the Herbartian style of teaching, vigorously advocated in the 1880's and 1890's, probably reached its peak of acceptability in the second decade of the twentieth century, and the socially reconstructive zeal of curriculum makers sparked off by the depression of the 1930's was probably best expressed in the reconstructive proposals and curriculum changes of the 1940's that developed out of World War II.

The patterns reveal a strong undercurrent of conservatism. Clearly the disciplinary structure of the subject curriculum and the instructional approach which typically has accompanied it have been successfully weathering the changes of the twentieth century. The instructional style, well systematized by 1910, thereafter exerted a strong conservative pull, diminishing slightly between 1930 and 1950 and strengthening again with the interest in accountability in the 1970's and 1980's. The organization of the curriculum into subjects has changed, and both the content and manner of teaching them have gained in sophistication. The conservatism of the curriculum has ensured a large measure of continuity in its content and processes. Each pattern of teaching, for example, has tended to emerge from the preceding one by emphasizing some element in it or supplying some deficiency. Old patterns have continued to exist beside the new, and most of them have most often been used in some modified form either by being mixed with another pattern or by an incomplete and partial use of the process.

Despite the evidence of continuity, it is clear also that the twentieth century has been a period of educational and cultural uncertainty. In this context two periods are particularly worth noting: 1930-1950, the depression and World War

II period, and 1960-1980 a period of uneasy growth and subsequent contraction.

In the 1930-1950 period progressive education had penetrated many aspects of educational thinking and challenged traditional views and practices, the notion that education should be some form of cultural reproduction was offset by the view that it should be a tool for social reconstruction, the realization that material and teaching methods selected for various subjects could be freighted with ideological meaning had become apparent, and the problems of providing curricula with appropriate form, method, and ideological content for the beginning years of mass secondary education were being canvassed. Consequently, there was uncertainty and some change of direction. The social sciences and vernacular languages dipped sharply. Instructional kinds of techniques declined in popularity. The interactive, creative, and inquiry patterns gained at their expense, and from then on remained important, though lesser, ways of approaching the tasks of teaching and learning.

In the 1960-1980 period again a similar process occurred. The three non-instructional patterns became more widely used, and the instructional declined slightly. It was a period of sharpening ideological awareness in which the provision of a comprehensive secondary education fo all adolescents was largely accomplished in most western countries. Misgivings, however, appeared on two scores, whether, on the one hand, the traditional curricula as modified during the course of the twentieth century was wholly relevant and capable of satisfying a demand for equal educational opportunity for all students, and whether, on the other, continued modification of it was bringing an undesirable lowering in the standard of intellectual work in secondary schools. The first problem led to an upsurge in the social and scientific content of the curriculum, and to the development of a wider range of material and persons involved in the development of curricula; the second led to a conservative reaction expressed as a need to restrict educational change and expansion in the economic recession of the 1970's and a wish to hold teachers accountable for seeing that their students achieved adequate standards in specified basic skills and subject-matter. A polarization of curriculum development resulted that has become characteristic of the 1980's.

Essentially the various modest changes that have taken place represent changes in the way in which educators and the others involved in constructing curricula have perceived the current development of their culture and have been able to persuade their constituency to accept modifications to the accepted pattern of teaching and learning. As the curriculum prescriptions changed, the set of meanings which were represented by various aspects of the curriculum also changed. Thus the social science that was taught in the 1920's and 30's and may have been intended to convey to its students a sense of respect for the established institutions and living traditions of that period had become by the 1970's a more critical social analysis, more contemporary than historical and a means of participating in current controversial issues. Similarly the science, English, mathematics, and foreign languages that were taught had moved in various ways to adopt a changed standpoint and a different process through which their curricula were constructed.

Trends in Methods of Curriculum Development

In the twentieth century there have been three general and continuing approaches to the task of curriculum development: the disciplinary, objectives, and process approaches.

The Disciplinary Tradition

The oldest and still the commonest approach to the school curriculum in western society is to regard it as consisting of a number of well established intellectual disciplines called subjects, such as English, history, geography, physics, mathematics and so on.

This approach to the curriculum starts with the existence of a body of knowledge accumulated over a period of time and widely accepted as authentic. The knowledge is organized into a number of classifications called subjects. These are stable groupings which, as knowledge expands, may be sub-divided or rearranged from time to time. Within each subject there is an organizational pattern which may differ in rationale from subject to subject. English, for example, may be organized into grammar composition, oral expression, poetry, prose literature etc.; history into economic, social, political, international, women's etc., and usually arranged in chronological sequence; physics into topics such as heat, light, sound, electricity, atomic physics etc. and built up around a series of sequential generalizations or laws. The experts in each group of subjects have their own way of expanding and deepening the range of knowledge within the field, and in each subject there are somewhat distinctive ways of working. Thus, students of history must learn how to deal with the evidence of documentary material, in science there are mathematical and experimental procedures to be mastered, and in language, among other things, the techniques of literary criticism and linquistic analysis. The structural pattern of a subject and the characteristic ways of working with its content contitute its discipline.

For the purposes of a school curriculum, the knowledge and style are there, pre-existing, in the subjects. The task of the curricular developer is to make a selection of subjects and put them together into an appropriate bundle for use in a school. Appropriateness might be determined by matters such as the purpose for which the curriculum is to be used, the level of competence of the students and teachers, the balance sought between the subjects, and the sequence of content between and within subjects. The kind of emphasis placed on each of these and other such factors may produce curricula differing considerably from time to time and place to place.

Most curricula for secondary schools early in the twentieth century when Herbartian influence was strong were a selection of subjects with content in which there was an emphasis on acquiring a body of logically and sequentially orgnized knowledge and a competence in some of the major intellectual and physical skills associated with each subject. The facts and skills were to be acquired partly because they represented an aspect of the culture that each student was expected to enter into at school, partly because of their utilitarian value, and partly because they provided a basis for moral thinking and living. The curriculum was intended to be a well-balanced and many-sided selection of subject matter. It was arranged and taught to make clear the facts and ideas that the instructor has at his command from the body of established knowledge found in the subjects listed for teaching. It was an outlook in curriculum construction and teaching that has endured.

It is clear that the subject content that resulted from following this disciplinary tradition tended to be modelled on the academic organization of material typically designed for exposition and research. In the selection of material, university academics played a large part, and in most western countries final and even intermediate examinations of the work of secondary school students were closely associated with universities. Such contact tended to maintain the strength of the formal disciplinary organization of the curriculum and the traditional middle class culture of the teaching profession.

In the inter-war period subject-matter units were popular within or across subject lines. They were most closely associated with the work of H.C. Morrison who wrote an exposition of his approach in The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School in 1926. A unit, in his view, covered "...a comprehensive and significant aspect of the environment, of an organized science, of an act, or of conduct, which being learned results in an adaptation in personality."[3] As it was most widely interpreted by curriculum developers a unit was "...any division of subject matter, large or small, that, when mastered, gives one an insight into an appreciation of, or a mastery over some aspect of life."[4] The unit was thus intended to take students more deeply into the subject-mtter of the curriculum. Exposition and explanation of content was still important, but it was not enough. The Morrison type units encouraged teachers and students to look in a vital way at the significance of the material being studied both as part of the subject discipline and as a contribution to contemporary life, and to derive meaning from it for each individual's development. By the 1930's, as secondary education became more widespread, teachers began to participate more extensively in the process of designing curricula and producing subjects that were regarded as more suitable for students who would not proceed to tertiary level education. By this and by the wider use of unit teaching, the traditional mold was broken to a limited extent.

The disciplinary tradition was soon, however, to receive massive reinforcement. A further step was taken in the 1950's and 1960's with a series of projects for the reform of the secondary school curriculum initiated in 1950 by a mathematics program at the University of Illinois, and followed in 1956 by the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) and by many others in subsequent years in most western countries. The programs were specifically disciplinary. The first mathematics program was described as "...an attempt to determine what the teacher must do to bring to the mind of the adolescent some of the ideas and modes of thinking which are basic in the work of the contemporary mathematician." One of the main aims of each project was to encourage students to see into the particulr subject with more penetration, understand its fundamental concepts, and to grasp the processes by which the discipline was built up and maintained. Students would thus gain the flexibility and depth of understanding that would enable them to appreciate the place and importance of future developments in the subject. They would also have had a valuable and exacting intellectual experience. Insofar as those projects succeeded in the schools, they represented a high point in the evolution of the disciplinary curriculum, and became for many students the vehicles of a significantly intellectual education. At the same time the movement for equality of educational opportunity increased in intensity, the numbers of secondary school students grew rapidly and with the increase went a demand for a greater variety within the curriculum for the wider range of student interest and background. The problem of reconciling the requirements of the traditional disciplinary curriculum and those of mass secondary education has remained a major concern for educators.

The Objectives Approach

Serious efforts to challenge the traditional practice of selecting established school subjects and adapting them to he capacities of the students began with the work in the USA of Bobbitt and Charters in the second and third decades of the century. They were products of the scientific efficiency movement initiated by Taylor which was designed to improve efficiency in business and industry by a careful analysis and rationalization of each of the activities involved in the operation under construction.

Bobbitt and Charters suggested that the construction of curricula should start with a careful job analysis of life activities, and that the curriculum would become "...that series of things which children and youth must do and experience by way of developing abilities to do the things well that make up the affairs of adult life."[5] The method of functional analysis, as Charters called it, was summarized by him in seven steps as follows:

> 'First, determine the major objectives of education by a study of the life of man in its social setting.
>
> Second, analyze these objectives into ideals and activities, and continue the analysis to the level of working units.
>
> Third, arrange these in the order of importance.
>
> Fourth, raise to positions of higher order in this list those ideals and activities which are high in value for children but low in value for adults.
> Fifth, determine the number of the most important items of the resulting list

> which can be handled in the time allotted to school education, after deducting those which are better learned outside of school.
>
> Sixth, collect the best practices of the race in handling these ideals and activities.
>
> Seventh, arrange the material so obtained in proper instructional order, according to the psychological nature of the children.'[6]
>
> Both authors provided detailed analyses of educational objectives and occupational activities, Bobbitt listing some 821 major objectives of education in a curriculum handbook.[7]

To Charters' formulation of the method of curriculum construction, Bobbitt, in order to produce "...a scientific curriculum for education worthy of our present age of science",[8] added the need to determine a way of accurately measuring the units identified in the functional analysis and to set standards of attainment for each stage in the normal development of each ability in school.

In the post World War II period the objectives approach was more common; combined with the disciplinary tradition to produce the usual subject curriculum, modified by a careful use of detailed objectives. It gained influential support from Robert Tyler who in 1950 summarized the current state of the art and his own preferences about the process of curriculum development in the USA. Four things had to be undertaken by persons engaged in designing a curriculum.

1. They had to determine its objectives since in Tyler's view, "Education is the process of changing the behavior patterns of people..."[9] educational objectives should represent the kind of behavior that is to be brought about in the students.

2. They had to decide the kinds of learning experience e.g. skills in thinking, acquiring knowledge, developing social attitudes, and developing interests, that might be relevant to the objectives.

3. They had to organize the experiences to provide continuity, sequence, and integration within some general

pattern such as a subject, a core, or an undifferentiated structure.

4. Finally, they had to work out means of evaluation. It was necessary to make a careful assessment of the extent to which the objectives had been achieved.

Tyler's common sense analysis of curriculum tasks was an important part of the background of thinking about curriculum development for at least the next twenty years.

What this approach did was to concentrate not on the teachers' activities but on the students' observable behavior, i.e. on the changes that were to take place in students. The "...focus shifts from the teacher to the student and from the learning process to the learning outcomes. This shift in focus clarifies the intent of our instruction and sets the stage for an evaluation of that instruction."[10] The taxonomies of educational objectives produced by Bloom[11] and Krathwohl[12] became basic guides for curriculum developers who wished to follow this approach.

The Process Approach

The process curriculum starts with neither a body of established knowledge nor a group of teachers and students with carefully defined objectives. It begins instead with teachers and students seeking together to discover and study material in response to an interest, need, problem, directive or perhaps a number of other motivations.

The approach arose out of the Deweyan view that we live in an unfinished and problematic world which we seek to control and enjoy. In Dewey's terms curriculum development involved a shared reconstruction of experience between teacher and student carried out within a democratic situation of cooperative learning and problem-solving.

In the course of the progressive education movement prior to World War II there were a number of isolated examples of teachers and pupils working to develop school programs of that kind. The most notable and sustained effort was the extensive program of unit development through the 1920's and 1930's by the Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, N.Y. In England in the 1940's Fletcher found in this approach an invitation to develop a curriculum oriented to the satisfaction of social needs.

"Here," she wrote, "we shall find a synthesis of social, geographical, historical and scientific material, a synthesis that could find for one of its unifying principles purposive activities for social reconstruction within the community."[13]

It was an approach that was more difficult to grasp and implement than the disciplinary or objectives approaches. In it there could be no detailed statement of objectives except the general democratic aim expressed by A.D. Lindsay as the acceptance of "...men's sense of their common interests prevailing over their sectional interests."[14] And there could be no firm and enduring statement of content except some general guidelines which in the hands of some school authorities might be quite prescriptive concerning areas and topics to be explored, but uninhibiting on the matter of detailed content and learning outcomes.

It was not something determined by teachers or educational authorities like the disciplinary approach, nor did it look expressly to the behavior of students like the objectives approach. It emphasized the learning processes of both teachers and students. This point was vigorously argued by Lawrence Stenhouse, who wrote of the "great importance" of the process model "in areas of curriculum where understanding and criteria (of judgment) are central."[15]

Stenhouse extended the process approach to a research approach in which he wrote that one of the prime functions of a teacher was to be a curriculum researcher. For him the approach had four features:

1. a properly developed teacher was not merely a competent classroom practitioner, he was also an investigator, sharing his investigations with other teachers and with students;

2. the objectives and the methods of teaching and learning were not determined at the beginning but developed in the course of studying a problem, topic, or project;

3. the teacher was a participant rather than a director of the learning situation;

4. the teachers learned about the processes of teaching, researching, and curriculum development; the student learned about the processes of learning.

The process approach emerged from time to time during the twentieth century but did not become widespread. It was sufficiently congenial to the teaching profession, however, to make an impact on educational thinking about curriculum development in specific areas such as social studies and language teaching, and in the movement to develop school-based curricula. It has lingered in the background, a source of inspiration for many exceptional educators and a provocation to others.

Persistent Problems of Curriculum Construction

Throughout the twentieth century there have been four kinds of persistent and interrelated problems in the curriculum field: problems relating to selection, change, evaluation, and authority.

Section of subject matter, materials to support it, and methods to teach and learn it, based, early in the century, on traditional wisdom or on some such analysis as Herbert Spencer's What Knowledge is of Most Worth?, have been questioned and modified, as for example by Bobbitt and Charters or Stenhouse's procedures, from time to time. Questions have been raised as to: How to establish priorities among the various subjects or topics for study? How to determine what aspects of the selected subject matter is appropriate, and for which students? What relationships should be established between various parts of the curriculum and various teaching and learning methods? And, above all, whether there are any central themes or ideas that should guide the selection and arrangements of the learning materials?

The method of changing a curriculum and the management of change have provoked extensive argument in a century that has experienced extensive social, economic and cultural change. What, for example, are the indicators of cultural significance or cultual change that might be used by curriculum developers? How is it possible to generate new ideas and develop suitable materials which incorporate and illustrate them? How can the new ideas and materials be spread and adopted effectively by teachers?

Evaluating the effectiveness of curricula has been no easy task. It has, at various times, rested upon unsystematically collected parent opinion, formal inspection of school activities by designated officials, consultants' assessment of curriculum projects, and, above all, students' achievements in examinations conducted by independent authorities. Each of these approaches to evaluation has had its difficulties and uncertainties. Since the widespread development of curriculum projects which began in the 1960's much work has been put into solving the problems of providing an effective formative evaluation of curricula in the process of development, and summative evaluation of their impact on the student. A major problem throughout the century has been found in the degree of control that evaluative practices, particularly external examinations, have had on the content of secondary school curricula.

Where external examining has been prominent, it has conferred considerable authority on external examining bodies for the design of the curriculum leading up to the examination. Much of the twentieth century history of secondary education in western countries could be written as the effort of schools and teachers to escape the inhibiting influence of external examining authorities and assume responsibility for developing their own curricula in response to the demands that their changing social world continually has thrust upon them. But others too have advanced claims to authority in curricular matters. Educational administrators, parents, legislators, students, and a growing body of professional curriculum developers, at one time or another, have staked their claims. Where should authority rest or how should it be distributed? Varying groups have varying cultural views. Each group or subgroup has tended to produce a difference analysis of existing culture and its educational needs. The curriculum therefore has taken a different shape according to the authority which managed to design it and control the nature of the change that has been allowed to develop in it.

If there has been one problem that has been continually addressed and has underlain many of the other problems throughout our period it has been the desire to find a means of giving a fundamental, recognizable, and agreed upon coherence to the secondary school curriculum. A brief review of the main lines along which the problem has developed reveal the connection between the curriculum and the changing cultures of the period, the difficulty of linking common ideas across subject barriers, and something of the effort needed to rethink curricula in order to provide suitable education in a situation of mass secondary education.

The Concept in Curriculum Development of a Core Curriculum

Throughout the twentieth century there has been a persistent search for a central element: a body of content which expresses the essence of the culture that the school is primarily concerned to teach to its students; and, as such, gives a coherence and meaning to the whole curriculum. This El Dorado of curriculum makers has proved elusive.

The coherence of the nineteenth century secondary school curriculum was broken at the beginning of the twentieth century and not subsequently regained. By the mid-twentieth century there was reasonable agreement on a common set of subjects which all students should study for part of their secondary education, but no firm agreement on their content or on the relationship of that content to the cultural task of the school. In the final quarter of the century the search has been resumed with some vigor at varying levels of sophistication.

The classical curriculum of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was the vehicle for what many schoolmasters would have regarded as the core curriculum for that time. It was taught not to produce accomplished Hellenists or Latinists, although it did manage to do this, but to develop analytic intelligence, dogged character, and an entry into the gentlemanly discourse of the time. The core was the schoolmasters' conception of the essential ingredients of an educated person in the culture of contemporary western civilization. It was a program of intellectual training, character development, and cultural awareness.

When, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Herbartians began to develop the systematic study of the curriculum, they put forward the ideas of 'concentration'. They held the opinion that a curriculum should be a coherent whole. To ensure coherence it was desirable to relate the various elements of a curriculum to one another, and, if possible, to make some topic or idea the centre of the curriculum to which all the other parts would be connected and subordinated. The problem was how to find this central element, this core of concentration. The Herbartians tended to look for some unifying study that would tie together all of a student's experiences - at home, in school, and elsewhere - and strengthen his character in approved directions. Some teachers found the core study in religious teaching, others in social history, and others, again, in various ways of teaching literature, science, or geography. Whatever the chosen vehicle, the basic principle of selection was, like that of the classical teachers, one of seeking for some way of conveying the central ideas and values of the culture which the school had to interpret to its students.

Out of the Herbartian notion of concentration the practice of correlation and integration developed. From about the 1920's it became reasonably common for teachers to seek to establish cross-connections between subjects which could be readily related to each other. For example, in the case of history and geography when teaching Roman history it would be possible to study the geography of the Mediterranean area and to relate it to the events of Roman history. This practice of correlation sometimes led to a closer integration of subjects in which some topics were amalgamated. In that way sometimes new broad fields subjects were produced such as social studies or general science. When the integration was a loose one there was little change in content or approach to the curriculum. When, however, integration led to a thorough restructuring and rethinking of the organization of the material and its significance for the learner, a new view of the subject area and the possibility of its contributing to the design of a wider core curriculum could emerge.

In the early years of the twentieth century, as classical training was slipping away, there was much concern with the design and maintenance of a general or liberal education which would be experienced by all secondary school pupils. In England extensive debate took place during World War I culminating in 1917 in a statement which summarized the view of various conferences affirming "...their faith in a liberal education as the foundation for all activities of mind and spirit in a civilized country..." Such an education required a study of science, modern languages, history, geography, and English.[16] Each subject was found to be justifiable on cultural and utilitarian grounds, and, in total, they provided the basic subject matter, intellectual experience, and attitudinal stimulus that was required. In France more emphasis was placed on the literacy culture i.e. the classical languages, French literature, and philosophy to produce in students a culture générale. Out of continuing contact with great minds and great works of human culture, young minds should develop an appreciation of first-rate work and a lasting taste for the best in art, literature, and thought, and a hard-won skill in written and oral expression. The core of education included subject matter which would provide intellectual training and it also implied a selection of material that was considered by educational authorities to be representative of what Matthew Arnold had once called 'the best that has been thought and said in the world.' In the United States, at the same period, the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education published in 1918 affirmed that general education should be based on social efficiency which would enable each individual to understand and perform his functions in a democratic society. The statement was comprehensive and curricula that grew out of it embraced a wide variety of subject matter. In each case, in England, France, and the USA, the views appear to have remained fairly representative of the opinion and practice of secondary school teachers until after World War II. They defined a content without too much precision, they indicated a range of intellectual skills and attitudes to be taught and learned, and they referred to the need to make discriminating judgment in determining the curriculum.

The idea of a common general education was fired by a strenuous revival of interest in a core curriculum in the 1930's in the schools that were involved in the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association in the USA.[17] The teachers in several of the schools were concerned with the question of how best to design a course through which their students could come to an understanding of contemporary society.

To try to ensure that the core was fully relevant to the students, some schools in the Eight Year Study based their core on an analysis of adolescent needs. Within the four categories of personal living, immediate personal-social relationships, social-civic relationships, and economic relationships, they designed a sequence of units to meet basic adolescent needs in these areas, and provided for the whole curriculum a number of integrating threads. The aim was to develop the kind of character and competence in students that would enable them to function effectively in a democratic and technological society.

One of the schools developed a core along Herbartian lines using history as the vehicle of concentration. From years 7 to 9 students studied the history of man from earliest times to the present day, and from years 10 to 13 concentrated on modern civilizations and cultures, studying their organization, problems, and significant issues. The major emphasis was on characteristic ideas that have shaped and motivated contemporary society. Literature, geography, political science, and sociology were drawn on for the core study, which took up half the school program. Topics of interest revealed by the students included: housing, earning a living, dealing with human relationships, religious freedom, and the future of the American way of life.

The interest in building a core aound a study of contemporary society and culture was even more explicit in the programs of several other schools, not all of whom took part in the Eight Year Study. In considering how best to arrive at the essential features of contemporary culture some schools, both primary and secondary in the 1930's, based their core on an analysis of social demands. For example, the core curricula designed for schools in the State of Virginia, published in 1933-4 and imitated in other States throughout the 1930's, took the view that the school is an agency of society for its perpetuation and recreation. Consequently the core, which occupied half of the school time, was based on a study of nine major areas of human activity and the 'pivotal points in social life' within each area. From such a program it was expected that students might learn three things: to understand the main ideas, values, problems, and concerns of contemporary society, to acquire the techniques and skills needed to understand and contribute to the solution of social problems, and to develop an interest in enriching the experience both of society and of the individuals within it.

During the 1940's and 1950's experimentation with the kinds of core curricula which were highlighted in the Eight Year Study continued. As the idea of the core curriculum became popular, however, the term began to be used loosely, in some schools merely to describe a group of compulsory subjects in the school curriculum which were taught sometimes as separate subjects and sometimes with some correlation between them. For the most part, however, the core curriculum was a means of integrating significant parts of the school curriculum. It was built round a central theme or a series of related focuses; it had a strong social orientation; and it emphasized the learning of intellectual skills and the critical assessment of accepted social values.

Various efforts were made in the 1950's to analyze the work of the schools and to try to provide a sound and acceptable theory for the core curriculum. The most comprehensive effort of this kind was that by B.O. Smith, W.O. Stanley, and J.H. Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development.[17] The authors put the core curriculum in the context of a cultural analysis made by R. Linton, a social anthropologist.[18]

Linton held that there are certain elements widely distibuted and accepted among the adults in a culture. Persons in a given society may wear similar clothes, use the same language, greet each other the same way, require the same kind of respect from their children, have a common religious faith, and cherish the same political ideals. These ideas and ways of behaving are called universals. They give a society unity; and, for the sake of stability and continuity, must be learned by all young persons growing up into the culture. The universals provide the fundamental rules of life in a given society and are the material out of which a program of general education can be constucted by the schools.

At the heart of these persistent aspects of the culture there is a core of values and skills which are the basis upon which social and moral judgments are made. By these values and through the exercise of these skills, people decide 'what is good or bad, desirable or undesirable.' In a period of profound social change, these values are eroded and the value system must be reconstructed. Young persons in such times must not only become thoroughly familiar with the core values, they must also learn to analyze and reconstruct them. The core curriculum, therefore, is both content and process. "It is," according to Smith, Stanley and Shores, "the chief characteristic of the core curriculum, as a pure type, that the democratic value-system is not only taught as the standard of judgment but also deliberately criticized and reconstructed so as to bring it into line with the social realities of today."[19] Smith, Stanley, and Shores suggested that it ws from the core of values and skills in the culture that the core curriculum was to be constructed. It would be the study, in a form suitable for students of various ages, and abilities, of the basic values which all share, for example in an Australian or a Scottish or an American democratic society, and the acquisition of the methods of thinking and social action that enable one to analyze and improve these values.

The principle of the core curriculum, as Smith, Stanley, and Shores saw it, was easy to state and difficult to put into practical form. They suggested that it should be taught through courses based on broad social problems of themes of social living. It could be argued that the core values and skills could be readily incorporated into traditional subjects such as science, language, mathematics, and various social sciences. Merely to put together a group of such subjects, however, would not produce a core curriculum. It would be necessary to work out the core values and skills, and deliberately modify each of the traditional subjects to ensure that the core was comprehensively and effectively incorporated within them.

This would amount to a thorough-going curriculum revolution.

Smith, Stanley, and Shores' analysis was essentially an effort to look at what should be, in their view, the central feature of a curriculum for a situation of mass secondary education in which all students were expected to complete secondary education in a highly industrialized democracy. It was to be a core curriculum suitable for the middle of the twentieth century. The programs of general education or common learnings that had developed out of the thinking of the earlier years of the century were based on the view that a secondary education was a selective one, and that the mass of students did not complete many years at a secondary school. By 1950 the United States had reached the point where most students did expect to complete a secondary education, and many of the European countries were to reach a similar position in the next 20 or 30 years. The question of the nature of a core curriculum was therefore timely, and the problem for the future had changed. By the 1970's it could be asked: what was central, in a nuclear and microchip age, for the education of all adolescents? Was there a sufficiency of common cultural feeling and understanding in any society around the essence of which a school curriculum could be designed to cohere? Could the core be found in the existing subject-matter of the curriculum, or must it be sought elsewhere? Most curriculum developers from the 1960's to the 1980's were content to adjust existing curricula and designate the most relevant parts of them as programs of general education. A few contemplate the problem of the core in greater depth, and some, through a zeal for evaluating students' achievements, misunderstood the problem.

By the mid-1960's and throughout the 1970's an interest in accountability produced a growing demand for competency-based education. The new fashion muddied the thinking that had been slowly refining and bringing a little more clarity into the concept of the core curriculum. The idea of a basic education was over-simplified. It came to mean the acquisition of the elementary skills of literacy and numeracy that were readily measurable. Much noise was made about the failure of many children to reach particular levels of competence in these areas. These were referred to as the basics and were regarded by some educational commentators as the core curriculum. It was undoubtedly useful to have attention drawn to the importance of ensuring that literacy and numeracy should be thoroughly catered for in the school curriculum. They were essential, but, in themselves, would be a wholly inadequate core. A publication of the Australian Curriculum Development Centre, Core Curriculum for Australian Schools, produced in 1980, put the matter admirably: "Effective participation in contemporary life, which is an entitlement and responsibility of all individuals, depends on a wide complex and interrelated set of learnings and experiences, well beyond the popular view of the 'basics'."[20]

The CDC document was within the tradition of thinking from the classicists and Herbartians to the present-day curriculum developers. The line of thought was, essentially, that

1. education is concerned with relating students to the culture of the society in which they will be living;

2. within the culture there are some widely accepted ideas and activities characteristic of it;

3. the central part of the school's curriculum should be concerned with the transmission and analysis of the common elements in the culture;

4. within the common elements of the culture there is a core of values and skills that are fundamental to it;

5. the school should see to it that an understanding and critical examination of this core becomes the fundamental part of its curriculum, and that the community understands and takes part in the process of curriculum construction.

The core curriculum, according to the CDC document, must develop out of a culture analysis that defines the common and fundamental elements in the culture.

This was a recipe for a solid and valuable general education, and, in outlining nine areas of knowledge - arts and crafts, environmental studies, mathematical skills and reasoning, social and cultural and civic studies, health, scientific and technological ways of knowing, communication, work and leisure and lifestyle, and moral reasoning and value and belief systems and action - the document indicated the common elements of the general culture that provide the broad and pertinent scope of the curriculum for a general education for all in the 1980's.

The distinction, however, between the common elements and the core of values and skills was implied but not made in the document. In this repect it did not follow right through the line of thinking previously built up concerning the core curriculum. Tht thinking suggested that to the total curriculum there are three parts: a core of value and skills, general compulsory content that provides general education, and electives that provide for special and vocational interest.

The core is the central and integrating feature of the whole curriculum. The core may be taught through content specially developed for it; but it does not have to be organized in that way. It may quite effectively be distributed throughout the area of general education as the basic core elements integrating each subject or topic, and tying them into contemporary culture.

Clearly, there is a considerable distance still to go. Skilbeck has pointed out that a core curriculum has actual function: "It is a guide for learners to selected meanings, cognitive structures, values, practical activities and other central features of our culture, and it is a set of instruments which students can learn to master so as to produce their own maps of the culture."[21]

To develop a curriculum which will perform these two functions a high degree of agreement is necessary among all educators, a situation which does not exist at present. It may therefore become the third function of a core curriculum, through the very activity involved in developing it and constantly examining and adjusting it, to be the creator of a sufficient level of cultural consensus to enable a genuine core curriculum to emerge.

Thomas Jesse Jones: A Portrait

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The name, Thomas Jesse Jones, means many different things to many different people. To those interested in the foundations of the social studies, Jones is significant for his role as chairperson of the influential 1916 Committee on the Social Studies, which was a subgroup of the larger Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. In this role, Jones has been called ". . . one of the founding fathers of the field of social studies,"[1] as well as a "pivotal figure in the reconstruction of the social studies . . . ."[2] A study in the history of black and minority education also reveals the influence of Jones. W. E. B. DuBois called Jones the ". . . evil genius of the black race."[3] Jones has also been accused of being an ". . . educational colonialist . . ." and a ". . . cultural imperialist . . . ."[4]

How is it possible to reconcile these seemingly unrelated descriptions of the educational philosophy and ideology of an historically significant, yet contemporarily little recognized, or studied, educational leader? As this paper will show, Jones' educational philosophy was basically formed relatively early in his professional career. Whether the topic of study was social studies, minorities, race relations, or industrial education, Jones' educational philosophy was wholely consistent in both its proposed description and solutions to the problem under study.

In the 1990s, many of the same issues Jones dealt with, and proposed to solve, are still present. Among these contemporary problems are race relations, and the type of education to be made available to those not in the social or economic mainstream.

Who directs and controls contemporary education policies and curricula, along with the role and influence of minorities in the decision-making process, is a problem being debated today.[5] In Jones' day, however, this issue had been decided in favor of whites directing and controlling the education that would be made available to Southern blacks.

In the person of Jones, one may discern the ideological foundations upon which was built white domination of Southern black education. It is hoped that this work will shed light on one of the most influential, little known, educational leaders of the early twentieth century.

This paper will first examine the origins of Jones' educational philosophy, tracing it through his early professional experience. First to be examined will be the origins of Jones' ideas, and how they eventually came to be manifested in his educational philosophy toward minorities. Further, as Jones' educational ideology became consistent, it will be shown that these ideas quickly came to be strongly supported and adopted by white, Northern business interests, as these interests came to dominate and to direct Southern black education.

The young Jones was born in Llanfachraeth, Wales, on the Isle of Anglesey, in 1873. In 1884, following relatives who had gone before, his family immigrated to America.[6] In the preface to his 1929 work, Essentials of Civilization, Jones recounts the story of his family's initial exposure to America, as they sailed into New York harbor, ". . . the first thrill of America . . . the blue waters . . . the green shores . . . the stately buildings . . . our eager expectations had been fulfilled." Jones writes that he had been dreaming of "America . . . the Land of Hope . . . from earliest boyhood."[7]

This idealistic view of America was quickly destroyed as the realities of ". . . dirty workmen, wild confusion . . . noises and smells and ugly sights were everywhere."[8] To the young boy, the dreams he had of America had been replaced by reality.

The young Jones, initially speaking only Welsh, settled with his family in the small southern Ohio town of Middleport. During these days of growing up, Jones claimed to have developed an ". . . intimate association with working men sympathy for labor unions . . . ."[9]

In 1891, Jones enrolled in Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia. Although his matriculation records indicate generally satisfactory work, he stayed there but one year.[10] He then transferred to Marietta College in Ohio, and in 1897, received his Bachelor of Arts Degree.[11] Entering Columbia University the following school year, he earned the Master of Arts Degree in 1899, his thesis entitled Social Education in the Elementary Schools. This 55-page thesis presents Jones' arguments for the benefits of a more socially oriented education for elementary students. Jones writes that the true aim of a public school education was that it ". . . must be based upon a wide observation of man, a study of him . . . into a true appreciation of nature, society, and God."[12] Jones was proposing a merging of the study of current social conditions to take place within a framework of Christian ideals.

Jones also advocated that citizenship education must be included in any responsible elementary education curriculum. He believed that all the citizens of a democracy needed to be prepared for the duties of citizenship.[13] Jones also observed that manual training was beginning to be offered in the schools, and he believed this type of education would be most useful to the child because it would give increased meaning and understanding to other school subjects.

In an early call for the social studies, Jones proposes an ". . . integration of studies."[14] It is through this integration of studies that students will come to better understand, and even eventually propose, the proper solutions to current social problems.

In concluding his thesis, Jones proposes that a social education program would also be proper and beneficial to the education and social assimilation of immigrants. He states that the social education students of immigrants would receive in school would help not only the students, but also the parents of the recently-arrived immigrants, to begin to function as socially responsible citizens in the United States.

In 1900, Jones received his Bachelor of Divinity Degree from Union Theological Seminary. In the same year, Jones received the Fellowship of Sociology at Columbia University, and began a sociological study of the urban community. Edward Berman, in his 1970 dissertation in which he examines the Phelps-Stokes Fund (with which Jones was associated for almost 40 years), writes that Jones had a strong interest in the relation of sociology to economics, and pursued this interest both academically and in the course of his sociological investigations.[15]

While at Columbia, Jones worked under Franklin Henry Giddings, the initial chair of sociology at that institution. To describe Giddings' sociological beliefs, in brief, is ambitious. However, it is possible to eliminate specific foundational beliefs. Giddings believed in the hierarchy of the races, and that the highest, most advanced race was the Anglo-Saxon. Furthermore, all races developed along a similar pattern, and to disrupt this pattern, even benevolently, would deny a race of the experiences necessary to ensure their place in the next higher order. Progress and suffering were to take place simultaneously; one was not possible without the other. The sociologist, philanthropist, and educator could lessen the suffering, according to Giddings, yet the Laissez-Faire economic system must be allowed to develop and function. This hands-off system would work to the benefit of all races. Furthermore, to better understand and solve the problems facing society, the sociologist was particularly well suited to analyze, collect the pertinent facts, and propose proper solutions.[16]

Jones was the acting head worker of the University Settlement House, after completing his studies, for a brief period in 1902, before being hired by the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Jones' duties at Hampton included chaplain, part-time instructor, and director of the research department.[17] He was hired by the school's principal, Hollis B. Frissell, also a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary.[18]

In 1904, the Welshman's dissertation, The Sociology of a New York City Block, was finished and he received the Ph.D. This work was a detailed study of tentament dwellers on one urban block in New York City. Jones lamented the fact that the teachers were not meeting the needs of these urban children. The teachers of these urban children were not trained to educate and to develop in the children the Anglo-Saxon character. The teachers were responsible, according to Jones, in perpetuating the young charges' character deficiencies. It was up to the teacher to analyze, develop, and implement an educational program that would help the youth abandon their personality defects as described by Jones in the following: ". . . the nervous, flitting little Italian receives the same treatment as the steady, persevering, plodding little Jew."[19] The students must be trained to abandon their individual ". . . national characteristics . . ." and move on to the higher, more developed ". . . Anglo-Saxon ideal."[20]

With this short summary of Jones' dissertation, one can better understand the frame of mind the young sociologist possessed as he made his way to Hampton in 1902.

Jones, armed with his brand of sociology, found fertile ground for his ideas at the Hampton Institute. The Hampton Institute had been founded to provide industrial training for freed people following the American Civil War. The founder, General Samuel C. Armstrong, was the son of Christian missionaries and an advocate for minority industrial education.[21] Armstrong believed that industrial education, along with a strong grounding in the Christian religion, was what was truly proper and necessary to raise the blacks to their proper place in society. Armstrong recognized that tremendous social and economic roadblocks existed in this struggle. Furthermore, he also believed the freed people were not yet ready, nor would be for some time, to function as equal to the white race.

Jones came to the school almost ten years after the General's death, yet often referred to him with the utmost regard and respect. It was in this setting of primarily white, Northern interests that Jones' philosophy began to formalize. In this setting, Jones set to study the minorities about him, both black and Native American, get to know the facts (as he understood them) of their condition, and to propose solutions to ease their situation.

In 1906, Jones completed the Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum. This curriculum was intended to reflect and to contribute to the overall mission of the school. The goal, according to Jones, was to train the students to more accurately understand the world they were about to enter. It was Jones' contention that this social studies curriculum would, rather than providing specific employment and manual labor skills, help to prepare the Hampton graduate to function as a proper citizen and to act socially responsible. The curriculum was divided into three areas of study:

1. Civics and Social Welfare
2. Economics and Material Welfare
3. United States Census and Actual Conditions[22]

In brief, the students, through the use of carefully selected textbooks, United States Government Census material, and their own experiences, examined the outside world. The social studies classes, as developed by Jones and supported by the school, helped to provide to the students a model of proper behavior which the graduate was expected to both follow and to advocate throughout his life. This model of behavior, controlled by whites and advocating the acceptance of the current social, economic, and political status quo, had as its center the students' proper understanding of his responsibilities, both as an individual citizen and as a member of society.

Jones' social studies curriculum did not advocate independent thought, critical thinking, or political activity. The students were taught to accept whites as their benevolent leaders and to trust these same whites to improve their lot.

Jones believed this program would ensure that Hampton's students would not view the difficulties of his race as oppression, rather as a natural event on his race's natural upward evolution. James Anderson writes that the ". . . social studies served to conceal the arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive nature of black subordination in the South."[23]

The social studies as developed by Jones at Hampton is recognized by some as being one of the first social studies curriculum ever developed.[24] Later, Jones was chosen as chairperson of the 1916 Committee on Social Studies. This committee proposed to the nation a social studies curriculum similar to that as developed by Jones at Hampton. The 1916 Committee reported that it had found ". . . no better illustration of the organization of economic and sociological knowledge . . . with direct reference to pupils' immediate interests and needs than that offered . . . at the Hampton Institute."[25] This selected quote reveals the impact that Jones' social studies curriculum had upon early social studies foundations. While the intended audience for this national curriculum was the growing number of immigrant and urban children, Jones' basic philosophy held true. This was not a social reconstruction curriculum; the students were taught to work within, understand, and support the current social, economic, and political system.

Berman writes that Jones' educational philosophy changed little, if at all, upon his departure from Hampton in 1909. This philosophy of Jones appears to be blatently racist, and from a 1991 perspective, it certainly is. However, one must judge history from its time, and not the present.[26] Jones' ideas actually reflected the cutting edge of sociological thought at the turn of the century. Jones and Giddings both believed that ". . . blacks should listen to whites for guidance and character, not other blacks."[27] It would be incorrect to not label this paternalism as being racist, even though it may appear as being somewhat benign.

Thomas Jesse Jones' professional credentials upon his departure from Hampton in 1909 placed him among the leading proponents of minority education in the country. Jones had come a long way from his non-English speaking days only 25 years before.

Jones viewed all minorities, black, immigrant, and non-Anglo-Saxon, in a similar manner. Whether the problem under study was urban conditions or the plight of minorities, Jones proposed the exact same educational program. This education was intended to be an education for life, and not to serve individual needs or desires. The student, according to Jones, had to internalize his responsibility to all of society and to constantly work for the betterment of all of society. The route to be taken, and the issues to be considered by the student, and the citizens, was to be decided upon by whites.

Jones' educational philosophy was also designed to produce a docile, accepting, hard-working employee. This employee would look to his employer, most likely a white Anglo-Saxon, for guidance and direction. With this type of educational philosophy as proposed by Jones, it is no wonder that Northern white industrialists supported a Hampton style of industrial education for Southern blacks.

Having studied with Giddings, worked in immigrant education, taught at Hampton, and served as a key actor in the social studies movement, the ambitious Jones was seeking new challenges. By 1910, he had accumulated a theoretical and experiential base which would prepare him as a leading spokesperson and policy maker for powerful New York corporate interests.

After a stint with the Census Bureau where he supervised the "Negro Census," Jones received an appointment with the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Having achieved success in banking and commerce, the Phelps-Stokes family joined the well-heeled philanthropic community active in education and social policy issues.

The philanthropic community rose to prominence following the Civil War. With roots in religious oriented missionary activities, business charities joined with the Freedmen's Bureau, YMCA, YWCA, and other community minded agencies to address the displacement problems of Blacks, immigrants and others.

While some philanthropies were motivated by Christian charity and altruism, others were concerned with political stability and social order in uncertain times. Andrew Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth" published in 1899 offered a corporatist rationale for philanthropy. Within a short time the Rockefeller family, Henry Ford, along with other banking, railroad and industrial magnates were involved. Laissez-faire government practices allowed the industrialists to shape public policy with their dollars. The corporate ordering of society was now guaranteed.

Education and the "Negro question" were priority items for the corporatists. As for education, it was becoming clear that the movement for common schooling was gaining momentum. Schooling would soon emerge as indispensable to the ideological shaping of 20th century America. As for

Black Americans, their direction was uncertain. How would the traditions of racial oppression fare in the new industrial order? America's unsettled social, class, political, and racial questions required solutions in light of the emerging violent responses occurring in Europe.

The big philanthropies supported theories and activities which conformed to their ideological vision of America, Inc. Thomas Jesse Jones became one of their theorists. Jones understood that for the new America to work, class struggle and race war had to be minimized. His notion of combining corporate wealth with social welfare would hopefully shortcircuit the Bolshevik solution.

Jones would spend twenty-eight years with Phelps-Stokes as its Educational Director. During that time he gained the complete confidence of the family, emerged as their chief theoretician, and virtually controlled their educational investments.

Jones' influence quickly spread across the Atlantic. After fine-tuning the Hampton-Tuskegee model in the southern United States, he was instrumental in its exportation to British colonial Africa. Jones' social-historical, theoretical, and theological justification for corporate philanthropy, accommodationist education, and gradualism made him one of the most important social architects of the early 20th century.

Jones was an indefatigable supporter of the early 20th century corporate philanthropists. He viewed philanthropic support as a major contributor to the satisfaction of the "essentials" of human social development. Philanthropy in Jones' view helped democracy to expand. Almsgiving served as a key ingredient for "friendship."

Jones saw no ideological caveats attached to corporate philanthropy. Modern philanthropy, Jones contended, was the logical progression of primitive altruism. The impulse to charity could be traced from kinship groups to the Christian church to the corporate foundation.

> The new ideals of philanthropy are the results of numerous movements and conditions. First of all is probably what may be called the rising and widening tide of democracy. Whatever the origin of the deepening regard for humanity, individual and social; however diverse the nomenclature used to describe the ever-broadening interest in the welfare of mankind, whether it is called democracy, altruism, brotherhood, social service, social reform, prevention, religion, or any other of the numerous terms in current use—there is abroad in the world a very real determination to extend privileges, opportunities, and rights to the masses of the people.[1]

Jones singled out for distinction the many efforts of the Rockefeller family in the educational arena. The General Education Board was the most ambitious of those efforts. The Board was founded by John D. Rockefeller in 1903. Its original endowment was $129,197,960. A second major injection exceeding $200,000 was provided by Anna T. Jeanes in 1905. The stated activities of the Board were (1) the promotion of practical farming in the Southern states; (2) cooperation with the state universities in the development of a system of public high schools, rural schools, and schools for Negroes in the Southern states; (3) the promotion of higher education throughout the United States; (4) development of university medical departments; (5) encouragement of educational research and experimentation.

Sharing in the praise with the General Education Board were other undertakings. Chartered in 1913, the Rockefeller Foundation was intended "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was created to support organizations sponsoring social betterment and social welfare. One interesting aspect of the Memorial money was the stipulation that the social science disciplines, i.e., sociology, economics, psychology, etc. be supported via fellowships, visiting professors, and research.

In addition to the Rockefeller efforts, Jones acknowledged the significant contributions of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to technical schools, libraries, scientific research, publications; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace gift of $10,000,000 to advance international peace; and various other Carnegie "Institutes'" efforts to encourage in the "broadest and most liberal manner investigation, research, discovery, and application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind."

An Educational Platform: From Black America to Black Africa

The evolving role of Thomas Jesse Jones as first a Columbia-trained sociologist then a professor at Hampton Institute then longtime educational director of the powerful Phelps-Stokes Foundation has been well-chronicled. Edward H. Berman's review Educational Colonialism in Africa: The Role of American Foundations, 1910-1945 (1980) provides a summary of Jones' considerable impact as both an administrator and policymaker influencing both sides of the Atlantic.

After having spent seven years as instructor, researcher, department chair, and chaplain at Hampton Institute, Jones joined the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1912. By this time Phelps-Stokes was working in concert with the Rockefeller-inspired General Education Board; corporate foundations, e.g. Carnegie, Peabody, and Slater; northern philanthropists such as John Wanamaker, William H. Baldwin, and Robert C. Ogden; and proponents of the "Hampton-Tuskegee" model of vocational education. It had emerged as a major influence in the educational policies of the Black South.

It was during his tenure at Phelps-Stokes that Jones developed both as an educational theoretician and eventually an administrator of considerable capability. While never openly embracing the vicious Jim Crow racial attitudes and policies of the South, Jones nevertheless became a key actor in the advocacy of an educational platform aimed at maintaining white dominance. Berman (1980) says of Jones:

> ...Jones anti-egalitarian and white supremist views were always close to the surface. Subscribing to the theory that the industrialization of the South and the mechanization of the region's agriculture could best be carried forward through the physical efforts of the black man, Jones could write as late as 1939 that 'the Southern states require the Negro at least for his services as a laborer.' In view of these sentiments it is not surprising that his educational philosophy was an extension of this socio-political pronouncement.[2]

While at Phelps-Stokes, Jones significantly contributed to the expansion and refinement of early 20th century philanthropist ideology. He, in effect, took the social policy projections of the Rockefellers and Carnegies and gave them expression in the educational arena. In 1917 Jones authored Negro Education, A Survey of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States. This two-volume report became an "authoritative" and prescriptive contribution to the corporatist policy of the times. Berman evaluates the survey thusly:

> ...the study maintained that the only education appropriate for the black man was that with a strong vocational/agricultural bias. Academic/literary education was perceived as dysfunctional for the black man because (1) would open vistas that he could not attain in the rigidly segregated American social structure; (2) would fail to provide the appropriate skills that would make the black man a more productive worker or agriculturalist (significantly, there were no data to indicate that training along lines epitomized by the Tuskegee philosophy actually did improve the laborer's market value); and (3) would seriously undermine the ability of the white ruling oligarchy to maintain its political hegemony in the face of demands for equality, which it was feared an academic/literary education would engender. In brief, Jones was espousing the Tuskegee philosophy of education, which sought to ensure that the black man in the Southern United States would be trained as a semiskilled, semiliterate, and cooperative member of a burgeoning work or agricultural force, and whose manpower would be utilized to help industrialize and modernize the economy of the reconstructed South.[3]

The Africanization of the Washington model dates from a visit to Tuskegee in 1912 by J. H. Oldham and Alek Fraser, both influential British missionary-educators who immediately sensed the possibilities for the adaptation of Washington's educational activities, i.e., manual-vocational training, to Britain's African colonies. The British policymakers endorsed this approach to be widely instituted in tropical West Africa. The Washington model allowed the British to codify a colonial educational policy (King, 1971).

Oldham was generally credited with popularizing the Washington model in England. From 1908 to 1910, he was the secretary of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh and secretary of the Continuation Committee from 1910 to 1921. Additionally, he was the editor of the International Review of Missions, an influential journal in the field of missionary education. Finally, in 1924, Oldham became Phelps-Stokes Fund representative in Great Britain where he vigorously lobbied for the Tuskegee concept to be incorporated into official mission and colonial education policy.

Oldham inspired the American said to have more influence than anyone else over Nigeria's (West African) educational policy, Thomas Jesse Jones. Jones chaired the important African Education Commission sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1920-21. Its report, commonly called the Phelps-Stokes Report (1923), strongly supported the Washington model. Its language stressed the importance of agricultural education and simple manual training. Additionally, it addressed a need to establish a differentiated educational system for African leaders as opposed to the masses and for the necessity of adapting Western education to local conditions.

Phelps-Stokes institutionalized the Washington model. Its tenets were a focus on vocational (manual) training, the training of an elite to administrate and conduct the business of the colonists, and a philosophy of self-help through hard work. References to agrarianism appeared in the African adaptation of the Tuskegee philosophy just as it did in the Southern United States. Berman (1980) argues that the educational model was premised on the sentiment that the African forever would be doomed to the backwardness of rural servitude. Berman (1980) writes:

> Additionally, he (Jones) stressed the importance of offering the African masses only the most restricted vocational training, and citing the overwhelmingly rural nature of African societies, particularly agricultural education. Implicit in his pronouncements was the assumption that African societies would remain rural indefinitely, while at the same time providing the European-dominated sectors with the requisite raw materials and labor to support industrialization.[4]

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The Panopticon of Tracking: Desegregation and Curriculum Change in a Southern School, 1968-1972

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Introduction

In the public schools of the state of Georgia, as in many public school systems in the deep South, the articulation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was circumvented and resisted for a number of years utilizing a discourse of "free choice." Following a court action initiated by the United States Department of Justice in 1969, the public schools of Bulloch county were ordered to desegregate "immediately and without further delay." As integration was enacted there were a number of parallel curriculuar reforms within the county schools. This paper examines those changes and the accompanying discursive practices which were produced within the context of school integration. Utilizing a postmodern conception of power and the tactics of power, this paper interrogates those reforms and the supporting public discourse generated around educational issues and argues that desegregation was not accomplished but rather segregation was re-invested in a more diffuse and subtle form within the public school system.

It is my intention (in the spirit of Nietsche and Foucault) to embed this investigation of power and modality within the text of an historical study,. My working definition of power relations is derived from the writing of Michel Foucault. I posit that power must be examined through the modalities by which it is articulated. The power relation considered in this study is the relationship between the black and white communities in the public schools of a isolated, rural county in southeast Georgia.

It must be understood that the schools were part of the social milleu in which blacks and whites existed within a particular relation of power. When the schools were forced to relinquish the external form of separation and fragmentation, a new mode developed to perpetuate an articulation of that extant relation of power. I will begin with a discussion of power and a postmodern conception of curriculum.

I. Power Relations, Modes of Articulation, and Curriculum

> Relations of power are not in a position of exteriority with respect to other types of relationships, but are immanent in the latter; they are the immediate effects of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibriums which occur in the latter, and conversely they are the internal conditions of these differentiations . . . they have a directly productive role whenever they come into play.[1]

Postmodern conceptions of power posit that it is neither linear nor subjective but rather the complex web operating around and through all social relations.[2] To examine social relations is to examine the ways in which power operates; how the subject is materially constituted through relations of power. This paper draws on certain assumptions from which we may paraphrase an analysis of power and relations of power.

Power exists within the social body, there is no escape from power within the social network. In this sense power is not a thing to be externally administered or applied but rather something which is interwoven within all social relations. Therefore all social relations are also relations of power and it is impossible to remove oneself from the effects of power. Power is not a constant but rather exists as a force which simultaneously is defined through its articulations and shapes the social actor who is engaged in that exercise of power.

Power relations are not merely prohibitive but take multiple forms. Power is interconnected. Power is to be understood not by its outcomes but by its application. Power is not inherently oppressive (although it may be articulated oppressively) nor is it objective (because any relation of power will be an asymetrical relationship).

Power relations are a multiform production and cannot be reduced merely to the 'dominator' and the 'dominated.' In this sense power must be understood not as a binary structure but as a web of relations which may be partially susceptible to integration into various strategies of domination or liberation. Hence, power relations serve, but only because they are capable of being used strategically, not as the result of some inherent of primacy of force. As discussed above, power exists in all social relationships; therefore power is not produced as an offshoot of a particular set of interests but rather may be utilized strategically to perpetuate a particular set of interests.

There are no relations of power without the simultaneous existence of resistance. Resistance is formed at the very point in which power is exercised but must not be seen as a secondary force doomed to failure. Rather its co-existence with power grants it the same possibilities for integration into strategies and applications.[3]

Within these assumptions we generate a concept of power which is not limited to the mere linear application of force. Power is no longer a passive potential which may be granted or taken, given or exchanged; rather it is a force which exists only in action. The questions we must ask are not why certain people seek to dominate or what their motives are. Rather let us consider that when power is exercised, what does that involve? What are its mechanisms and modes of articulation?[4]

The fact that power exists in all social relations is not to say that it is always exercised. There must exist some mode for the articulation of power, some means through which relations of power might be asserted. These modes of articulation, however, are not directly tied to a particular relation of power. It is quite possible for a set of power relations to be articulated through a variety of modes and the diffusion of a particular mode does not guarantee the diffusion of a particular set of power relations. In other words, to strip a social actor of a mode of articulation does nothing to alter the actor's original intentions in the use of that strategy.

Such is the case in this study. Although some may argue that integration diffused or even eliminated the asymetrical power relationship between the black and white communities in the educational setting, the application of previously discussed conceptions of power rebuke that assertion. Upon this terrain of meaning, power is present in all social relations and the applications of power are multivarious. Therefore relations of power never disappear, they may simply assume a new mode of articulation. In this case, segregation (a relation of power) by isolation was replaced with segregation by through curriculum change. It will be shown that the power relations existing in the schools after integration were of the same type existing before integration; only the mode of articulation was different. This application of power within the integrated school may be thought of as "panopticism," or panoptic power.[5]

Within the architectural articulation of the panoptic concept (developed by Jeremy Bentham in 1843 as an ideal form of incarceration), a large tower was to be ringed with a multilevel building containing individual cells that were open only toward the central structure; prisoners were constantly in full view of the supervisor, but not each other. For each prisoner there existed a visibility of the central tower alongside a lateral invisibility. This lateral invisisibility was the guarantee of order.[6] "Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power."[7]

The concept of the Panopticon is not utilized in a literal sense in this study, just as Foucault did not intend for a literal translation in its relationship to the applications of power. What the Panopticon represents is a metaphor for a redistribution of power throughout all parts of an institution. Power that exists not only in clearly defined, linear subjectivities, but is also embedded in the relations themselves and the discourse used to define, explain, and articulate those relations. As opposed to control through isolation (i.e. the dungeon, or segregation), the Panopticon produced isolation through surveillance.

Rituals of exclusion were replaced by rituals of confinement.

> Confinement . . . gave rise to disciplinary projects. Rather than the massive, binary division between one set of people and another, it called for multiple separations, individualizing distributions, an organization in depth of surveillance and control, an intensification and a ramification of power.[8]

The difference is separation and segmentation; the first is marked, the second is analyzed and distributed. The results are still the same in terms of the exercision of power; "They are different projects, then, but not incompatible ones."[9] The effect of the Panopticon was to remove power from its position external to the individual and as an application of force, and instead invest power into the functions of everyday life. In effect power is not applied to alter functions, power is now articulated through the functions: ". . . power relations function in a function. . ."[10]

The manner in which this panoptic power was visited upon the integrated schools is to be found in the curricular changes which were initiated following desegregation. This study utilizes a conception of curriculum which is broader that the structural notion of curriculum as content material.

Curriculum must be understood to be the entire 'text' of schooling which includes both the formal and informal course content, the schooling of the body through enforced social relations, and the presentation of 'acceptable' hierarchical social relationships. The term 'text' must be understood as more than merely printed words; it must also include all the visual and aural presentations occuring within the school setting every day. The curriculum as text, then, provides a much wider landscape from which to interrogate the entire range of effect that public schooling has upon the constituent body.

To investigate curriculum change is to interrogate more than simply the alteration of the content and arrangement of courses. It demands we consider the grouping of students, the spatial arrangements of students within the school proper, the physical location of teachers and administrators in relation to students and their colleagues, and the discourse of assumptions which inform the day-to-day realities of classroom life. To study curriculum change is to consider the entire range of messages being simultaneously transmitted at the students and the staff. These messages are the modes through which certain relations of power are articulated, defined, and maintained.

Within this terrain of meaning, curricular reform may be understood as an articulation of a new modality of power within the educational setting; a modality which may enable the coercion and oppression of individuals to continue within the larger structural framework. This modality of power is neither a direct extension of the law/political structures nor an independent expression but rather an articulation of the tactics of power which "characterize, classify, specialize . . . and hierarchize individuals in relation to one another and, if necessary, disqualify and invalidate" within the larger framework of liberation and equality of opportunity.[11]

II. Maintaining The Old

Students and parents were informed in the May 1, 1969 edition of The Bulloch Herald and the Bulloch Times that school designation forms for the coming academic year were to be filed by the end of the month with the school of the student's choice. It was stated that the filing of these forms was to "enable the administration of all elementary and high schools in Bulloch County to provide each student a high quality education in a lawful, orderly, and efficient manner,"[12] but if these selections resulted in overcrowded conditions, students would be re-assigned at the county's discretion. Thus was the state of segregated schooling in this rural county in southeastern Georgia at the beginning of the decade of the 1970's; clearly defined boundaries demarcated the white and the black social communities and particularly in the arena of public education.

That spring the five county high schools were set to graduate 431 seniors from the segregated campuses of Marvin Pittman, Portal, Southeast Bulloch, Statesboro, and William James High Schools. Of the five schools, William James was the "negro" institution and served all the African-American students in a county containing a black population of nearly forty percent. Although the county sustained de facto segregation, the 'freedom of choice' plan was designed to remove the responsibility for segregation from the school officials and place it upon the parents. As such, it was argued, it was the local choice of the parents to continue the separation of the community, not the policy of the school board.

In the same issue as the announcement of graduation plans was a short notice that the trial of the Department of Justice suit against the Bulloch County Board of Education would be heard in the neighboring county seat of Swainsboro on Tuesday, June 3, at 10:00 a.m. In a masthead article the previous week, the positions of the protagonist parties were explained with the government holding that "Bulloch County has a dual school system based on race, and the defense being there is but one system where in each student attends his chosen school without prejuidice."[13] However, the United States Attorney General charged that Bulloch County had maintained a dual school system based on race in spite of the adoption of the freedom-of-choice plan in 1965 and that the six facilities for blacks were inferior in every way to the ten schools for whites in the county. Citing failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, United States District Judge Alexander A. Lawrence ordered the county school board to develop an acceptable form of operation "conformable to the requirements of the constitution in this action" within the next thirty days.[14] Failure to do so would result in the interdiction of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the planning process and a continuation of the loss of federal funds which had been terminated in December, 1968 when the suit was initially brought against the school board.

When the July 10 deadline arrived, the county school board was still holding to the position that their "School Designation System" was satisfactory to the local needs and cited "a very substantial increase of children departing former Negro schools [and] entering predominately white schools."[15] In an extended statement the Bulloch County officials contended that

> the School Designation System fills the true legal requirement of 'just school for people, now' and it is [our] belief that it was and is the best plan which could be devised, for it made all schools and school facilities available to all children without regard to race or record of race or previous schools attended, and put within reach of each of these young citizens the means of real individual freedom, and the opportunity to be educated where he or she would best be suited, without dictation or coercion, and free from discrimination and fear.[16]

What was not discussed by the school board were the continual tactics of harassement against families of color who attempted to take advantage of this 'freedom of choice' option in education. According to Patrick Jones, president of the Bulloch County Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People there was a regular pattern of pressure to control blacks who desired to enter white schools.

> Some landlords told Negro parents they would have to move if they sent their children to the 'white' school. Some employers told Negro parents they would lose their jobs if they sent their children to the 'white' school. Some told Negros their loans would be foreclosed if they sent their children to 'white' schools. . . . The freedom of choice plan did not work and there are many reasons why it did not work. It didn't work because people wouldn't help it work. Instead they worked to keep it from working.[17]

A few black parents did choose to resist and send their children to the white schools. The interview of an informant who was a tenth grade student in 1966 also gives us a sense of the relatively small impact those students made in terms of integration.

> Q. Were there black students who took advantage of the 'freedom of choice' plan at Statesboro High School?
> I. Yes. We did have in our high school probably, well, for instance in my class we had six sections of students. And I would say in the entire class we probably had six students who came in with me that year. . . . Let's see, we probably had thirty in each section and there were six sections, so we had one hundred eighty. Maybe a little less that that, say one hundred seventy-five. So we had six. They were students in the school that were very sharp and were very aggressive. They had to, almost, because they were taking a big risk to be in a class that big and be the only one or two.
> Q. So it was a risk?
> I. It was a big, huge risk, yes.[18]

Representatives from HEW also disagreed with the effectiveness of the school designation system and forwarded their own plan for re-assigning grade levels within the existing county schools, re-districting the county, and closing and renovating the dilapidated William James facility as well as integrating black and white faculty in the public schools. This plan was rejected outright by the county board who held to their position of "Freedom of Choice."

On Friday, July 18, while the temperature hovered around the one hundred degree mark, the parties again met with Judge Lawrence in Savannah. At this time the judge ruled that proposals presented by both the Justice Department and the Board of Education were inadequate and imposed his own nine point plan to achieve compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

> 1. Establishment of four high schools to serve Statesboro and the remainder of the county divided into the north, the middle and the south.
> 2. Coversion of William James to a county-wide vocational high school.
> 3. The establishment of one elementary school to serve the northerly area of the county.
> 4. The establishment of three elementary schools to serve the south of the county.
> 5. The establishment of four elementary schools in Statesboro for the middle regions of the county.
> 6. The continuation of one junior high school in Statesboro.
> 7. Discontinuance in the use of the three "negro" elementary schools.
> 8. Desegregated school facilities including lunch rooms, restrooms, and locker rooms.

> 9. Transfer allowance to another school for participation in sports, music and special studies not available in one's own school.[19]

In addition, the school board was ordered to report back to the court by October 15 as to the results of the plan concerning "numbers of negroes and whites in student bodies and faculties of each school (BH July 19, 1969)." In the eyes of the political system, the matter was settled.

Public resistance to these events was beginning to form as white parents met in independent sessions to consider their course of action. Throughout this period they had been exploring options for circumventing the court ordered desegregation guidelines. Following Judge Lawrence's mid-July refusal to delay integration, a local white citizen's committee called "Citizens for Better Government" (CBG) was formed. The same evening that the board rejected the HEW proposal, Georgia Governor Lester G. Maddox addressed a standing room only rally sponsored by the committee in the Statesboro High School gymnasium. His impassioned remarks cut to what many believed to be the heart of the desegrgation debate in Bulloch County.

> School desegrgation is part of the Communist plan to overthrow this country. They are destroying America through sex education and not letting teachers pray and read the Bible. Some teachers are being stabbed in their classrooms. Has it happened here? It has happened in Atlanta. That is the legacy of desegregation. Voters should defeat every bond issue for water, sewerage, streets, and schools until local and state officials join in the fight to save America.[20]

Apparently inspired by Maddox's support, the Citizens for Better Government published a resolution on the schools wherein they stated, among other beliefs, that

> the people of our nation have been bombarded with propoganda by the naitonal radio, television, and newspapers; by the universities and other educational institutions; by groups dedicated to the overthrow of our government; by liberal politicians from the Ofice of the President of The United States down through Congress and State Governors, and even The Supreme Court and judiciary of our contry so as to attempt to create hatred and turmoil among the races, and contempt for law and order. Now be it

> therefore resolved, the Representative Committee of The Citizens For Better Government . . . hereby respectfully announce their opposition to the proposed plan for the forced integration of the races in our public school system.[21]

On August 14 the school officials wrote an open message to the people of Bulloch County which was printed in The Bulloch Herald. The text contained a recapitulation of their position for "Freedom of Choice" and the subsequent refusal of both the federal government and its courts to "allow local people or local officials any choice." Positioning themselves as the innocent victims of a federal government which was regulating desegregation "with the same amount of power it regulates the Federal income tax, the Federal highways, the Federal Agriculture Program, the Federal Defense Department, the Post Office Department, and all other Federal activities," the members of the school board stated their intent to acquiesce to the requirements of the law while simultaneously striving to gain relief from "Federal compulsion in our schools." They stated their resolve to continue to serve the children of Bulloch County and urged reasonable compliance from the members of the community so as not to provide "subversives and World Communism the delight if any of our children get uneducated." The letter closed with the following prayerful statement:

> Before God and our Country we say these things to all of our citizens of good will; we ask these special cosiderations by you, the public; and our prayer is that light will come, and that in days ahead we shall find answers that will make ours a better land under the watch-care of the Father of us all.[22]

One week later there appeared a point-counterpoint of open letters involving the school board and the citizens' committee; in this exchange an open rupture became evident around the issue of resistance. Both groups began by reaffirming their desire to work cooperatively with one another and expressed appreciation for each group's efforts toward maintaining peace and lawful activities. The balance of the school board text was devoted to recapitulating the position that the county and the board had been systematically and unjustly forced away from its established policy of "Freedom of Choice" and into enforced desegrgation by an overwhelmingly powerful Federal government and that resistance was, at this point, futile. The officials of the CBG took special note of this tone and issued a thinly veiled warning.

> We, as officials of 'The Citizens For Better Government,' feel that portions of this message and portions of the letter sent to us and published in another part of this paper, is not in good taste and ill recieved by a large number of people in our county. We pray that our school officials will, 'In a spirit of cooperation,' refrain from publishing any more 'messages' which might be construed as intimidating to the citizenry. On this particular subject, we will say no more.[23]

This exchange clearly marks the divergence of the school board and the citizens' committee over the continued use of the old mode of articulation. The board, recognizing the position the government held in terms of funding, was about to capitulate to the demands of the Justice Department. The CBG, however, sought other means to continue to racial segregation through the separation of black and white students. To that end, there began a series of attempts to build private academies in the Statesboro area which was culminated in 1971 with the opening of the Bulloch Academy, a segregationist school built and supported by various economic and political elites from the white community.

Throughout the summer the school board moved through the actions of implementing the court ordered plan for integration. However, on August 27, 1969 the board unanimously to postpone the opening of the county schools from September 2 to Septmber 8. The rationale was twofold: (1) the board found it impossible to complete the administrative and physical changes "including moving furniture from one school to another, determining [the] instructional equipment, books, and supplies to be shifted from one school to another and remodeling some schools to handle larger student populations;" and (2) the board requested that Judge Lawrence disolve the court ordered desegregation plan "against Bulloch County" while a Federal suit against the state education system of Georgia, filed earlier that month, was in litigation.[24] Lawrence refused, and the schools opened on September 8, 1969, under the watchful eyes of the federal government.

The struggle in the white community by both the school board and the CBG may be understood as a struggle to maintain the old modality of articulation. This was not necessarily a fight to maintain white dominance over the black community within the schools, but to maintain a particular articulation of that relation of power. The actual integration of the schools negated that old modality and made it necessary to construct some new way to exercise power.

The school board, after the final attempt to dissolve the court order, appeared to accept the disappearance of the old mode. The CBG, however, continued to work to preserve that mode through the formation of private segregated schools to replace the public segregated schools. The fact that this was a small effort and resulted in a single segregation academy is irrelevant to the argument that this was an attempt to preserve a particular mode of articulation.

When the school board found it impossible to continue the old mode, it became necessary to construct a new mode to maintain the extant power relation between the black and white community in the public schools. If it were not possible to to keep the black and white students separated in different school buildings, then a way must be developed to keep them in relatively separate classrooms. The integration of black faculty must also be done in such a way as to minimize their contact with white students. But not all white students; the upper level students were the ones who were seen to be most in need of isolation while the lower level students were seen by the administration as 'expendable.' This is witnessed by the initial assignments of black faculty in the elementary schools and the relegation of black principals to assistant positions. The development of this new panoptic modality and its institution through curriculum change is discussed in the following section of this paper.

III. Formimg The New

> Q. So you were student teaching during the last year of the 'freedom of choice' plan, and then started teaching full time during the first year of court ordered integration, when the court said . . .
> I. You will totally integrate. And the way they chose to do that, well, they had a real problem.[25]

The school board, although publicly maintaining their desire to return to 'freedom of choice,' had essentially succumbed to the federal government. However, most of the integration was occuring outside of Statesboro proper in the surrounding elementary schools. In the northern district, one hundred eighty black elementary children were bussed to the middle area in Statesboro and placed in temporary rooms along with fifty elementary students from the southern district; meanwhile, no 'adjustments' were being made at any of the high schools. Black students were being moved to white schools, traditional black facilities were systematically being shut down, and black faculty and administrators were being transferred to white facilities. On the surface, integration seemed to progressing according to plan with little or no tension within the educational community.

> Reports county-wide showed there have been no incidents of violence at any school whatever; student behavior has been good; and the officials complimented the students of Bulloch County for their good order and cooperation.
> Groups of white and black Bulloch County patrons have spoken up for the Board of Education in the Board's stand for good order and against violence and handling by legal means of any white or black who causes or attempts injury or harm in any school.[26]

However, the manner in which the blacks were being integrated, especially the faculty, illuminates a different perspective. An informant who was a first year, second grade teacher at Sallie Zetterower Elementary during this period offered insight into the inequitable treatment of black faculty.

> Q. So how did it [the integration of faculty] work out?
> I. Well the initial part of the year was really hectic; as we worked through the year I think it went pretty well. . . . But you had teachers who traditionally had classrooms of their own [in the black schools] who were moved into . . . I taught with a woman who was a veteran teacher in junior high, I was a first year teacher and I had my classroom; she came in and they gave her the job of being a rotating teacher. In all the second grade she was going to teach all the social studies. So she had her little packet of materials and she went from room, to room, to room; and just about every black teacher they brought over, either they gave them some Title I setting, or they made them rotating teachers, or something like that. Very few of them had a permanent classroom.
> Q. What happened to the black principals?
> I. They became assistant principals. They were all shifted to assistant principalships. So it was almost like [pause] they were put into situations where they would have almost as little impact as possible. The impression I got was that there was a great fear, of school system people, of private education taking over and pulling out a great number of white students. . . . My perception, as a first year teacher looking at where I was placed and where others were placed, was that black teachers were put in positions where they would probably have the least contact with white students.[27]

Several of this veteran teacher's perceptions appear to be correct. Within two years, the black teaching force had been reduced from eighty-five to forty-four; over half the black teaching force was assigned to Title I positions which were federally funded and susceptible to termination if the government found the integration process to be unacceptable; two of the three black principals who remained in the county were demoted; and the entire composition of the school board, the central office, and the P.T.A. was still white.[28]

Even the physical state of the black children who were now sharing classrooms with white children was a jarring revelation as members of the white community were now forced to deal, face to face, with the intense material discrepencies between the two social groups.

> The only black students I had ever been around were . . . very similar in culture to me. Where the massive numbers were from very low socio-economic situations. I was dealing with children who came into school with rat bites all over them, and with their heads shaved because they had lice, you know, so it was very shocking to me because I had never been around anything like that.[29]

Meanwhile, the CBG was still struggling to maintain the old mode of articulation. At a Citizens for Better Government rally, shortly after classes had begun, over nine hundred persons were informed of the concerns of some parents.

> The group also listened to reports from parents who are not satisfied with the present school operation. Some of the complaints were as follows:
>
> 1. Insults and threats directed at white students by negro students.
> 2. Overcrowding of classrooms.
> 3. Unsanitary bathrooms.
> 4. Lack of textbooks.
> 5. Lack of discipline.
> 6. Abuse of 'Free Lunch' program.
> 7. Fear for childrens' safety.
>
> It was unanimously agreed that these complaints should be taken up with school authorities.[30]

The message embedded within these complaints is quite clear: blacks are hostile, dirty, undisciplined, violent, and abusers of welfare. One might also note that the lack of textbooks clearly supports the argument that the black schools were not equally supported with the white schools; if they were, the materials would simply have been transferred to the new buildings and a deficit of supplies would not have existed.

These complaints were indeed heard by the board who issued a statement on the guidelines of the lunch assistance program, and reminded the public that "the board would always act only in the best interests of all the people of Bulloch County."[31] All the people of Bulloch County, however, were not to benefit from the next policy move by the school board.

At the beginning of the second year of integration, the schools initiated ability grouping at all grade levels. The effect was to be profound in the construction of the new modality.

> Q. The institution of tracking, was that during your second year?
> I. My second year we started that.
> Q. Would you talk about that, a bit?

> I. The first year we were watched closely by the courts to see if we did everything we were supposed to. The first year they would call us up on the intercom everyday and we would report to them, over the intercom, 'I have this many white girls, this many white boys, this many black girls, this many black boys.' . . . The second year, what they decided to do, and I was not in on any of the discussion; nothing was ever asked of me what I wanted as a teacher or how I felt about this, the principal came back the second year and told us, 'Here's how we've got it organized, now. We're going to have two high groups, two medium groups, and two low groups in second grade. Now we still have to keep it racially balanced because of these court orders, so what we're going to do: we're going to take the top one third white students and the top one third black students and they're going to be in the two high groups, and the same for the other groups.' So when we first started ability grouping we still had a racial balance within our classrooms.[32]

This was the beginning of the construction. The informant resigned at the end of the year due to pregnancy. Upon returning to the Bulloch school system four years later the informant stated: "It had all changed."

> Q. . . . what kind of changes?
> I. There was no racial balance kept at all when I went back.
> Q. So there was a gradual shift, somewhere?
> I. I don't know if it was gradual or not. At some point they quit watching us and at that point we started going with straight ability grouping . . .
> Q. And how did that play out, that straight ability grouping?
> I. That year was extremely difficult and they gave me the next to lowest group [out of six first grade levels]. What they decided was, the principal decided that since the lowest level would be the great majority of black kids, he didn't want any white kids be just one or two or three in there. So his decision was to make the lowest level all black kids and to make the highest level all white kids. And in between there would be gradually . . .
> Q. When you went back, after the time away, did you notice a change in the attitude of the teachers or in the way classes were assigned?
> I. Many of them [black faculty] still were, and still are, in what they call Chapter I classes, or they're teaching low levels.
> Q. So the white teachers were assigned generally the upper level classes and the black teachers the lower level classes?
> I. Uh huh, right.
> Q. What seemed to be the attitudes of the teachers about integration; you talked about the first year when everybody was pitching in . . .
> I. I think they were. When I went back I didn't see the kind of cooperative nature among teachers that I did when we first started out.
> Q. Was there a separation; did they separate themselves out?
> I. Pretty much. It was almost like 'This is the status quo, this is the way we are, and we just accept it.' I didn't see any cooperative effort or working together; you know, they taught their kids and we taught our kids, that kind of thing. Let me tell you this; this is interesting . . . we

> played together separately. In terms of the children on the playground. Levels 'A,B,C,D,E,F' is how they labelled them, of course what's the top one - level 'A.' 'A,B,C' played on the upper playground one week while 'D,E,F' played on the lower. Now, in order to make things equitable, the next week 'D,E,F' went to the top playground and 'A,B,C' went to the bottom.
> Q. What was the rationale?
> I. Well, I was told that it would be easier to supervise your own group if they were on one playground, of course they were playing with two other groups at the same time, but that was the rationale. . . . They could very easily have played on both playgrounds, but they were not allowed to do that, they had to play by ability.[33]

Ability meant color. Ability grouping meant racial grouping and the policy was, in fact, unofficial and system-wide. The formation of the new modality was complete. The old modality of segregation through isolation had disappeared in the public schools and had been replaced with a more subtle and socially acceptable form of segregation: the panoptic modality of separation through assimilation.

NOTES

1. Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction* trans. Hurley (New York, 1978) p. 94.

2. Ibid.

3. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* ed. Gordon; trans. Gordon, Marshall, Mepham, and Soper (New York, 1980) p. 142.

4. Ibid., p. 89.

5. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. Sheridan (New York, 1977) pp. 195-228.

6. Ibid., p. 200.

7. Ibid., p. 201.

8. Ibid., p. 198.

9. Ibid., p. 199.

10. Ibid., p. 207.

11. Ibid., p. 223.

12. "School designation forms to be available on Tuesday," *The Bulloch Herald and the Bulloch Times* (May 1, 1969) p. 1A.

13. "Trial of Justice Dept. vs County School System is June 3," *Ibid.* (May 22, 1969) p. 1A.

14. "Bulloch's plan for school desegregation ruled 'unacceptable'," *Ibid.* (June 5, 1969) p. 1A.

15. "HEW officials here today; study County school desegregation," *Ibid.* (July 10, 1969) p. 1A.

16. Ibid.

17. "NAACP president makes statement on schools," *Ibid.* (August 28, 1969) p. 1B.

18. Interview with informant "Catherine," March 21, 1991.

19. "School desegregation plan ordered at hearing Friday," op.cit. (July 24, 1969) p. 1A.

20. "Maddox stirs up hornet's nest on education front," *Ibid.* (July 31, 1969) p. 8C.

21. "'Citizens' adopt resolution," *Ibid.* (July 31, 1969) p. 8A.

22. "A Special Message From School Officials," *Ibid.* (August 14, 1969) pp. 1A-1C.

23. "CFBG replies to 'special message' from Co. Board," Ibid. (August 21, 1969) p. 2A.

24. "Opening of public schools postponed until Sept. 8," Ibid. (August 28, 1969) p. 1A.

25. Interview, op.cit.

26. "B.C. School Board announces changes to be effective today," op.cit. (September 10, 1969) p. 1A.

27. Interview, op.cit.

28. "Black students boycott Bulloch County schools," (August 30, 1971) p. 1A; and "Bi-racial committee raps appointments," op.cit. (September 13, 1971) p. 1A.

29. Interview, op.cit.

30. "Group votes to elect Board of Education," op.cit. (September 13, 1969) p. 1A.

31. "Board issues statement on free meals," Ibid. (November 13, 1969) p. 1C.

32. Interview, op.cit.

33. Ibid.

"By Female Hands, By Female Tongues, By Female Prayers:" The Reverend Joseph Emerson and Female Education.

(1991)

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In 1818 the Reverend Joseph Emerson[1] founded one of the earliest seminaries for educating women and training female teachers. Twenty years before the establishment of the first normal school in Massachusetts, Emerson was hard at work giving quality academic instruction and teaching pedagogy to females. He wanted to prepare them to teach; a profession for which he believed they were eminently suited by nature. Emerson's seminary at Byfield, Massachusetts offered both academic rigor and practical teacher training, suffused with the experimental and ideological power of awakened religion. Emerson did not only wish to train teachers but also:

> ...to raise up a multitude more of the right stamp, and ultimately to fill the land with such seminaries and schools.[2]

This paper traces Emerson's influence on the following: higher education for women, the female teaching profession, pedagogy, and early textbooks. It also discusses Emerson's protege chain, and especially his students Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, who claimed to have utilized Emerson's ideas in founding their own institutions for women.

Joseph Emerson: His Life and Work

Born in Hollis, New Hampshire in 1777, to a farmer and his sickly wife, Joseph Emerson was raised mostly by his older sister. He is said to have been plagued with health problems throughout his fifty-seven years as well. Recognizing Emerson's inability to perform manual labor, his father sent him to prepare for college at a nearby academy under a Mr. Hubbard, who later became a professor at Dartmouth.[3]

Emerson entered Cambridge College of Harvard in 1794 at the age of 17. He was studious and his only vice was the theater, which he eventually denounced in the spirit of religious revival.[4] While a student at Harvard, he ran a winter school in his hometown in 1796. Emerson's letters home during this period reflect his interest in becoming both a congregational minister and an educator. They also detail how he saw these two careers dovetailing.

When Emerson graduated Harvard in 1798, he took charge of an academy for females in Framingham, Massachusetts for one year. Here he chose his future wife from among his pupils. Although Emerson did not marry Nancy Eaton until 1803, he nonetheless planned an educational program for her which he directed through a steady stream of correspondence. His unusual engagement present to her reflected his interest in education. He presented her with a Bible and a copy of Euclid's geometry.

Emerson enjoyed teaching at Framingham, especially the "fine circle of young ladies...whose minds were seasoned with salt of knowledge and the spice of refinement."[5] Everything was conducive to his happiness at Framingham except the absence of religion, and Emerson left after one year's time to begin private theology studies with a Dr. Emmons of Boston.

During his year of study with Emmons, Emerson began his prolific writing career by publishing his first religious poems and writing his first sermons that would be used when he led public devotions.

In 1800 Emerson returned to Harvard for six months of graduate study in theology. During this period he pursued his studies, occasionally read a dissertation before the students in chapel, and in his free time, wrote letters to his former pupils at Framingham.[6] Through these letters, we learn about Emerson's desire to write and publish a treatise on education, though he realized he needed to read more about the views of others as well as to gain more experience in the classroom. Reflecting once again on his career conflicts he stated:

> Another year's practice in a school might afford important light upon this matter. But my profession, the profession of choice is theology...Would health permit, I might possibly do as much good by preaching and keeping school at the same time, as by preaching only....[7]

Throughout his letters, Emerson argued for combining preaching with literary instruction, and he stressed that it is imperative for a preacher to comprehend the teaching/learning process in order to understand "the youthful minds of his flock, in the pulpit, in the sabbath school in the bible class and in parochial visits."[8] Understanding the teaching/learning process was also important for a minister of that era, so that he could properly examine district teachers and school superintendents, as was the custom of the day.

In 1801 Emerson was licensed to preach and also received an appointment as tutor at Harvard. Meanwhile, Nancy Eaton was adhering to Emerson's plan for her intellectual improvement, and she was developing into his worthy intellectual companion. Recognizing Emerson's motive, she wrote:

> Some men desire a slave, some a toy...who but my lover wishes for a rational companion.[9]

Their marriage took place shortly after Emerson accepted a pulpit in Beverly, Massachusetts in 1803, and Nancy continued to study with her husband until her untimely death ten months later. Nancy's academic progress was remarkable, and thus Emerson based his seminary curriculum on the plan he had worked out for her. There were, however, those so opposed to female education that they attributed Nancy's demise to "...intense mental application."[10]

A year after his first wife's death, Emerson married a teacher, Eleanor Reed, who succumbed to tuberculosis in 1808. During their four year marriage, she helped Emerson by running a small pre-school for parish children, while he ran a "morning school" to help young adult females read and interpret the scriptures.[11] In 1810, Emerson married another teacher, Rebecca Haseltine, who was a worthy helpmate and who survived him.[12]

In 1816, Emerson was dismissed from his pulpit in Beverly, Massachusetts for two reasons: ill health and his requirement that full church status could only be accorded to those who made a public religious conversion prior to membership. From 1816 to 1818, Emerson had no permanent employment. He took a rest cure in Wilmington, North Carolina. When his health improved, he presented a series of public astronomy lectures in New England which were well attended, popular, and provided him with a means of support until he opened his seminary at Byfield, Massachusetts in 1818.

When these astronomy lectures were published the following year, Emerson earned notoriety, popularity, and royalties. When he presented the series again to the public, he used that earned income for scholarships to Byfield for indigent female students who wanted to "qualify" as teachers. Throughout his life, Emerson donated a portion of his earnings (from lectures and publications) to his school.

Emerson's pupils at Byfield were for the most part mature ladies in their twenties. In many cases, they were already practicing teachers who wanted additional academic and pedagogic training. Emerson's wife ran the preparatory division. The curriculum at Byfield went beyond rudimentary subjects. Included were such courses as religion, composition, literature and science [see Appendix A]. The school encompassed three years of academics as well as Emerson's lectures on teaching. He suffused the whole with religion. One psychological tactic he used in order to promote religion was inviting those who had recently been "reborn" in Christ to help convert the others. This gave the school a sense of shared religious commitment, and when his pupils left Byfield, they were firmly imbued with religious fervor.

Two and one half years later (1821), Emerson moved the seminary to nearby Saugus. This community had enough ready buildings to house the burgeoning student enrollment, and was also in need of a minister. Thus, Emerson was finally able to combine his dual vocations. At the dedication ceremony in January 1822, Emerson delivered a speech called "Discourse on Female Education", which expressed his view that more women should join men in the field of education as "...their instructions are at once excellent and less expensive...[13] To this argument, Emerson added evangelical religion, assuming that teachers do more to enlighten and inform the world than persons of any other profession except ministers of Christ, and that females were especially suited to redemptive work.[14] In the same speech Emerson shed light on two ways in which the female could elevate herself in society: by benevolent activism among mature females of average income and by improved education for females in general.[15] In praising benevolent activity and female support of education, Emerson reasoned:

> One woman was the first in the transgression, so she appears to have been most active to deliver the world from the dreadful effects of her horrid apostasy.... The numerous and noble institutions that so distinguished and bless the present day have been greatly promoted by female exertions. They have been urged forward by female hands, by female tongues, by female prayers.[16]

Emerson also had an insightful view of the future. He recognized that female institutions superior to those of his day would be "as important as our colleges for the education of our sons," and that "where such an institution shall be erected and by whom it shall be founded, and by whom instructed is yet for the hands of Providence to develop."[17]

Emerson's seminary at Saugus had grown rapidly within the first three years, and he complained that not only did he have more students than he could handle comfortably, but that they were

"...younger and less pious than usual..."[18] His wife's preparatory school flourished as well; she had forty scholars, including nine males.[19]

In the winter of 1823, Emerson left the Saugus school in the capable hands of his wife and his teachers, to head south to Charleston, South Carolina due again to ill health. There he preached the gospel to mixed groups of whites and blacks and kept up with that writing by publishing an addendum to Whelpley's Compend of History, entitled "Artificial Memory". He also wrote a study guide to this text. Whelpley's text was the most used history book in seminaries, academies, and colleges during the first half of the 19th century. Later Emerson added to the text[20] an "Imperial and Biographical Chart." In the spring of that year, Emerson returned to Saugus and continued his seminary through the summer season. He was, however, not strong enough to continue both heading the seminary and ministering to the congregation. Thus he decided to accept an offer to move the school to Wethersfield, Connecticut in the fall of 1824, where the weather was thought to be more temperate, and he could find "commodious" buildings to house the school and his pupils.[21] The seminary at Wethersfield was very successful and here Emerson remained until he died in May 1833.

The 60 page Prospectus Emerson wrote at Wethersfield in 1826 included 139 supplementary lectures to the instruction at the seminary. To this he later added his 12 page "Recitation Lectures", 130 lectures and other supplementary lectures.[22] In his prospectus, he outlined the purpose of the seminary. He articulated his philosophy of education, combining both the ideal of Christian service with general learning techniques. In Emerson's "Maximums of Education" (included in the Prospectus), is a warning against teaching fashionable frills. Also included is an explanation on how to prepare lessons, how to encourage interaction among pupils for the benefit of learning (what we today call peer teaching), and how to encourage good reading habits. Emerson's Prospectus is among the earliest American texts on classroom practices.

From the opening of the seminary at Wethersfield in 1824 until Emerson's death in 1833, he wrote, lectured, and published.[23] In 1828 he wrote and had printed a 100 page supplement to Goodrich's History of the United States (with further editions in 1831), a text designed for seminary use, but also helpful for private reading practice. Emerson also edited several editions of Watt's On The Mind. In the 1833 edition, he gave directions to both the teacher and the pupil on lesson preparation. Emerson further gave a series of lectures on history in 1829, complete with an original historical chart he had perfected over many years. During this period, Emerson also gave a series of astronomy lectures which were so well understood that "correct and clear conceptions were formed in the minds of those who were comparative children,"[24] and a series of lectures on expository reading. Here Emerson expressed his views on the nature of poetry, and compared and contrasted his favorite English poets. And finally, in response to a letter from the Senior Class of 1827 at Wethersfield, imploring Emerson to recommend textbooks for the continuation of their lifelong learning, he responded with a 36 page review of important historical texts. Emerson challenged each member of the class to read them, and after one year's time to write him of their progress.[25]

Emerson was also active in two fledgling education societies, the Institute of Instruction (which merged into the NEA in 1857), where in 1830 he was elected counsellor, and the American Education Society, to which he contributed $240.00 when he died.[26] Thus Emerson recognized the need to promote the educational welfare of the country as well as to advance the interest of the teaching profession.

Emerson's Curricular Beliefs

Emerson, through his prolific writings, voiced his opinion on the curriculum he believed was best suited for females who desired to teach; hardly a subject discipline escaped his critical pen. It is not surprising that the subject he deemed most important was the study of the Bible. In a letter to his life long friend, Jonathan Edwards, President of what became Princeton University, he expanded on his theory that the Bible should be used as a text:

> ...for schools, academies, colleges...not only to direct the conduct, correct the soul, and save the world; but to discipline the faculties....[27]

He further cautioned that leaving too little time for Bible study might "produce an excess of evil, perhaps ten fold."[28]

Emerson was opposed to the study of dead languages such as

Latin or Greek, and approved of Hebrew only because it helped in understanding the Bible. Argued Emerson on Latin and Greek:

> Thousands beside myself rejoice in the approaching fall of the Roman and Grecian tyrants, who for ages have held their dark and gloomy reign in colleges and halls.[29]

As for modern languages such as French and Spanish, Emerson expressed his doubt that they were useful for young ladies as he believed that they were "conducive to mental imbecility by still more distracting a mind already too much distracted...."[30]

Particularly concerned with improving the study of the English language, Emerson argued for the teaching of reading comprehension. He advocated the use of visual aids such as pictures, drawings or the examination of the actual object in order to make language come alive.[31] These forward looking ideas may have been influenced by the views of Pestalozzi.

Emerson considered mathematics an important subject as he reduced everything to reason. He argued that children should learn counting before reading, and that geometry should be studied even before learning the alphabet.

As for geography, he advocated that students begin its study with the familiar and move to the more abstract. First, students were given maps of their hometowns, then maps of their home states, then maps of the nation, and finally, maps of the continent.

Emerson encouraged females to study the sciences, especially chemistry and astronomy as well as history, which after Bible, he considered the most important subject. He also came up with a novel method of teaching children to sing, by imitating the tones of conversation. By a gradual transition from speech to musical tones, he argued one could learn to sing. This technique is used today by music teachers when pupils have difficulty matching pitch.

Emerson's Legacy

Joseph Emerson's seminaries can be viewed as the parent institution or the paradigm for other schools for females begun by his students or their descendants. Two of his most famous prodigies, Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, corresponded regularly with Emerson, acknowledged his influence on their teaching careers, built on his ideas, and then disseminated them far and wide.

Both Grant and Lyon were teachers in name, albeit, uncredentialed, when they entered Emerson's Byfield. Already in their mid-twenties, they hoped to expand their meager educations and improve their pedagogy skills. A credit to Emerson, they both became more well-known than their mentor. Grant's Ipswich Academy founded in 1828, was the first to publish a prescribed set course of study in which pupils were examined yearly before promotion to the next class, and the first to award a diploma after the course's completion.

Mary Lyon is best recalled as the founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, 1837, the precursor of Mount Holyoke College. Remembered by Emerson as his most superior student, she utilized his educational methods and principles and fulfilled his dream of establishing an endowed institution for the higher education of women.

Others, such as Emma Willard, founder of Troy Academy, 1821, and Catherine Beecher, founder of Hartford Female Seminary, 1822, corresponded, shared ideas, and were influenced by Emerson.

The first two principals of Oberlin Collegiate Institute for Ladies, founded 1833, the precursor of the woman's division of Oberlin College, were pupils of Emerson and Grants. Moreover, Wheaton Seminary (now Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.) was founded on Emersonian plans drawn up by Mary Lyon. And lastly, a pupil of Grant became Vassar's first female principal.[32]

Accomplishments of Emerson

As an educator Emerson was far in advance of his time. He excited those around him to think; he asked questions that required problem solving skills instead of rote memorization. Emerson regarded recitation as:

> ...an opportunity not merely to hear the pupils recite their own lessons but to ask them collateral questions; to ask questions upon question, to add illustration, and by actual example to teach them to discuss and investigate.[33]

Emerson was also able to adapt his instruction to the ability of the pupil and to discipline with affection so that the student would want to please the teacher. He was patient with those students unskilled in logic; he made quick and clear perceptions, and delighted in witnessing the mental operations of others.

Emerson is credited with being the first to introduce the topical outline.[34] He also invented "Geography Tickets," a unique learning device used for self-instruction and similar to our modern day game called "Trivial Pursuit," in which the student could quiz herself and learn independent of classroom instruction. Emerson wrote companion questions to texts and text supplements to guide learners through textbooks in much the same way that our present day "Cliff's Notes" work, and he also edited or wrote new texts as well.

Emerson, a deeply pious Christian, whose Bible guided him to knowledge and to life, articulated a clear philosophy of education, which amalgamated Christian service and common sense techniques. He inspired his pupils to go forth and work both for God and humanity, and he prepared them for useful lives as homemakers or as teachers.

As a pioneer in the education of females, Emerson zealously sought to improve educational resources for that gender. Through his descendent pupils, especially Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, and through other contemporaries of his day, he extended his influence on American education. And through his connections at Ipswich Academy, Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, Wheaton and Vassar, his ideas on female education were brought to fruition. As stated by his brother and biographer:

> He was born for the very work of teaching, and especially of teaching females. His specific object now was to render their education more solid and much more extensive.[35]

Appendix A: Curriculum 1826[1]

Junior Class	Middle Class	Senior Class
Reading	Reading	Bible
Writing	Writing	Catechism
Geography	Geography	Dictionary
Arithmetic	Grammar	History
Grammar	Rhetoric	Chemistry
Composition	Composition	Astronomy
History	History	History of England
Bible	Bible	History of U.S.
	Arithmetic	Ecclesiastical History
		Natural Philosophy

Most of the young ladies will devote some attention to Pronunciation, Spelling, Defining, Pen-making, Geometry, Drawing, Punctuation, Astronomy, Chronology, and Exegesis.

Requisite age for admission for the lowest class was 13 years. Requisite ages for Middle Class was 14 years; for Senior Class 15 years. Two recitations a day. "If any young lady should find her lessons too easy, she may devote her spare moments either to reading and consulting such works as may conduce to give her a more thorough and extended view of the branches to which she attends or she may be advanced to a higher class."[2] These subjects were to be thoroughly taught and were chosen by Emerson with the notion that this curriculum would prepare his female pupils to teach. This curriculum compares favorably with other early seminaries for females such as Linden Hall, founded by the Moravians in 1746, the oldest girls boarding school in continuous existence today. See Bonnie S. Handler. "The Schooling of 'Unmarried Sisters": Linden Hall and the Moravian Educational Tradition, 1864, 1940," unpublished D.Ed. dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1980.

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[1] Prospectus

[2] Prospectus

1. Joseph Emerson was a second cousin to Ralph Waldo Emerson.

2. Emerson, Ralph. Life of Rev. Joseph Emerson, Pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Beverly, Mass. and subsequently Principal of a Female Seminary. Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1834, p. 248. Housed Mount Holyoke Archives.

3. Ibid. p.16-19, p.23.

4. Ibid. p.31.

5. Ibid. p.46.

6. Ibid. p.51.

7. Ibid. p.58.

8. Ibid. p.58.

9. Letter from Nancy Eaton to Joseph Emerson, 1803, Wheaton College Archives.

10. Emerson, Ralph, op.cit., p.139-40.

11. Lacy, Margaret E. Joseph Emerson as an Educator, A Study on the Education of Women in the United States, During the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 1916). Margaret Lacy stated on p.11 of her dissertation that Emerson organized the first female Bible classes on record.

12. Rebecca was the sister of Ann (Nancy) Hasseltine Judson, the first American female foreign missionary. Joseph Emerson was very supportive of her efforts.

13. Emerson, Joseph. "Female Education, Discourse, Delivered at the Dedication of the Seminary Hall in Saugus, Jan. 15, 1822." Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1823. Housed Mount Holyoke archives.

14. Ibid. p.11-15.

15. A hopeful sign for change in female education was through the older female of average means. She could promote her daughters as well as her own schooling.

16. Emerson, Joseph, op.cit. p.12.

17. Ibid, p.33.

18. Emerson, Ralph. op.cit. p.261.

19. Ibid. p.261.

20. Ibid. p.298.

21. Ibid. p.298.

22. Emerson, Joseph. "Prospectus of the Female Seminary, at Wethersfield, CT." Wethersfield, CT.: A. Francis, printer, 1826. This work includes "Course of Instruction," "Maxims of Education," and "Regulations of the Seminary." Housed Mount Holyoke Archives.

23. According to the Wethersfield Historical Society, there is evidence that Mrs. Emerson carried on the school for several years after her husband's death.

24. Emerson, Ralph. op.cit. p.351.

25. Emerson, Joseph. "Emerson's Letter to a Class of Young Ladies Upon the Study of the History of the United States," Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828. Housed in the Mount Holyoke Archives.

26. $240.00 in 1833 is equal to about $50,000 in 1990.

27. Emerson, Ralph op.cit., p.307

28. Ibid. p.311.

29. Ibid. p.310.

30. Ibid. p.314.

31. Emerson, Joseph. "Prospectus...", op.cit. pp.20-21.

32. Lacy, op.cit., p.133.

33. Emerson, Joseph. "Prospectus...", op.cit. pp.20-21.

34. Marr, Harriet W. "Joseph Emerson Educator." Essex, Ct. trans. Institute Historical Collections, Vols. 89-900, 1953-54.

35. Emerson, Ralph. op.cit., p.248.

Why Must There Be A Modernist (Postmodern) Criticism of the Practical: Implications for Curriculum Leadership

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Introduction: Stating the Problem

In attempting to answer the question that serves as the title for this paper, I found myself confronted with not one but three questions: (1) why must there be a *practical* in education, (2) why must there be a *criticism* of the practical, and (3) why must there be a *modernist* or *postmodern* criticism of the practical. In the brief time allotted to me, I will assume the burden of responding to these three questions. I describe this undertaking as a burden because I feel the uncertainty of not knowing how to proceed. I seek a critical position from which to reflect on a pressing problem, but I feel that I am operating with an historical blindfold.

This problem has been described by Greene (1988) as the American struggle to actualize an appropriate conception of freedom. Using literary studies as a basis for a critique of American culture, Greene (1988) distinguishes between "negative" and "positive" freedom. Freedom understood negatively results in the identification of "personal liberation with an abandonment of social involvement and concern" (Greene, 1988, p.20). This interpretation of freedom, which is inherently narcissistic (Lasch, 1979), tends towards cynicism. In a national study, Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1985) document this cynicism. They conclude that Americans, in their pursuit of private happiness, are increasingly pessimistic that common purposes can be articulated and that, therefore, social problems can be solved.

Greene (1988) describes positive freedom as the desire to create "public spaces" where there is a commitment to mutual cooperation and civic possibility (p.134). This commitment is meaningless without a deliberate support for *social equity* and the practice of *reciprocal communication*. Gould (1988) notes that a socially responsible conception of freedom acknowledges citizens' "equal rights to the conditions for self-development" (p.32). This fair-minded acknowledgement is based on a double-edged civic sensibility. There is first the concern that inequitable conditions will foster a wide range of socially destructive behaviors--from backbiting to violence. Actions are, therefore, taken to critique and resolve all political, legal, and economic inequities. There is also the awareness that the full exercise of liberty is dependent on educational opportunity. If the citizens in a society cannot cultivate their unique capacities--if in Dewey's (1938) terms they cannot engage in a lifetime of educative experience, freedom in its most generative sense remains an absence in their lives. If too many citizens function with this absence--if too many are educatively immature, the society's experiment with freedom remains underdeveloped. Isolated individuals will pursue personal excellence, but the society's culture, understood as the synergistic sharing of meaning between refined sensibilities (Cahoone, 1988), is enfeebled and enervated. Based on this civic insight, deliberate efforts are taken to provide a broad base of support for self-development.

Consideration of the synergistic, cultural side of civic responsibility highlights the importance of reciprocal communication. When social equity is pursued without respect for human reciprocity, an unfortuante self-righteous dogmatism (in the name of justice) can easily emerge. This dogmatism is readily apparent in the neo-Marxist intellectual tradition and in the recent history of the Soviet Union (Ryan, 1982). The irony of this dogmatism is that while drawing attention to inequitable conditions which foster social destructiveness, there is an absence of concern for the possibilities of cultural synnergy. A robust understanding of civic polity is marginalized by a constrictive civic conscience.

Noddings (1984) examines the value of reciprocal communication in education. She argues for an "ethic of caring" whereby the teacher assumes "a dual perspective and...sees[s] things from both her own pole and that of the cared-for" (Noddings, 1984, p.63). The practice of this perspective requires the teacher to take the time to balance his or her subject matter deliberations with sensitive inquiries into each student's past experiences and present motivations. Noddings also argues that teachers cannot engage in reciprocal communication without the necessary supportive conditions, including time to dialogue with their students and freedom from the pressures of standardized tests. Furthermore, if teachers don't treat one another with a caring respect and if school and community authorities don't behave in an equally solicitous manner, the practice of an ethic of caring into classroom instruction remains problematic--despite the best intentions of all interested parties (Noddings, 1984, pp. 197-201).

This analysis of Greene's (1988) positive conception of freedom highlights the distinction between a democratic liberal ideology and a *democratic civic ethic*. Statements of liberal beliefs may or may not result in appropriate ethical actions. Public affirmations of freedom with responsibility, from the politician's speech to the Fourth of July celebration, should not be confused with the civically-oriented equitable and reciprocal practices. The former are rhetorical gestures, while the latter are inclusive, highly participative processes.

I receive daily reminders on how difficult it is to practice a democratic civic ethic in American education. Each semester at Kent State University, I teach a course called "Approaches to Teaching" to approximately thirty-five undergraduates. I have designed this course to systematically introduce students to reflective teaching in the social context of a democratic civic ethic, and towards this end I rely on a text entitled, Reflective Teaching:

Becoming an Inquiring Educator.[1] The success of the course is critically dependent on how well I can entice students to responsibly engage in collaborative inquiry. Though, overall, they respond positively to this enticement, there are several persistent problems which bedevil the course. Without going into specifics, a key contributing factor to these problems is the individualistic nature of American higher education. The students have learned to function as individual agents who must "psyche out" individual professors in individual courses in order to achieve good grades in a personally competitive system.

I also have a leadership role with my College of Education's Professional Development School activities. The College of Education at Kent State University is a member of the Holmes Group, and this collection of higher education institutions has called for the establishment of the professional development school, which is defined as a combined "laboratory school for university research...a demonstration school...[and] a clinical setting for preparing students and intern teachers" (Holmes Group, 1990, p.1). My College of Education is currently engaged in ten Professional Development School projects in northeast Ohio. These projects face many problems; and again without going into details, an important contributing factor to these problems is the sense of separateness and distrust that pervades the relations between teachers, between teachers and school administrators, between teachers and teacher educators, and between teacher educators.

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[1] I have authored this text with assistance from Carol Melnick, Mari Koerner, Patricia Hertel, and Thomas Barone. The text is currently in production and will be available in the Fall of 1991. The publisher is Macmillan.

Now that I have framed the problem with which I struggle daily as one of exercising "positive" freedom, or stated another way as practicing a democratic civic ethic, I want to suggest a critical position from which to understand and to work to solve this problem. (Is this a "problem" that has a "solution?") My suggestion will follow from a systematic analysis of the three questions that were raised at the beginning of this paper.

Why Must There Be A *Practical* in Education?

The category of the "practical" must be alive in educational practice because without this recognition, this valuing of a particular type of activity, the efficacy of a democratic civic ethic would remain hidden--tacitly buried by other considerations. This critical point needs some explanation. The analysis of the "practical," which has its philosophical roots in Aristotle's distinction between *phronesis* and *techne*. i.e., between practical judgment and technical competence (Bernstein, 1985), is a central topic in American pragmatism. West (1989) has undertaken a genealogical study of this intellectual tradition. His chronology begins with Ralph Waldo Emerson and includes C. S. Peirce, William James, John Dewey, Sidney Hook, C. Wright Mills, W. E. B. Du Bois, Reinhold Niebuhr, Lionel Trilling,

W. V. Quine, and Richard Rorty. In this group of individuals, it is probably John Dewey who is best known for his definition and defense of the category of the "practical." Dewey (1916) writes:

> But I again affirm that the term "pragmatic" means only the rule of referring all thinking, all reflective considerations, to *consequences* for final meaning and test. Nothing is said about the nature of the consequences; they may be aesthetic, or moral, or political, or religious in quality--anything you please. ...Different consequences are alleged to constitute rival meanings of a term. Is a difference more than merely one of formulation? The way to get an answer is to ask whether, if realized, these consequences would exact of us different modes of behavior. If they do not make such a difference in conduct the difference between them is conventional. (pp.330-331)

The examination of consequences in light of human conduct, an analysis which has been ably applied to educational practice by Chambliss (1987), highlights the question of virtuous activity. MacIntyre (1984) provides a comprehensive historical analysis of this question, and he concludes that modern man is hampered in his or her ability to articulate and engage in practices characterized by "internals goods" or virtues. Modern man has, practically speaking, been rendered inarticulate by the Enlightenment artifacts of emotivism and technical rationality. The details of MacIntyre's story are too complex to cover in this paper, but the moral of his narrative is central to the present discussion. He concludes that modern man has a problem: he or she must discover a "telos which transcends the limited goods of practices by constituting the good of a whole life...(MacIntyre, 1984, p.189). In a critique of MacIntyre's thesis, Bernstein (1986) focuses on the dilemma associated with this problem. I quote Bernstein's analysis at some length because of its relevance to the argument I am developing:

> Hegel was...perspicacious and forthright about basic problems of modernity. For Hegel well understood that there is no possibility of a return to the "immediacy" of an idealized Greek polis and that there is a "truth" in the Enlightenment aspiration to a universal freedom that encompasses all of humanity. What then is the problem which we confront? It is one of seeking to reconcile these deeply conflicting traditions. It is not clear--even in Hegel--whether such a reconciliation is really possible (despite Hegel's official pronouncements to the contrary). The point I am making, and its relevance to modern democracy, has been succinctly stated by Charles Taylor....
>
>> Thus Hegel's dilemma for modern democracy, put at its simplest, is this: The modern ideology of equality and of total participation leads to a homogenization of society. This shakes men loose from their traditional communities, but cannot replace them as a focus of identity. Or rather, it can only replace them as such a focus under the impetus of militant nationalism or some totalitarian ideology which would depreciate or even crush diversity and individuality....
>>
>> ...one of the great needs of the modern democratic polity is to recover a sense of significant differentiation, so that its partial communities, be they geographical, or cultural, or occupational, can become again important centres of concern and activity for their members in a way which connects them to the whole. (Bernstein, 1986, p.139)[2]

The resolution of this dilemma of modernity, if there is one, lies in our future; but whatever we do, we must keep firmly grounded in the category of the "practical." Though it may be tempting to devise a rational means of coping with this dilemma--in effect, a foundational epistemology for our problem solving attempts, history has taught us the bankruptcy of this approach. What we get for our theoretical efforts are not solutions but ideological exclusivities, rational linearities, and hierarchical transcendentalisms. We don't need to cite Dewey to support this conclusion; our daily struggles with racism, sexism, classism, and professionism readily hammers the point home.

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[2] The Taylor citation is taken from Charles Taylor, Hegel (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp.414,416.

Why Must There Be A *Criticism* of the Practical?

To embrace the "practical" with all of its modern complexity is to foreground the problem of practicing a democratic civic ethic in the context of pluralism. A reliance on an epistemological system is only one way to deny this problem. We can also honestly face our historical predicament but then engage in an inappropriate criticism of our efforts. This latter possibility highlights the significance of analyzing the second question in this paper: *why must there be a criticism of the practical?*

As Eisner (1985) argues, criticism is an important supportive dimension in any complex human undertaking. Without a critical practice, judgments concerning the merits of activities will, most likely, be based on simplisitic criteria and narrow ideological perspectives. In effect, the "tail" of artlessness begins to wag the "dog" of sophistication. The results of this possibility are all too obvious in educational practice, where standardized evaluations and competency lists predominate.

Schwab (1978) provides insight into how to engage in an appropriate criticism of the practical. He advocates the use of the "arts of the eclectic" in educational deliberations (pp.326-364). There is, however, a problem with Schwab's advocacy. Though he prescribes a sophisticated means-end problem solving, he remains subtly wedded to *epistemological foundationalism*. Put simply, he does not recognize the radical incompleteness of human rationality. Nowhere in his essays does he acknowledge that human deliberation is inextricably linked to the humility of not-knowing. Panikkar (1979) articulates this awareness as follows:

> We are not pluralistic by integrating everything in one 'pluralistic' worldview. We are pluralistic by believing that none of us possesses the philosophers' stone, the key to the secret of the world, access to the center of the universe if such there is; by having the restraint not to think through everything lest we destroy the 'thought'...and the thinker. This is not irrationalism. It is intellectual humility or common sense. (pp.224-225)

Abraham (1979) critiques the psychoanalytic tradition from the perspective of not-knowing. He focuses on "the radical semantic change that psychoanalysis has introduced into language" (Abraham, 1979, p.17). He does this by metaphorically distinguishing between the "shell" of our discourse and its non-discursive "kernel," and the purpose of this criical strategy is to invoke

> ...a mystery, the very mystery of the unthought that burdens reflexive philosophy with a congenital naivete. It reveals the opague gratuity of the *distance* that separates the reflecting subject from himself, a distince endangering even patent notions founded on an illusory proximity to self. The condition *sine qua non* of the relation to self, the hiatus that separates the "I" from the "me", thus necessarily escapes reflexive thematization. ...psychoanalysis stakes out its domain precisely on this *unthought* ground of phenomenology. To state this is already to designate, if not to resolve, the problem which faces us: how to include in a discourse--in any one whatever--that very thing which in essence, by dint of being the precondition of discourse, escapes it? If non-presence, the kernel and ultimate ground of all discourse, is made to speak [*se fait parole*], can it--must it--make itself heard in and through presence to self? Such is the form in which the paradoxical situation inherent to the psychoanalytic problematics appears (Abraham, 1979,p.19).

Though his pluralistic approach to the criticism of the practical is sophisticated, Schwab does not distance himself from the the Cartesian myth of Cogito: I-THINK-THEREFORE-I-AM. The arrogance of relating "thinking" to "being" remains the unconscious of his discourse. He tacitly positions himself on the insular, Hegelian side of Western rationality. He reifies the dialectic and minimizes the dialogical. He examines the "arts of the eclectic," but the art of dialogue remains unacknowledged. Concerning this art, Panikkar (1979) writes:

> The way to handle a pluralistic conflict is not through each side trying to convince the other, nor by the dialectical procedure alone, but through a *dialogical dialogue* which leads to a mutual opening up to the concern of the other, to a sharing in a common charisma, difficulty, suspicion, guidance, inspiration, light, ideal, or whatever higher value both parties acknowledge and neither party controls. The dialogical dialogue is art as much as it is knowledge, involves *techne* and *praxis* as much as *gnosis* and *theoria* and the difficulty is to re-enact

> it, even when one of the partners refuses to enter into such a relation. (p.219)

If we are to learn how to practice a democratic civic ethic, we must learn the art of *dialogical dialogue*. Through an awareness of our ironical situatedness, i.e., that we are creatures who know in a context of not-knowing and who NOT-KNOW in the context of knowing, we must learn our radical relatedness to others. In Noddings' (1984) terms, we must be open to the "receptive rationality of caring" in our educational practices (p.1). Though as Noddings (1984) points out, in our current historical situation women may be closer to the art of dialogical dialogue than men, the practice of this art is not exclusive to either of the sexes (pp.1-6). Both men and women can equally learn to embrace the dialogical implications of their radical incompleteness, and just as readily both can reject this awareness. As Panikkar (1979) notes: "at first, the males dominated, now some females want to do the bossing....(p.221).

We must learn to think against our dialectical selves if we are to consistently embrace the art of dialogical dialogue, but how do we learn this challenging lesson? I don't pretend to know the answer to this complicated topic, but I will hazard a conjecture. The practice a *modernist*, or *postmodern*, criticism of the practical may help put us on the right track, and so let us turn to the final question in this paper.

Why Must There Be A Modernist (Postmodern) Criticism of the Practical?

The third question of this paper is examined by Melville (1986). The use of the term, modernist, as the basis for a critical practice is central to Melville's argument.[3] He cites Greenberg (1973) on the point that Kant was the "first real Modernist" because this philosopher used the *logos* of the Enlightenment to think against Enlightenment rationality. As Greenberg (1973) notes: "Modernism criticizes from the inside, through the procedures themselves of that which is being criticized" (p.67). Though the term, *modernist*, and the term, *postmodern*, can be used interchangeably, Melville prefers the former conception. The use of the latter term connotes an historical periodicity, i.e., traditional-modern-postmodern, that doesn't fully capture a "radical self-criticism...[which] genuinely places its self at stake and holds itself in this condition of being at stake, assuming neither the positive guarantee of that self's inviolable autonomy nor the negative guarantee of its nonexistence...(Melville, 1986, pp.16-17).

A modernist criticism begins with the metacognition that there is no privileged point of view. Caputo (1989) provides an astute historical analysis of this point:

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[3] Melville acknowledges his dept to Paul de Man 's Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1983) for this particular use of "modernism."

> Slaves, women, and non-Greeks are also the place where the truth of the Greek world happens. The solidarity of the originary *ethos* is constituted by an act of exclusion--of whatever is not free, male, and Greek. Do the excluded also dwell in the clearing: How can they share in the "open" who have been closed off and excluded? Do slaves and women "intersect" in the Greek temple...? The ancient city was founded on hierarchical oppositions--between creator and created, sovereign and subject, free man and slave, male and female--the sociological embodiments of Derrida's binary, metaphysical presence/absence oppositions. And such a world deserved the undoing it received at the hands of the Enlightenment. Even if they are dead ends as foundationalist projects, the Cartesian experiment and the categorical imperative were strategically useful disruptions that paid off in lessons about universal freedom. If there is something to object to in the notion of autonomous reason, there is at least as much to object to in hierarchizing human worth in terms of gold, silver, and brass, or of occurrences along a divided line, or of freeman and slave, believer and infidel, and the rest of that intolerant world. Nothing is innocent. (pp.58-59)

In the spirit of Caputo's historical analysis, modernist criticism operates with the semsitivity of rational culpability, in which no perspective is either totally embraced or totally rejected. "Grains of truth" is a central metaphorical referent in all deliberations and reflections. Modernist criticism is the practice of Heidegger's "double project of destruction and retrieve that both is and is not a project of 'demystification'" (Melville, 1986, p.54). In more economical language, it is the practice of deconstruction. As Derrida (1978) argues, deconstruction focuses on the question of differánce in language. We can never mean what we say. Our discourses are always already more than our specific denotations and connotations express. As Melville (1986) remarks, when we are aware of differánce, we "recall philosophy--metaphysics--to its properly abyssal ground in the thinking of Being, in experience, in that place where our articulations find their origin" (p.57).

Derrida's analysis of philosophical discourse parallels Abraham's analysis of psychoanalytical discourse. In philosophical terms, differánce is the *logos* of knowing/non-knowing; while in psychological terms, it is the language game of shell and kernel. Melville (1986) writes that "deconsruction is a practice and philosophy of self-reflection only in order to be a practice and philosophy of its disruption--a philosophy of consciousness only in order to be able to trace out that system through which the Unconscious makes its presence felt" (p.97).

There is an important insight associated with this philosophical/psychoanalytical analogy. When we think against ourselves, when we practice Derridean deconstruction, we open ourselves to other discourses. We follow the Lacanian call-to-arms to always say another thing (Lacan, 1977). Since we can never be fully present to ourselves--nor to truth, we recognize that our humanity critically depends on our openness to others. We are aware that we must live in a state of dialogical dialogue--that we must practice a democratic civic ethic. We recognize that our sense of self-containedness is a destructive illusion which eats away at our mental and civic health, and we acknowledge that our thinking is always already "plural, divided, borne away from itself" (Melville, 1986, p.111). Cavell (1976) provides an historical metaphor for this modernist awareness:

> The figure of Socrates now haunts contemporary philosophical practice and conscience more poignantly than ever--the pure figure motivated to philosophy only by the assertions of others, himself making none; the philosopher who did not need to write....If silence is always a threat in philosophy, it is also its highest promise. (Cavell, 1976, p. xxi; cited in Melville, 1986, p.113)

There can be no epistemological foundation for modernist criticism, just as there can be no epistemological foundation for the practical. Derridean differance, which is neither a concept nor an element in a rational system, inspires the art of dialogical dialogue in practical affairs. Through deconstructive analysis we willingly submit our discourses to heterogeneity and, ultimately, silence; and in dialogical dialogue we willingly submit ourselves to the words of others. We recognize our vulnerability, our relatedness, our need for reciprocity. There must be a modernist criticism of the practical because this position serves as the conscience of our modern humanity and our guide for practicing a democratic civic ethic. Melville (1986) writes:

> Criticism--radical self-criticism--is a central means through which the difficult facts of human community come to recognition (and in this lies the particular privilege of psychoanalysis for criticism now). I am arguing for criticism as an activity intimatley bound to the ways in which we do and do not belong in time and in community. ...to speak of selves in a deconstructive vein is precisely to unfold their absolute sociability, their

> constitutive entanglement in altereity and difference. (p.154)

Implications for Curriculum Leadership

We can see the beginnings of a modernist criticism of the practical in our contemporary curriculum discourses. As Pinar (1988) argues, curriculum studies began "in the 1920s as a subfield of educational administration. The main function of this emerging discipline was to develop and manage curricula for a public school system in a period of rapid expansion" (p.1). However, as Pinar notes, contemporary curriculum studies have recently been "reconceptualized" to focus instead on "the scholarly and disciplined understanding of educational experience, particularly in its political, cultural, gender, and historical dimensions" (p.2). The curriculum field has opened itself to a variety of discursive traditions: critical theory, gender studies, cultural studies, phenomenology, poststructuralism, and so on. To study curriculum today is to immerse oneself in multiple perspectives. But, and this is the critical question raised by this paper, is the *foundation of "reconceptalized" perspectivism dialectical or dialogical*? Do contemporary curriculum discourses promote a democratic civic ethic, or are they *insular avant-gardisms* which remain aloof from the dilemma of our modern *practical*?

I conclude with this critical query. Can *contemporary* curriculum discourses become *modernist* in their outlook? Can curricularists exercise a leadership that insists on and practices a dialogical dialogue? Can the annual conference on curriculum theory and classroom practice, which currently takes place at the Bergamo Conference Center, actualize a democratic civic ethic? Or will the feminists, critical theorists, phenomenologits, and other "ists" practice a subtle, but all too real, dialectical self-righteousness? In broader terms, can we begin a tradition of educational criticism which takes the modernist critique of rationality as its conscience? Can we constantly remind ourselves and others that we need one another and all of our differences--that we simply don't know any better?

As we face the modern pluralities of the practical, we must find a way to cultivate a democratic civic ethic. In Taylor's (1975) terms, we must find a way to responsibly handle the dilemma of modern democracy; we must find a way to balance the concerns of social equity with an affirmation of "significant differentiation" and "partial communities" (p.416). We must remember that equity requires pluralism for its humanity. OTHER-WISE, there can be no synergistic maturity--no rich cultural sharing. Can curricularists provide such leadership for American education? Can we be such critics of the practical?

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(1983)

A SUMMARY OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF EXPERIENCE: AN HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORK OF EDGAR DALE

Janet Lee Hood-Hanchey

Edgar Dale has observed that the important is not always immediately interesting and that the immediately interesting may not be important. In curriculum history Edgar Dale is both important and immediately interesting. He is an historic, internationally known educator yet an unpretentious communicator. He is a delightful paradox.

Pursuing the unusual avocation of collecting and coining oxymorons and aphorisms, he has written of the necessity to organize our ignorance. He has urged us to "cherish the opening of minds and shun the closing of minds," to use the schools not so much to "pick out the winners" as "to up the losers." He has given communication theory both the power of his Cone of Experience and the joy of his COIK Fallacy (Clear Only If Known). He has shared with generations of teachers the complex precision of his readibility formula and his methods for analyzing film content; yet he has called them to the gentle appreciation of serendipity.

Dale has often quoted William Jame's remark that the great use of a life is to spend it in something that will outlast itself. Indeed, he has spent his own life in this manner, and many fields have benefited. Asked "Who is Edgar Dale?," a librarian might appropriately reply with an ode to Dale's monumental work in vocabulary and readability. A media or communications specialist would give a description of Dale's Cone of Experience, a film historian an account of the Payne Fund Studies. All would be correct, but all would be incomplete. Strangely, existing scholarship has maintained this fragmented view of Dale and his contributions.

Existing scholarship has documented the evolution of mechanical innovations in the field of instructional technology. Paul Saettler's History of Instructional Technology (1968) has done so, as has Wilbur Schramm's Big Media, Little Media (1972). Marshall McLuhan's landmark works, such as The Gutenberg Galaxy (1967) and Understanding Media (1964), extended the discussion of mechanical innovations to the question of their impact upon society. When, however, discussion of these innovations and their impact upon society has curriculum of the schools that serve society, both the quantity and quality of scholarly inquiry have not been available.

Available literature has treated the curricular impact of the mechanical innovations of instructional technology almost solely within the context of single subject areas. Adams, for example, traced the history of film study in the discipline of English. In the process he noted the importance of Edgar Dale's role in pioneering film study in America. Single subject approaches, however, have not conveyed the enormity of Dale's work in assimilating the impact of mechanical innovations. Nor have they conveyed a sense of the times and intellectual contexts from which his many contributions have proceeded.

Edgar Dale has been widely acknowledged as a pre-eminent leader in the audio-visual movement, an author of the first comprehensive summary of the literature on motion pictures and related aspects of visual instruction, and a pioneer in radio instruction. His Cone of Experience has been assessed as the most influential theoretical notion embodied within the physical science concept of instructional technology (Saettler, 1968, p. 2). His work in other disciplines such as language arts has yielded such equally monumental contributions as the Dale-Chall Readability Fomula. Scholarship, however, has failed to interpret his work in a unified manner. Approaching him as a figure in curriculum history offers the needed unity.

In the formative years of the curriculum field, Dale studied curriculum at the University of Chicago with W. W. Charters, Franklin Bobbitt, and Charles Judd. He taught in the famous Winnetka schools with another legendary figure in curriculum, Charles Washburne. He served as head of the curriculum division of the Educational Research Bulletin and, as a chapter of this study explains, he alone brought a genuinely curricular viewpoint to the early discourse in audiovisual education. Drawing from such curriculum makers as Alice Miel and Florence Stratemeyer (Dale, 1949, p. 80), he related the issue of audiovisual education to the question of the teacher's role in curriculum. This accomplishment suggests an important, seldom-treated area of curriculum history. The field has recorded the events of its own early chronology, duly noting such turning points as Bobitt's The Curriculum (1918), How to Make a Curriculum (1924), and the Eight Year Study. Curriculum history has recorded less by far about the process of individual development of those who contributed during the turning points.

The purpose of this study was to do what needed to be done in the field of curriculum history: to approach Edgar Dale's enormous contributions to education in a unified manner, at the generic level of his ideas on curriculum, within the historic framework characterizing each era of his work. This approach suggested a three-fold research task: to identify key ideas or unifying concepts extending through the whole of Dale's vast and diverse career; to analyze how these key ideas developed; and to analyze the historic contexts from which his ideas and experiences emerged.

In a lengthy interview, Dale himself seemed to suggest this research mode when he remarked, "You could approach the whole story of my life, the idea being as a learner. What did I learn? What did I do? How did I do it?" Because of Dale's willingness to share the artifacts and anecdotes of what he learned, what he did and how he did it, the synthesizing, qualitative methodology of historical research was possible in this study.

The study drew from a number of unpublished sources such as private memoranda and private correspondence. In addition, a number of conventional sources were used. Chapter III, for example, identified several major ideas shaping Dale's work by tracing them through Dale's books, articles, speeches, newsletters and yearbook chapters. Similarly, Chapter IV postulated certain influences upon Dale's thinking by examining his early reading and analyzing quotations and allusions present in his major works. The study also drew from standard histories of American education and standard works on specific periods of educational history. It also relied upon standard references from the area of film history. Drawing from a number of unpublished sources, conventional sources used in somewhat unconventional ways and from standard historical works, the study aspired to be what Dale has called "a fusion work." (Dale, 1941), p., iv).

Chapter I of the study describes in detail the resources used. Chapter II, "Edgar Dale: The Man," provides a brief biographical overview of Edgar Dale, punctuated by selected episodes that seem particularly revealing of the man and his time. Edgar Dale has written many times of the need to read the lines, to read between the lines and to read beyond the lines. To read conventional biographical sketches is to read the lines of a man's life. To grasp fully the nature of the man and his ideas, however, requires looking between the numbers and the dates to that which the individual has valued life's experiences. So often in the writer's interviews with Edgar Dale, he would add reflectively to a comment or anecdote, ". . .

and I thought about that a lot." This reflective attitude was one of the delights in the research process.

Wordsworth's comment that the child is father of the man is certainly true of Edgar Dale. His childhood seems to have fathered many of his adult educational ideas; in many instances his childhood experiences seem somehow prophetic of his later professional life. The Dick Whittington and Horatio Alger books of his childhood, the memories of his grammar school days, the first movie he ever saw, his job as joke editor of his high school magazine -- all of these experiences went with him into his professional life. "Reading between the lines" in Chapter II also includes anecdotal accounts of Dale's first teaching job while he was writing papers for correspondence courses; how he happened to go to work for Carleton Washburne in the famous Winnetka schools, how he used Morrison's unit and the Rugg materials in social studies, how he met and was influenced by some of the giants in the emerging field of curriculum. The chapter also introduces how Dale's career unfolded decade by decade, from writing study guides for Eastman Films in the early days of the teaching film, to joining Charters in the great days of the Bureau of Educational Research of The Ohio State University, through his war-time consultantships and his post-war emergence as an international figure.

Chapter III, "Edgar Dale: His Major Curricular Ideas," attempts to "read between the lines" by identifying five major curricular ideas that run throughout the whole of Dale's work: a systematic view of the nature and importance of experience; a commitment to pupil-centered, humane teaching and learning; a belief in the organic relationship between the school and the community; a consistent belief in the curricular implications of audiovisual instruction; and an optimistic belief in the international implications of audiovisual instruction.

Chapter IV, "Sources of His Ideas in Early Experience: The Formative Years, 1910-1928," probes more deeply into Dale's early experiences, setting them within a historical and cultural framework. The influence of James and Dewey is traced in an analysis of Dale's use of quotations in four sources: Building a Learning Environment, his culminating statement on the curriculum; Can You Give the Public What It Wants?, a "cream of the crop" set of forty five of the nearly three hundred essays published in Dale's Newsletter, and, finally, the first and third editions of the classic Audiovisual Methods in Teaching. Jamesian pragmatism seems to have influenced Dale especially while he was still close to life on the farm, during his early teaching experience in the rural schools of North Dakota, where he remained close to his father's brand of agrarian progressivism. Although Dale first encountered Dewey's writing while a senior in college, he seems not to have been especially influenced by Dewey until he began to teach in towns and cities. In the historical analysis offered in Chapter IV, Dale's readings of Dewey and James serve as a sort of microcosm of changing American circumstances and thought.

Chapter V discusses Dale's work at Eastman House, utilizing Bobbitt, Charters and the Efficiency Era as a backdrop for Dale's early work at Ohio State. It illustrates how Dale tempered activity analysis and the mechanistic model. The chapter also sets Dale's work on the Payne Fund Studies of Motion Pictures and Children against this backdrop, especially as the backdrop influenced the connotations of the word science. With his previous experience in activity analysis, Dale was well-suited to quantify, in the Payne Fund Studies, an assumption that had previously gone unquantified, that motion pictures could be harmful to children. From an ill-defined notion of "standards" set forth in the early Payne Fund correspondence, Dale formed a quantifiable, workable definition. From an impossible notion of social control, he forged a workable solution. Bringing a consistently curricular viewpoint into the motion picture problem, Dale spurred an instructional movement and became a leading spokes person for motion picture appreciation in the curriculum.

Chapter VI, Beyond the Payne Fund Studies," chronicles Dale's emergence as an international figure. It traces this evolution from his first speech before an international body, in Paris, in 1936, to his post-war commitment to UNESCO and the translation of his works into many languages. In addition, it discusses Dale's intervening World War II assignments, assessing the historic contexts of his war-time interest in training and in the differences between education and training. The chapter also links the Payne Fund Studies to Dale's international work and to his film work with the Office of War Information, during which he worked on a project with the famous film-maker, Frank Capra.

Chapter VI also challenges a conception of the Payne Fund Studies held by conventional film histories, which often charge that the Payne Fund Studies were interested in preserving the social status quo, and dropped its originally proposed studies of the effects of motion pictures on the U.S. image abroad. Chapter VI asserts that the later internationalizing of the Studies, through Dale's career, matched rather closely the rhetoric of the apparently abandoned studies.

Chapter VII, "The Reluctant Guru," includes an analysis of comments by Dale's UNESCO fellows. Many of their comments contain descriptions that could describe a guru or spiritual leader or teacher. Dale declined guru status, and eschewed the idea of a "following."

Reacting to the idea of a contemporary assessment of his work, Dale responded, "That'll be difficult." The task was not so difficult, for Dale's work has indeed been judged. Carl Sandburg, for example, considered Dale's *How to Read a Newspaper* one of the books he would buy first if his library were somehow suddenly destroyed. (Good Reading Advisory Board, 1952, p. 203).

Chapter VII concludes that Dale's transformation of experience revealed as much about an era as about a man and his ideas. Few figures in curriculum history have contributed so much in so many fields that their work requires classification by major ideas; yet surely there are other figures who, like Edgar Dale, did not develop curriculum, in the sense that Hollis Caswell or Jesse Newlon developed curriculum, did not evaluate curriculum, in the sense that Ralph Tyler evaluated curriculum, but instead served as significant communicators, as significant interpreters of the field of curriculum to related disciplines around the world. Recognition of this pattern, in the work of Edgar Dale both informs present study and holds rich promise for future study.

The Effects of Graded Schools

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The Effects of Graded Schools

During the Nineteenth Century schools in America changed dramatically. The ungraded one-room school common in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries became a graded school in which students were sorted according to their ages into grade levels, with each grade level, taught by a single teacher or group of teachers, containing materials specifically designed for that grade. The emergence of such schools was a gradual phenomenon, involving both the sorting of students into grades according to their ages, and the grading of the subject matter.

Early in the century schools began to be differentiated for students of different ages, beginning with broad categories with labels such as "primary," "elementary" and "high school." Gradually the differentiation became more exact, ending, by 1900, with the familiar "first grade" for 5 and 6 year old students, "second grade" for 6 and seven year olds, on up to the "twelfth grade" for students seventeen and eighteen years old.

At the same time schools were being divided into grades according to the ages of the students, the textbooks in schools were also being graded, that is, written in a form to include, in a graded series of books, material at progressively more difficult levels. Within the span of the

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1. An expanded and fully referenced version of this paper is available on request from the author at the Department of Education, John Carroll University, University Heights, Ohio 44118

Nineteenth Century, textbooks changed from the model provided The New England Primer, which contained material in a single volume for the beginning as well as the advanced reader, to the model provided by the McGuffey Readers, which contained, in each of the six readers, "graded" material appropriate for a student at a particular level of advancement.

The age and textbook grading processes came together in the first fully graded schools soon after the Civil War in cities such as Chicago, Boston, and Cincinnati. In these cities a graded school system was set up in the following way. The course of study of the school system was graded, or divided into discrete portions that gradually increased in difficulty. After textbooks and materials appropriate for each grade level were determined, each grade was labelled: tenth grade for the easiest material, first grade for the most difficult, etc. The students to be included in the schools were then "classified" and assigned to different "grades" in the school system. The teachers in each grade were allotted a specific portion of the graded course of study to teach, and were required to teach it within an allotted time. When the material at each grade level was completed the students were tested and promoted to the next highest grade of material.

The graded system that began in the larger cities in the mid-Nineteenth Century was accepted policy by enlightened educators by the year 1900. In fact, by 1900 such schools were traditional. Those graded schools in 1900 share the same characteristics as graded schools in 1990.

In a graded school the subject matter to be taught is "graded," or divided into portions that gradually increase in level of difficulty. The name given to a "grade level" is the label for the level of material associated with that grade. Thus, "kindergarten" is the easiest material, "first grade" is the next most difficult, "second grade" the next, etc., on up to the most difficult material, that associated with the "twelfth grade."

Subject matter grading has existed since graded schools began, although the labels for the grades varied in the early years. In the mid-Nineteenth Century, for example, the easiest material was often called the "tenth grade," with the "first grade" being reserved for the most advanced material. The current labels began to be widely used early in the Twentieth Century.

In a graded school, students are assigned to a specific grade according to their ages: 4 and 5 year olds are assigned to the kindergarten grade, 5 and 6 year olds are assigned to the first grade, etc.

Early in their history, in the middle decades of the Nineteenth Century, there was much talk about "classifying" students according to their "attainments" in the "grade" corresponding to their "level of attainment," irrespective of age. Thus, using contemporary terminology, a fifteen year old student with very low reading ability would be placed in the first grade, that is, in the grade of material corresponding to his ability. From the beginning of graded schools, however, this was rarely done: the grades containing the easiest material always have contained the youngest students, with the more difficult grades containing progressively older students.

This age-grade association was tightened by the compulsory education laws in the Nineteenth Century, which assured, given a mandatory age for beginning school, that a homogeneous group of young students would enter the graded school at the lowest grade each year, and move through the grades together. Over a period of time all grades thus came to include a homogeneously aged group of students.

In a graded school, the material assigned to a particular grade is to be covered in one school year, usually nine months. At the end of the school year, students who have mastered the material are "promoted" to the next grade, that is, the next higher level of graded material.

In the earliest decades of graded schools promotions gave some difficulty, because as soon as the subject matter to be taught by a teacher was fixed individual differences in students began to appear: some students went through the material faster that others. Some school districts, such as St. Louis, tried to adjust the curriculum by promoting students every five weeks. Such efforts gradually died away as the Nineteenth Century wore on, and by the end of the century the modern method of annual promotions had become the norm.

In a graded school, students of a certain age are assigned to a specific grade level and taught with the level of material appropriate to that grade within the sequenced course of study. This characteristic of graded schools is the logical result of utilizing graded schools, and leads to the use of material written at an "average" level of difficulty for a particular grade. From the beginning of graded schools, teachers have been faced with groups of students, more or less the same age, teaching them with material thought to be appropriate for average students in the class.

Graded schools sharing these characteristics have remained the standard method of schooling in America throughout the Twentieth Century. The only significant change since the late 1900's occurred in the first two decades of the century when the relationship between the preciseness of the level of material to be taught at each grade level was sharpened. During those years, in an attempt to make the schools more efficient and scientific, school surveys were undertaken to determine what should be taught in the schools, and the optimal level of difficulty of materials in the different grades. Almost invariably, the surveys and studies utilized "grade level" as a variable, determining, for example, average performance or expectations at the "second grade" level, and then making this average performance the expectation for the entire second grade. In other words, the surveys and studies began by accepting the characteristics of graded schools, and the results of the studies were conservative in that they confirmed and focussed the method of schooling that had been developing during the preceding half century.

THE EFFECTS OF GRADED SCHOOLS

Graded Schools and the Curriculum

From the beginning of graded schools the course of study, and the use of textbooks to present the course of study at the different grade levels, has been the curriculum of the schools. In effect, this curriculum of the graded schools pre-dated the accepted beginning of the curriculum field in the early decades of the Twentieth Century. As a result, curriculum development and alternative curriculum models have made an impact on the schools when they assisted in the refinement and development of graded schools, and failed when their principles did not match the characteristics of graded schools.

Thus, the model for curriculum development proposed by Tyler, for example, has made a significant impact on the schools. More specifically, the Tyler rationale spawned a great deal of effort to become more precise and clear about the objectives of the curriculum and teaching. Having clear grade level objectives has been, throughout the present century, a concern of those teaching within a graded system, as has been the desire to sequence the objectives throughout the graded system. And, this effort on objectives continues with the more recent efforts to develop competency based curricula, again within the graded system.

Examples of curriculum development models that did not match the characteristics of graded schools, and that failed to make an impact, are those of Fantini and Weinstein and Pinar. These models and others which are contrary to a subject matter focus run aground on the graded course of study orientation which assumes that what is to be taught at each grade level is pre-determined and mandated, an ethos that has always favored a curriculum model beginning with pre-stated, sequenced objectives.

Interestingly enough, although the objectives component of Tyler's rationale received considerable attention over the decades, a principle for selecting learning experiences to reach the objectives received little attention. Tyler suggested that learning experiences to reach the objectives should be within the capabilities of the students: a student should be able to accomplish what the teacher asks him to do. Similar suggestions were made by Smith, Stanley, and Shores. This aspect of teaching, however, has been and is virtually impossible for a teacher to accomplish within the confines of the graded system. A teacher who must cover material assigned to a specific grade inevitably must teach to the "average" student, and the average obviously must ignore students whose ability may be far below average. Curriculum models that do not impinge on this necessity succeed; those that do most often fail.

Teachers as Page-turners

The graded school curriculum is sequenced from easy material to difficult material, with the different levels of material labelled as "first grade" "third grade," "eleventh grade," etc. The task of each teacher assigned to each level, each grade, is to cover the material during the year. Since most of the material used in school is contained in a book or workbook, covering the material means getting through the pages in the book. Thus, a successful teacher of a particular class at a given grade level can be a page turner, a teacher who begins at the beginning of the assigned book in September and finishes the book sometime in May.

The page turning requirement is the same at all grade levels, whether it involves a kindergarten teacher teaching reading readiness or a tenth grade teacher teaching algebra. The requirement was the same in Boston in 1870 as it is in Denver in 1990.

Denigration of Method

The fact that the graded school reinforces page turner teachers has always denigrated teaching method: it doesn't really matter how you teach as long as the material is covered. In the mid-Nineteenth Century, when teachers often were untrained and thus unable to teach in any sophisticated way the standardization of the material to be covered allowed a degree of clarity and supervisory control. Thus, the course of study adopted in Chicago in 1862 contained 106 pages detailing the content of the lessons to be used at each grade as well as the textbook sources for the content. However, in 1990, almost 130 years later it is the same in graded schools: what as teacher is expected to cover at each grade level, as well as how the teacher is supposed to cover it, is the norm in courses of study and textbook teacher guides.

Method is inevitably denigrated because the mandated detail is "teacher proof." A century and a half ago this was thought to be necessary because anyone might teach; the shift in the latter decades of the Twentieth Century is toward the feeling that anyone can teach, as witnessed by the recent "instant certification" programs to meet the need for math and science teachers. It is assumed that as long as a person "knows math," for example, he or she can teach math.

Thus, a second grade teacher can "teach reading" by moving through the materials mandated by the graded course of study, and by presenting the sequenced skills included in a basal reading program. And, in fact, almost anyone can do this. The fallacy of this point of view is suggested by the phrase "teaching a child to read" rather than "teaching reading." The former is a difficult and complex task; the latter is simple, and supported by the graded school structure.

Horizontal thinking

The course of study is graded; teachers are assigned to teach a specific grade level of material. Inevitably, over the century and more that graded schools have been the norm, teachers have come to identify themselves with the grade they teach. Thus, a teacher will say "I teach third grade," or "I teach tenth grade Algebra." In terms of the graded course of study, this means that a teacher says, in effect, "I teach Third Grade material," or "I teach Tenth Grade material." The result is that teachers do not think of themselves as teaching the entire sequence of skills in a graded series, which might be termed vertical thinking, but assume they teach only that portion of the curriculum assigned to their grade level, which can be termed horizontal thinking.

Teachers thus do not think of themselves as teaching "reading," or "mathematics." Rather, they think of themselves as teaching only that portion of the total curriculum assigned to the grade they teach. Their task, as teachers, is to cover that material and then promote the students to the next higher grade or level of difficulty in the school, and to then began again with a new group of students at the beginning of the next year.

Denial of Individual Differences

From the inception of graded schools teachers have been unable to cope with students having difficulty understanding the material assigned to a specific grade, or students whose ability is higher than what is being taught. This difficulty is inevitable in the graded school structure. A teacher is required to teach material written at an average level of difficulty for a particular grade. It is assumed that a student's ability will gradually unfold over the span of a school year in lock-step with the presentation of the material, and reach a point at promotion when he or she will be ready to begin the material assigned to the teacher at the next higher grade level.

It has never happened that way, and the history of graded schools is littered with attempts to cope with individual student variation. William Torrey Harris, while Superintendent in St. Louis, tried promotions every five weeks to allow "super-normal" students, those students with the ability to rapidly master the material assigned to a specific grade, to advance. These "super-normals," in the early decades of the Twentieth Century, became the "gifted" students, and, since annual promotions were by then the norm, "enrichment" and "acceleration" became catchwords for coping with the advanced students while retaining the graded school structure. During those same decades the "retarded" students were also identified. Such students could not be taught within the graded school structure and they, as well as the gifted, were excluded from "normal" classrooms teaching "normal" materials. During the Twentieth Century, in fact, the field known as "special education" was developed because the structure of graded schools did not allow teachers to teach students who fell outside of the range of what was taught in normal classrooms. In fact, it took a Federal Law, PL 94-142, passed in 1975, to mandate that "handicapped" students return where possible to the "mainstream."

The graded school structure makes it difficult for teachers to deal with handicapped students whose abilities fall well outside of what is taught at a particular grade level. Teachers also have difficulty with much less severe variations. The ideal student in a graded school has the ability to accomplish tasks just at the level of difficulty proposed by the teacher, who willingly does all that a teacher asks and no more, and who is promoted at the end of the year ready to begin the work of the next grade. In 1990 it is hardly necessary to say that few students fit this mold: intellectual, social, emotional, and physical individual differences abound in any classroom. Almost any variation from the hypothetical norm will give a teacher in a graded school difficulty.

It is hardly news, of course, that graded schools make it difficult for teachers to cope with individual differences of students, and this factor has been criticized for more than a century. Harris, in 1872, lamented the "Procrustean bed of grades," using as a metaphor the mythological Greek giant Procrustes, who seized travellers and tied them to an iron bed, making them fit by stretching them or cutting off their legs. Charles Elliot, in 1892, called grading an "educational curse" because of its denial of individual differences. Elliot Eisner, in 1978, pointed out that "Kids aren't made with cookie cutters" in a criticism of teaching to the "average" child. Examples of a century of such criticism could be extended indefinitely. That they have continued so long suggests their futility.

Insulation from Reform

Graded schools have maintained their characteristics relatively unchanged for more than a century. While reform movements have periodically been mounted, these movements ultimately failed to affect the graded school structure.

Certain reforms, which were intended to improve schooling, actually accentuated the more rigid characteristics of graded schools, and thus held within them the seeds of failure. One example is the use of busing to integrate schools and thus improve the achievement of black students. To achieve busing, using the Cleveland Public Schools as an example, the course of study across all schools was standardized, as were grade level expectations and teaching methods. The ideal was to have a common curriculum so a student in school X could be transferred to school Y, and not miss any portion of, or page of, the curriculum. A rigid curriculum and teaching methodology resulted, where flexibility and creativity were needed. A subject centered rather than a student centered curriculum was the result.

Other reforms have been mounted against the graded schools ever since they were organized, and have failed. Examples might be Parker's work in Quincy, Massachusetts, Dewey's work in the Lab School, The Project Method and Child Centered Schools, and the Open/Humanistic education movement.

All of these reforms shared a common flaw when they confronted graded schools: they intended to base teaching on the interests, needs, and abilities of the students in schools. Teachers in graded schools, however, were and are oriented to covering the material assigned to their grade level within a specified period of time - the school year. They are subject centered rather than student centered, and utilize a model of schooling that reinforces covering the material and "failing" the student who falls behind.

In addition, the reform movements have always felt strange to teachers, students and parents because of the historical dominance of graded schools. Going to a graded school has been our experience and the experience of our grandparents, parents, and children. We "know" what schools are supposed to be like because we attended one. Alternative models are viewed with great skepticism.

Cultural Gatekeeper

Because of their structure, graded schools have become the cultural gatekeeper of America. That is as it should be. However, for segments of the population that do not make it through all of the grades, that is, graduate, the gatekeeping characteristic is inappropriate. This is particularly telling in the case of inner city youth, who, in the case of the Cleveland Public Schools, drop out at a higher that 50% rate.

Typically, an inner city child begins school with an aptitude that is approximately average. During the first few grades, when the basic skills are taught, many youngsters fail to learn to read at the level mandated for that grade level. They begin to "fall behind." In the graded school structure, basic skills are not taught much after the third grade: "content" is mandated by the graded sequence. Soon after the middle elementary grades the graded curriculum begins to grow away from the student: he falls further and further behind as the level of difficulty of materials at progressively higher grade levels increases. The longer he is in school the worse he does. By the time the student finishes the junior high school years he is often hopelessly behind, knows it, and drops out. And misses history, English Literature, mathematics, art, biology. In short, the accumulated wisdom of mankind. Rather than passing on knowledge to the student, the school keeps him from attaining it. And then blames him.

GRADED SCHOOLS IN 1990

Although it is difficult to have an historical perspective on the present, certain activities within the school community bear comment. The first is the "Whole Language" movement, which has captured the interest of entire states as well as a large number of school districts. Whole language is a method of teaching reading, writing, listening and speaking in the early grades that capitalizes on child interest and creativity. It is, to coin a phrase, child-centered, and intends to replace the supposedly sterile, teacher imposed methods of teachers tied to basal readers.

There are obvious parallels between the characteristics of whole language teaching and the suggestions of Dewey, Kilpatrick and others who suggest that a curriculum, and the teachers presenting the curriculum, should be built around the needs and interests of students. Indeed, the relationship between the proponents of the whole language approach and their predecessors is at times made explicit. However, for the most part the proponents feel that whole language teaching has been a grass roots movement, spear-headed by teachers discovering a new way to teach students in the early grades. In that sense it is ahistorical.

The target for much of the criticism of those in the movement is teaching based on the use of basal readers, which are dismissed as boring and ineffective. Basal readers, however, are merely the tools used in a graded school, the method by which grade level expectations are made explicit. Before the impact of the whole language movement on the graded school can be made, it must be determined whether it is a new approach to organizing the school for instruction, rather than simply another teaching method within the graded system.

Other movements within recent years grow from and support the graded school structure. The "Effective Schools" movement has, during the last few decades, began to focus on concepts such as high expectations for students, time on task, and direct teaching of content. These concepts were identified and clarified by studying successful graded schools, advocates assume that academic improvement of students can take place within the school structure as it now exists. Hunter's orientation toward graded schools is similar: she appears to believe that academic performance of students can improve if teachers adopt more appropriate teaching methods.

More broadly, schools in the United States in 1990 are in the midst of another assessment movement: schools are being studied to determine what students know, or don't know, and there is much talk about "raising standards." Similarly to the survey movement in the beginning of this century, however, the present efforts accept the existing structure of the schools, and unwittingly may be exacerbating difficulties by suggesting that our educational system would improve if grade level goals were more precise and more difficult.

If that is the situation, we may, in 1990, be entering another cycle similar to the 1920's, with the whole language movement acting as a harbinger of attempts to make our schools more child centered and humane. If such attempts fail to realize that the real difficulty arises from the characteristics of graded schools, and takes these characteristics into account, they will be as futile as they have been for a century.

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HISTORICAL INFLUENCES OF CURRICULUM MODELS ON THE TEACHING OF WRITING

(1987)

In my current research, I am investigating ways in which curriculum perspectives have historically acted as influences on the teaching of writing. Specifically, I am examining writing instruction in light of the heritage, competency-based, and process models of the language arts curriculum (Mandel, 1980), and the perspectives underlying each of these models.

Recent research and theory on writing have supported a developmental approach, one in which writing is viewed as a complex process characterized by intuition, discovery, and recursive movements in composing. Emig (1983) has contrasted these principles with those governing the actual teaching of writing in schools, which emphasizes formal structures and products, correctness of expression, convergent thinking, and linear stages of composing. These patterns are confirmed in the findings of survey, case study, and naturalistic research (e.g., Applebee, 1984), which suggest that teachers' concerns with prescribed forms, evaluating previous learning, and "right answers" pre-empt the purposes that students may themselves have for writing, and thus prevent the uses of writing for thinking and discovering. Certain curriculum orientations, specifically those of academic rationalism, functionalism, and child-centered romanticism, have contributed to the persistence of these instructional patterns.

The theory of academic rationalism reflected in the traditional heritage model places emphasis on acquisition of knowledge about language rather than engagement in language processes. The teaching of grammatical rules or rhetorical principles represents an enactment of this philosophy, as knowledge is transmitted rather than interpreted. Historically, this view can be traced to the classical humanism of the nineteenth century, and identified again in the "structure of the disciplines" approach of the early 1960's (Kantor, 1983) and in current school reform proposals calling for a return to subject matter learning as a basis for academic excellence. It is also reflected in the teacher-centered, textbook-based instruction noted by Cuban (1984) and Goodlad (1984) as persistent and pervasive in American schools. At its best, academic rationalism brings students into contact with the achievements of their cultural heritage; at its worst it divorces content from process and justifies a "meritocracy" (Douglas, 1976) or elitism in the teaching of composition. While a transmission model can be said to have characterized the teaching of writing to a lesser extent than the teaching of literature, it has still mitigated in significant ways against a developmental approach to writing instruction.

A second major curriculum orientation has been that of functionalism, which frequently characterizes a competency-based approach. Writing is regarded here as social communication, requiring the use of certain incrementally learned skills. This view has been reflected in the social efficiency and scientific management movements of the 1920's and 1930's and in current concerns for behavioral objectives and outcomes, minimal competencies, standardized testing, and vocational training. This model recognizes the need for control and efficiency, especially in crowded classrooms with students of varied backgrounds and abilities, as well as the desire for helping students attain those skills which will enable them to communicate effectively in social and occupational settings. The effects of functionalism, however, have often been to trivialize the curriculum, and to separate means from ends, thereby alienating students from their intellectual pursuits (Kliebard, 1975). With respect to writing, students (especially those in lower ability tracks) have had to sacrifice an interest in meaning-making for a preoccupation with usage, mechanics, and producing transactional messages.

Thirdly, there has been an abiding strain of child-centered romanticism, especially as related to the values of writing for personal growth. We can see this spirit in the work of Progressive educators like Hughes Mearns and more recently in the arguments of British educators, who have championed the causes of self-expression, creativity, and individualism in writing. Recent research on writing has tended to further this view, as it examines the unique processes of individual writers. Acceptance of a child-centered philosophy has done much to promote a developmental approach in the teaching of writing. At the same time it has been subject to certain hazards, especially the neglect of content (Eisner and Vallance, 1974); in their enthusiasm for composing processes, some have overlooked the subject matter (particularly to be found in literature) that informs and nourishes those processes. Additionally, the personal growth model has at times disregarded social and cultural aspects of learning. An emphasis on writing as a solitary activity has discouraged the building of a classroom writing community in which students collaborate, share, and interact with one another. The romantic position has also not fully taken into account the purposes which various cultural groups ascribe to writing (Heath, 1983); thus the writing tasks provided in classrooms have often been limited in terms of the range of content and experience which students may draw on to complete them successfully.

I am currently continuing my investigation of curriculum documents, historical accounts and descriptions of classroom teaching, and research on and theory of writing processes and instruction, so as to add to and clarify the understanding of these curricular influences.

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CURRICULUM PERSPECTIVES AND THE TEACHING OF WRITING/ LANGUAGE ARTS

ANGUAGE RTS CURRICULUM ODELS (Mandel[1])	GUIDING METAPHOR/ PRIMARY EMPHASES-writing	VIRTUES/ ADVANTAGES	LIMITATIONS HAZARDS	CONCEPTIONS OF CURRIC. (Eisner & Vallance[2])	SUBJECT TO FALLACY OF:	MANIFESTATIONS IN EDUCATION	CURRICULUM INTEREST GROUPS (Kliebard[3])	MAJOR FIGURES	UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES (Curric. Theory)
COMPETENCY-BASED	"Mastery" functional skills incremental learning	Definable skills & sequence Lends well to measurement	linear, mechanistic narrowly based	Curriculum as Technology	Formalism	Testing/ Accountability Behavioral objectives Vocational education	Social Efficiency	J.M. Rice D. Snedden	Scientific management Occupational, life skills
HERITAGE	subject matter acquisition grammar, formal rhetoric "Surrender"	Grounded in historical and cultural traditions	academic elitism, "top down" approach de-emphasis on personal knowledge	Academic Rationalism	Content	"Academic Excellence" Structure of the disciplines Emphasis on gifted	Humanist	Chas. Eliot Wm. Torrey Harris	Effort, Mental discipline Transmission of knowledge Cultural heritage
PROCESS-BASED	developmental: composing processes, imagination, meaning-making "Discovery"	Child-centered, stresses affective growth	overly romantic, neglects social and cultural contexts, subject matter	Self-Actualization/ Consummatory exper. Cognitive processes	Formalism	Teaching the "whole child" Open classrooms Individualization	Developmentalist	G.Stanley Hall Hughes Mearns	Interests of child Curriculum based on knowl. of developmental processes
				Social Reconstruction	Universalism	Arbitrary Groupings	Social Meliorist	L.F. Ward G.S. Counts	JOHN DEWEY

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WHAT CURRICULUM TEXTBOOK WRITERS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THEIR BOOKS: EXAMPLES FROM USA, UK & AUSTRALIA, 1949-1982

Colin J. Marsh

Paper to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History, San Francisco, April, 1986

WHAT CURRICULUM TEXTBOOK WRITERS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THEIR BOOKS : EXAMPLES FROM USA, UK & AUSTRALIA, 1949-1982

Colin J. Marsh

On the occasion of its Diamond Jubilee, various projects were undertaken and published for Kappan, including Harold Shane's[1] interesting survey of Professors of Curriculum, in which he obtained their ratings of significant writings published between 1906 and 1981. It is, of course, most important to get users' reactions to published writings, but there also seems to be a need for information about the motives, purposes and self-assessments by the authors themselves.

The research reported here resulted from a survey of authors still living who had published books on general curriculum in the USA, UK and Australia. The items included in the questionnaire attempted to elicit answers to such questions as:

Which curriculum books influenced you the most at the time you wrote your book?

Who were major leaders in curriculum at that time?

What were your major reasons for writing a book on curriculum?

In retrospect what aspects of your book would you have changed?

Have you made these revisions or changes in any subsequent book?

That is, these items and others in the questionnaire attempted to locate specific curriculum texts in a particular historical and cultural milieu. Questionnaire items were used to elicit comments about peer influences and societal pressures upon authors at particular historical periods in three different countries. In addition, the items sought out personal motives, expectations and disappointments associated with the writing and publishing of a curriculum text.

The sample of curriculum books included in the survey was small but based upon specific, common-sense criteria. An initial list of 50 general curriculum books was drawn up based upon those commonly cited in major curriculum journals. The next step was to delete from the list those books which did not satisfy the following criteria:

(a) The author(s) had to be still living. (One particular regret that the researcher had in this regard was that he was not able to contact Lawrence Stenhouse before his untimely death in November 1982).

(b) The book had to be written by one author or a maximum of three co-authors. Edited books and books of curriculum readings were deleted.

(c) The book had to focus on general curriculum principles, theories and practices. Books dealing with specialised subjects, or with teaching and learning in general, were also deleted.

The final list consisted of 25 curriculum books, comprising 12 books published in the USA (including one jointly authored), 8 from the UK (including one jointly authored) and 4 from Australia. As detailed in Tables 1 and 2, questionnaires were returned from the authors of 19 books (9 USA, 6 UK and 4 Australia).

Table 1. Date of Publication and Country of origin of Curriculum Books proposed for the sample

	USA	UK	Australia	Total
1940's	1	0	0	1
1950's	2	0	0	2
1960's	2	0	1	3
1970's	5	8	2	15
1980's	2	0	1	3
	12	8	4	24

(Titles not included because data not received back by cut-off date:

USA				
B.O. Smith, W.O. Stanley & J.H. Shores	*Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*	Harcourt Brace & World	1950	USA
G.A. Beauchamp	*Curriculum Theory*	Kagg Press	1961	USA
R.S. Zais	*Curriculum: Principles & Foundations*	Thomas & Crowell	1976	USA
UK				
A. & S.H. Nicholls	*Developing a Curriculum*	George Allen & Unwin	1972	UK
A.V. Kelly	*The Curriculum: Theory & Practice*	Harper & Row	1977	UK)

Table 2. Sample of books used as the data base for the study

R.W. TYLER, *Basic principles of curriculum and instruction,* University of Chicago, 1949, USA.

J.G. SAYLOR and W.M. ALEXANDER, *Planning curriculum for schools,* Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1954, USA.

R.C. DOLL, *Curriculum improvement,* 1964, USA.

D.K. WHEELER, *Curriculum process,* University of London Press, 1967, Australia.

P. HUGHES, *The teacher's role in curriculum design,* Angus & Robertson, 1973, Australia.

D. & L. TANNER, *Curriculum development,* Macmillan, 1975, USA.

D. LAWTON, *Class, culture and the curriculum,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975, UK.

D. JENKINS & M.D. SHIPMAN, *Curriculum: an introduction,* Open Books, 1976, UK.

H. SOCKETT, *Designing the curriculum,* Open Books, 1976, UK.

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E.W. EISNER, *The educational imagination,* Macmillan, 1979, USA.

P.W. MUSGRAVE, *Society and the curriculum in Australia,* Allen & Unwin, 1979, Australia.

F.P. HUNKINS, *Curriculum development,* Charles E. Merrill, 1980, USA.

C.J. MARSH, *Curriculum process in the primary school,* Ian Novak, 1980, Australia.

D. PRATT, *Curriculum: design and development,* Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1980, USA.

Books which had influenced the authors

The respondents listed many books which had influenced them at the time of writing their own book. In fact, some 37 titles were cited but several were mentioned frequently and these included:

H. Taba, *Curriculum Development* (1962)	13%
B.O. Smith, W.O. Stanley and J.H. Shores, *Fundamentals of curriculum development* (1950)	9%
R.W. Tyler, *Basic principles of curriculum and instruction* (1949)	8%
J. Dewey, *Democracy and education* (1916)	6%
H.S. Broudy, B.O. Smith & J.R. Burnett, *Democracy and excellence in American secondary education* (1964)	6%
H.L. Caswell & D.S. Campbell, *Curriculum development* (1935)	5%
J.S. Bruner, *The Process of education* (1960)	3%
B.S. Bloom (Ed.) *Taxonomy of educational objectives* (1956)	3%
M.F.D. Young (Ed.) *Knowledge and control* (1971)	3%

The first three books listed above were clearly the dominant ones, although it should be noted that the nine books in total accounted for 56% of the titles cited by the respondents. Although similar titles were listed in Shane's paper,[2] it is interesting to note that Tyler's book did not receive the highest number of mentions in this study. By contrast with those books written by Taba and by Smith, Stanley & Stores,[3] Tyler's book does not attempt to provide a comprehensive coverage of curriculum principles, preferring instead to explain a particular rationale in succinct, logical terms. It may be its brevity which relegated Tyler's book to a lower rating in this survey.

The totals for respondents do conceal some differences between countries and over different periods of time. For example, respondents from the United Kingdom cited Broudy, Smith & Burnett on four occasions and Smith, Stanley & Shores on one occasion. Tyler and Taba were only mentioned once by these respondents. The Australian respondents most frequently mentioned Taba (3 occasions) and Tyler (2 occasions). American respondents cited Smith, Stanley & Shores on 5 occasions, followed by Taba (4), Tyler (3) and Dewey (3).

If the authors of the 20 curriculum volumes are divided into two categories, 1940's - 1960's and 1970's - 1980's, the listings present a rather different picture, namely:

1940s - 1960s	Frequencies	1970s-1980s	Frequencies
Taba	3	Tyler	5
Dewey	2	Taba	5
Smith, Stanley & Shores	2	Smith, Stanley & Shores	4
Caswell & Campbell	2	Broudy, Smith & Burnett	3
		Bruner	2
		Young	2

It seems from this data that Hilda Taba's Curriculum development has been very influential in USA and Australia, and to a lesser extent in the UK. Further, her influence was considerable upon authors writing in the 1940's-1960's as well as those writing in the 1970's-1980's. Tyler's book Basic principles of curriculum and instruction has been very influential upon authors publishing during the 1970's-80's, both in the USA and Australia. Also noteworthy is the longevity of influence of Smith, Stanley & Shores Fundamentals of curriculum development. This is not surprising when one considers the detailed and comprehensive treatment given in their book to such topics as Social Diagnosis for Curriculum Development (Pt 1), Principles & Procedures of Curriculum Development (Pt 2), Patterns of Curriculum Organisation (Pt 3), Human Relations in Curriculum Development (Pt 4), and Theoretical Curriculum Issues (Pt 5), including follow-up questions, and readings, in a total of 685 pages!

It should be noted that a changing emphasis appears in the study data as revealed by the preferences given to M.F.D. Young's Knowledge and Control, an orientation toward cultural and political aspects of curriculum which also becomes evident in other questionnaire items, as described below.

Curriculum leaders who influenced the authors

Because leaders in the curriculum field may have been influential for other reasons than having published a general curriculum text, an item in the questionnaire sought out this information.

Respondents were requested to name up to five curriculum leaders who they considered had been most influential at the time they wrote their book. Although respondents listed a total of 45 colleagues, the ten most frequently cited, accounted for 43% of the total, and these were:

L. Stenhouse	7%
R.W. Tyler	6%
H. Taba	5%
J. Goodlad	4%
J. Schwab	4%
H. Caswell	4%
J. Bruner	4%
B.O. Smith	3%
E.W. Eisner	3%
J. McDonald	3%

It is evident from this list that many of these colleagues had established themselves as leaders in the field because of special undertakings, including directing successful curriculum projects (for example, Stenhouse - Humanities Curriculum Project) publishing seminal papers (for example, Schwab, Eisner), or directing major research studies (for example, Goodlad).

An analysis of the U.K. respondents revealed, not surprisingly, that Stenhouse was listed most frequently (on five occasions), followed by Tyler (4), Bruner (4) and Schwab (3). The Australian respondents showed less consensus among their 15 choices, with highest frequencies going to Stenhouse (2), Taba (2) and Hirst (2). The American respondents provided a list of 28 colleagues, and of these, Tyler (5), Caswell (4) and Goodlad (3) were cited the most frequently.

By dichotomising the respondents' listings according to the two time periods described earlier, namely the 1940's-60's and the 1970's-80's, the following picture emerges:

1940's-60's	Frequencies	1970's-80's	Frequencies
H. Caswell	4	L. Stenhouse	7
H. Taba	2	R.W. Tyler	6
R.W. Tyler	2	J. Bruner	5
		J. Schwab	4
		H. Taba	3
		E. Eisner	3

For those authors who produced their curriculum books during the 1940's-60's, the most influential colleague appears to have been Hollis Caswell. As the co-author of a widely used textbook, Curriculum development (1935), and various other publications (for example, The American High School [1946]), and in his later position as President of Columbia Teachers' College, New York, it is not unexpected that Caswell was mentioned most frequently. However, the small sample of authors who published during this period (4) tends to undervalue other names which were only mentioned once, including Charters, Herrick and Alberty.

Curriculum leaders who influenced those authors' writings during the 1970's and 80's included a longer and more diverse list. It is interesting to note that Tyler and Taba were influential in both periods but in the latter period, Tyler, as a curriculum leader, received double the citations accorded to Taba. This seems to reflect the point made earlier that Taba's book may have been more influential than Tyler's, but the leadership and direction provided by Tyler, in terms of quality and longevity, established him as the dominant curriculum figure over the period 1940's-80's.

Although Lawrence Stenhouse's book An introduction to curriculum research and development (1975) did not get a listing from respondents, he was clearly perceived to be a dominant curriculum leader in the United Kingdom and in Australia. This degree of support was possibly due to his involvement in several major curriculum development projects and to the research activities and leadership emanating from his Centre for Applied Research Studies (CARE) at the University of East Anglia.

Bruner was also listed as an important curriculum figure, even though his book Process of Education (1960) dealt with education issues in general and was not highly rated by respondents. Of particular importance to curriculum colleagues, was his emphasis upon concept learning and the discovery method, both of which he demonstrated through his writings and in at least one curriculum project (Man: A course of Study [MACOS]).

It was not surprising to note that Joseph Schwab and Elliot Eisner were also recognised as curriculum leaders by respondents from the 1970's and 1980's category. Schwab's essays on the need for a practical emphasis in curriculum have been widely cited and reflected upon in the UK and Australia, as well as in USA (including his much quoted statement that 'the field of curriculum is moribund'). Eisner's writings on curriculum evaluation, including his earlier papers on expressive objectives, have also established him as a major figure in these three countries.

Reasons given by authors for writing their respective curriculum texts

The reasons given by respondents for deciding to write a curriculum text appear to involve three major ones, even though six specific reasons are listed in Table 3. The dominant reason is listed as being a need to provide a more suitable, up-to-date text (No.1), but variations on the same point of view are also included in reasons No.3 and No.4. It is interesting to note that these latter two reasons were put forward by authors writing during the 1970's-80's but not by authors writing during the 1940's-60's.

A second major reason is related to the opportunity it gives an author to think through, develop and refine his/her ideas about curriculum. This reason was listed as the major reason by authors writing during the 1970's-80's but it was not mentioned at all by earlier curriculum writers in the sample. This difference between the two groups of authors perhaps reflects the later groups' concerns about the present state of the field of curriculum, even to the extent that some colleagues argue it is presently experiencing a paradigm shift. A subsidiary reason (No.6) indicates that some authors welcome the opportunity to develop their curriculum ideas by working collaboratively with others, either as co-authors, or by interacting informally in matters of mutual interest.

The third reason reveals very real personal needs related to authors' financial situations and to their teaching positions in colleges and universities. The pressures to publish are obviously very important in the present weakened academic climate and were expressed especially by respondents in the USA and the UK.

Aspects about their books that authors would/would not change

Because the majority of publishers require authors' drafts to be carefully reviewed and edited prior to publication, it is not unexpected that the most frequent reply by respondents to this question was that they wanted to make minor changes and update (Table 4). The only substantive changes that were given even moderate support were to increase the sections on "culture and cultural analysis"; and to add in extra sections on "curriculum design and planning". It is interesting to note that authors of the 1940's-60's period were the only respondents indicating a need to add to sections on "curriculum design" while authors writing during the 1970's-80's were the only respondents who replied that they wanted to enlarge their section on "cultural analysis". The differences in emphasis between the two groups reveals how the curriculum field has been evolving. Recent curriculum writers have been emphasising the cultural context of curriculum decision-making, and are questioning the hegemonic powers of curriculum planners. It might be expected, therefore, that authors with recently published volumes indicated their intentions of enlarging the cultural/political dimension sections of their respective texts.

The list of topics and emphases which authors indicated that they were not prepared to change, is given in Table 5. The most frequently cited statements seem to refer to a desire by authors to maintain a practical emphasis and to develop practical procedures for undertaking curriculum development activities. These statements seemed to loom larger in their minds than other considerations such as "maintaining a particular theoretical stance" or "maintaining their present writing style".

Actions (if any) authors have taken to make these changes in subsequent publications

Respondents provided several different replies to this question but they typically stated that a revision of the existing text was already scheduled (29%), or was being seriously considered (13%). Another 25% of the replies by respondents indicated that they had already incorporated their intended revisions in another curriculum volume, or in the case of some of the texts first published during the 1940's-60's, were included in subsequent editions (8%).

Table 3

Most frequently given reasons for writing a curriculum text

		Percentages
1.	Because no suitable text available/ up-to-date ideas needed.	15%
2.	Because it gave me a chance to work through and extend my ideas needed to crystallise my curriculum ideas.	13%
3.	Because no text available on paradigms and theories, scholarly and practical text needed.	9%
4.	Because no texts available which stressed classroom teachers' role in curriculum development.	9%
5.	Personal reasons - wanted the money, necessary to publish or perish.	9%
6.	Because it gave me an opportunity to do collaborative writing with colleagues.	7%

Table 4.

Most frequently cited aspects about their books that authors said they would change

	Percentages
1. I would modify some sections, provide up-to-date examples, eliminate inconsistencies.	41%
2. I would add extra sections on culture, cultural analysis, ideologies	11%
3. I would add extra sections on curriculum design, planning.	8%

Table 5.

Most frequently cited aspects about their books that authors said they would not change

1. I would not change the curriculum process framework.	20%
2. I would not change the practical emphasis, practical examples for teachers.	20%
3. I would not change the broad, macro approach to curriculum issues and problems.	12%
4. I would not change the theoretical position I develop in the book.	8%
5. I would not change the language level, difficulty level at which the book is pitched.	8%

Only a small percentage of the respondents indicated that they would not be following up with revisions to their existing text (13%). The majority appear to be well satisfied with market reactions to their respective books. The respondents also appear to be very productive and involved in numerous on-going publication endeavours.

Authors of curriculum books, especially if they are used widely at tertiary level, can have a major impact upon the direction and scope of the curriculum field. To some degree the authors mirror in their works the changes in emphasis which are occurring around them. On some occasions, individual authors are able to initiate and develop new and very different orientations to the curriculum field. This study noted that several new emphases are occurring in recent curriculum texts, but that the majority of topics and themes have endured for a period of over four decades.

NOTES

1. * H.G. Shane "Significant writings that have influenced the Curriculum 1906-81", Phi Delta Kappan, Jan.1981, 62, 5.

2. * *Ibid.*, pp.311-312.

3. * W.H. Schubert, Curriculum Books, the first eighty years. University Press of America, 1980, p.330, refers to these books as encyclopaedic, synoptic texts which have dominated curriculum writing for several decades.

CHOOSING TEXAS TEXTBOOKS

Paper presented at the 10th Annual Meeting of the
Society for the Study of Curriculum History

Washington, DC
April 19-20, 1987

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CHOOSING TEXAS TEXTBOOKS

I want to begin by thanking Craig Kridel for the invitation to address this gathering; I am a proud member of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History and appreciate the opportunity to take part in this 10th annual meeting.

My time is brief, and in addition to sharing some information and insights, I hope to leave a few minutes for discussion. The information and insights come from my recently completed dissertation related to choosing Texas textbooks (Marshall, 1986). I've decided to share with you, today, two aspects of that research that seem most appropriate for this group: its basic design and several phenomena it uncovered that might be worth a further look.

WANTING TO KNOW WHAT'S HAPPENING

Everyone with an interest in textbooks, it seems, has a story to tell about the Texas textbook selection and adoption process. It's hard to teach school in Texas or do graduate work in Curriculum & Instruction at U.T. Austin (both of which I did) without wondering about the "inside story" of how textbooks make it into Texas schools. It's an interesting question.

Actually, much can be found in "the literature" pertaining to textbook selection/adoption, but few actual studies of state level textbook decisionmaking systems exist. I began to consider proposing such a study of the Texas system as a dissertation topic. As my reading continued, my major professor, O.L. Davis, Jr., suggested that I interview persons who had taken part in the process as a way to better acquaint myself with the system's parameters and complexities. I did.

At some point, I admitted that a formal investigation of Texas' textbook process as it unfolded would take a small army of researchers, large amounts of money, and more than a year's intensive labor. So much for my dissertation idea. No wonder such studies are rare. But the process could be investigated, albeit not easily, historically! So that's what I decided to do.

FINDING THE HANDLE OF THE PAST

Mine was an historical attempt at "mapping the field." Data sources included archival materials, surveys, and oral history interviews. The conceptual framework was borrowed from Mazzoni & Campbell's (1976) study of "influentials" in state policymaking. Methodologically, my work was qualitative, emphasizing inductive analysis, description, and the study of people's perceptions; theoretically, it was grounded in the notion of "politics" and guided by two overarching questions: 1) How were textbooks evaluated?, and 2) What was the nature and extent of influence on textbook decisionmakers?

The design was necessarily reflective of systems theory; that is, I had to be able to "see" this phenomenon as a set or series of discrete parts before I would be able to investigate its parts. I began by defining the Texas textbook selection and adoption process as a series of three distinct phases. In Phase One, the State Textbook Committee (STC) evaluated a host of books and arrived at selection decisions (a list of books). In Phase Two, Texas Education Agency (TEA) personnel screened texts on the STC lists. In Phase Three, members of the State Board of Education (SBE) formally adopted books for use in the state's schools. On the plus side, identifying these phases provided me with workable parameters; on the minus side, they prevented me from looking at external or seemingly unrelated events. Of course, the "systems" approach brings its own conceptual and theoretical assumptions with it as well. But it served its purpose at the time.

My next problem had to do with participants. I needed to determine who took part and who, among that group, were the important or "key participants." I settled on two groupings: Decisionmakers (members of the STC, members of the SBE, and TEA personnel) and Non-decisionmakers (textbook publishers and textbook petitioners -- also known as protesters). While these groupings provided me with a finite, identifiable set of major players, they also eliminated many important participants (e.g., those who served as advisors to STC and SBE members and actually did most of the actual reading of the books). Another trade-off I accepted in the name of "doability."

Early interviews with former participants representing all of the above-mentioned sub-groups led me to realize that, although I now had a picture of the process and its actors, I still had no focus. For example, as many as a dozen or more content areas are slated to receive new books each year in Texas; some books have a more difficult trip through the process than others, stakes are different at different times for different publishers, and the dollar value of the potential sale might have a lot to do with things, too. In an attempt to bring focus to the study, I elected to target a single book or series submitted for adoption in a single year (e.g., high school economics in 1981). This decision provided me with a number of advantages. For example, it isolated respondents from the publishing field as well as those who protested that text during that year's selection and adoption proceedings, and it guided my archival work.

I recognized the need to investigate multiple cases and had decided, based on a number of conceptual and methodological considerations, to randomly select three years (between 1961 - 1981) and purposively select a focal book/series from each of those years. However, few textbook publishers were eager to participate and, in the end, my three cases were determined by certain publishers' willingness to discuss their activities and perceptions openly and honestly when promised both confidentiality and anonymity. From that point on, it was a matter of collecting, organizing, analyzing, and interpreting my data.

I have attempted, above, to present a very broad overview of the major design components that went into my study of the Texas textbook selection and adoption process. All of the key participants in each of the cases selected were surveyed and/or interviewed and those data, coupled with each case's pertinent archival data, served as the foundation for my analyses and conclusions regarding the politics of Texas textbook decisionmaking. I have written about those findings elsewhere (Marshall, 1987a & 1987b) and would prefer, here, to briefly conclude with some insights I gained from this study that seem, to me, especially appropriate to those interested in curriculum history.

HOW HISTORY CAN DIRECT FUTURE STUDIES

I realize, now, as my dissertation ages, that at least three phenomena might be worthy of further study. The first pertains to the relative importance of consumer psychology as it affects the acquisition of textbooks. I made what I feel was an amazing discovery during my interviews with publishers that begs further attention. In each of the three cases I studied, publishers claimed that they were able to predict -- almost to the book -- which five texts/series would be selected by the STC members. Given that those five "winners" are sometimes selected from a collection of more than a dozen competing texts/series, what does this say about predictable behavior? What does it say about publishers' knowledge regarding packaged curricula? And what does it tell us about textbook committees -- or educators in general?

A second insight struck me which might also stem from consumer psychology, although it seems more directly related to marketing strategies. Again I saw, across cases, that textbook decisionmakers had stronger memories (typically positive) of publishers and their presentations than of the actual wares being represented. Can it be that textbook decisions are made, even in part, based upon the personality of a textbook's representative and/or the attractiveness of her or his textbook display or presentation? Here, too, I believe that textbook publishers know a great deal more about how textbooks are selected than we educators do.

A third phenomenon I encountered also relates to social psychology and raises some interesting questions. I discovered a rather intricate web of networks that come into play, at least in Texas, whenever the state adopts new textbooks. These networks exist not only within groups (e.g., STC members contact former STC members and petitioners work with other petitioners) but between the groups (e.g., publishers know TEA personnel, petitioners contact SBE members, and TEA people receive suggestions for STC members). In other words, there appears to be a strong "textbook culture" that is not readily available for surface study. What do perennial petitioners like the Gablers, or veterans from the TEA like J. W. Edgar, or long-time SBE leaders like Joe Kelly Butler, or seasoned publishers like James Squire know about this textbook culture and how might that information aid our profession? How does this culture affect the efficacy of a system built on the tenet that three bodies make independent judgements about textbooks? Are networks flying in the face of educational policy and curriculum quality?

I'm afraid my time is short, and I do want to invite discussion. I hope I've left no doubt of my respect for curriculum history and the important role it can play in the study of how textbooks get into schools. I'm anxious to do some further snooping. Thank you.

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SCIENTISM, MECHANISM AND THE 'BLUEPRINTING' OF CHILDREN FOR CITIZENSHIP:
THE SOCIAL EDUCATION THEORIES OF CHARLES C. PETERS
- REPORT ON RESEARCH -

by
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A Paper Read Before
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Isaiah Berlin wrote: "...the first step to understanding of men is the bringing to consciousness of the model or models that dominate and penetrate their thought and action...the second task is to analyze the model itself, and this commits the analyst to accepting or modifying or rejecting it, and in the last case, to providing a more adequate one in its stead." (Berlin, 1962, p. 19) The following pages describe research we are conducting on a model of social studies education developed by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977).

In a number of papers and publications (e.g. 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, and 1983 a & b), social studies theorists Barr, Barth and Shermis have set forth and sought to defend the claim that three basic rationales of social studies teaching have operated historically in the United States since the turn of the century: a) social studies as citizenship transmission; b) social studies as social science education; and, c) social studies as the teaching of reflective inquiry. (see Appendix) They further argue that while the reflective inquiry approach was given much lip service over the years, beneath it operated a positivist impositional approach to social education that dominated social studies teaching. We feel that Peters demonstrated a strong penchant for positivist interpretation, however his work cannot be dismissed so easily (unless many of the key figures Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) include within their three rationales are also jettisoned from the model). And finally, (we believe) Barr, Barth and Shermis accept a Dewey-Kilpatrick "reflective inquiry" foundational view as relatively more adequate in describing social studies teaching historically.

In earlier writings (Stanley & Maxcy, 1984; Maxcy & Stanley, 1986; and Maxcy, 1987) we have criticized the Barr, Barth and

Shermis for their treatment of Harold Rugg and his brand of reconstructionism; for confusing meanings of 'positivism' as they critiqued historic social educators, and finally, for blurring the role of problem and problem-solving in social studies education viewed historically. The present research in progress explores the scientism, mechanism and common sense social education theories of Charles Clinton Peters against the explanatory backdrop of the Barr, Barth and Shermis model with particular reference to notions of "blueprints for citizenship," indoctrination, and the role of the teacher in social education.

Our interest in the Peters case grew out of an anomalous situation in which a) Peters' work was not included in the Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) critique; and, b) an investigation into Peters' contributions seemed to place him within all three of Barr, Barth and Shermis's discrete rationales. The questions then emerged: Why was Peters work overlooked by Barr, Barth and Shermis? Why did his theories fail to fit the model? Could it be that their model was faulty?

The research methods used in our study consisted of textual analysis (historical and philosophical) and were fairly conventional. A rather loose structuralist view piloted our efforts to explain anomaly. We made extensive use of the Barr, Barth and Shermis writings; handled the publications and letters of Charles Clinton Peters; and, read a number of contemporary pieces by William H. Kilpatrick, Franklin Bobbitt, and others.

The first duty we felt obligated to fulfill was to construct a case for Charles C. Peters' importance as a social studies education theorist. This was done in several ways. We discovered a significant body of books and articles by Peters in the field of social studies education. A large funded study of democratic citizenship education, conducted by Peters, seemed to place him above the rank and file social education theorist of his day. And correspondence between Peters and officials at the University of Miami revealed that Peters considered his contributions significant enough to bargain for a teaching/administrative post with positive results. (see Appendix) But, most significantly, it was criticisms by William H. Kilpatrick in the Journal of Educational Sociology (4,(5), January, 1931) and a Kilpatrick sponsored dissertation by William L. Patty (A study of Mechanism in Education: An Examination of the Curriculum-Making Devices of Franklin Bobbitt, W.W. Charters, and C.C. Peters (Teachers College, Columbia, 1938)) that elevated Peters' contributions in our minds. The criticisms of Peters' work by Kilpatrick and Patty wedged Peters into the most significant debates over social education in the first half of the twentieth century.

Our research efforts to date have focused on the following issues: a) Peters conception of citizenship education ("blueprints for social efficiency"); b) the role of the teacher in social studies education (indoctrination v. reflective inquiry); and, c) the sub-question of who sets the problem in social studies education. While research continues, it is possible at this juncture to advance some tentative generalizations: We find that Peters' anomalous status in the Barr, Barth and Shermis model is at least in part warranted by Peters own confusing positions on central issues of social studies education theory, his ambiguous use of concepts central to social education theory, and his willingness to expropriate key ideas and trends in social education and to use them as slogans in his own program.

Peters theories find him participating in all three of Barr, Barth and Shermis's (1977) rationales. When we look at Peters' curricular theory, it is clearly an expression of the citizenship transmission approach. Students are to be given "blueprints" for proper future roles in democratic society. The skills of democratic citizenship are arrived at by social science surveys and statistical analysis. The mechanical engineer provides the prototype for the social educator in Peters' view. However, when we look more closely at Peters theories, we find him embracing the postulate that reflection must be taught as well. Here then, Peters seems to fit the reflective inquiry rationale ala' Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977). Finally, the blueprints are provided by social science. Surveys are to be conducted which will indicate the requisite skills needed for citizenship. Peters high regard for social science research and statistical method places him in the third rationale - social studies as social science.

During his career, Peters shifted his position on many of the key issues in social studies education. Early on he believed that the students in cooperation with the teacher ought to set the problems for study. Later he modified his view, calling for teachers with the agreement of administrators to select social studies curricular problems. On the issue of whether the teacher ought to indoctrinate or not, Peters shifts his opinion over the years. Peters preceded Counts in calling for indoctrination of children in schools, but his definition did not square with what Kilpatrick and Counts seemed to have in mind in their debates in the 1930's. (Sorenson, 1985) At one time he advocated indoctrinating by the teacher (by which he had in mind a kind of behavior modification), however late in his career he was campaigning against indoctrination of any sort (although his definition appears to have shifted to the more conventional meaning by then).

Allying himself with Bobbitt, Charters and the Ruggs, Peters seems to have seen himself in opposition to Kilpatrick and Bode. Assertive and willing to take a risk as to what students needed to be taught to function in the future, he adopts mechanisms of 'preadjustment,' and 'prepreparation' and commits himself to secure plans or "blueprints" for future social roles. His overly heavy reliance on science and statistics separated him from many of the more progressive pioneers, but he never ceased referring to himself as a "progressive," comparing his objectives to those of John Dewey. Kilpatrick rightly criticized Peters for never understanding his own metaphysics. Peters seemed willing to borrow ideas from other theories of social education, modifying them to fit his scheme and objectives, and then imposing select "scientifically derived" citizenship behaviors on school children in the name of preadjustments to future adult life problems. (Interestingly, Peters once again early captured a term, 'adjustment,' that would have profound influence on the education community, although carrying a different meaning).

Finally, we believe that Peters himself would not accept Barr, Barth and Shermis's (1977) model of the social studies as descriptive of his work. On the other hand, given the reflective inquiry bias that seems to prevail in the Barr, Barth and Shermis view, it is likely that Kilpatrick would have accepted their characterization of social education and Peters role in it. We believe that Peters historic contribution to social education and its impact on curriculum and teaching in the 1930's and 1940's has been grossly neglected. We feel that this is in part owing to the lack of sensitivity in the Barr, Barth and Shermis model. Our research into Charles Clinton Peters views, prompts us to argue that what is required is a re-thinking of the historic tradition (Dewey/Kilpatrick reflective inquiry) that has defined social education theorizing in the past (particularly as it supports the Barr, Barth and Shermis model). The new search is as much a search for better models of characterization as it is new factual matters. We believe, as Berlin first stated it, that finding it inadequate, we should be critical of the old model, "...modifying or rejecting...and...providing a more adequate one in its stead."

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Appendix 1

FIGURE 1
THE THREE SOCIAL STUDIES TRADITIONS

	1	2	3
	Social Studies Taught as Citizenship Transmission	Social Studies Taught as Social Science	Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry
Purpose	Citizenship is best promoted by inculcating right values as a framework for making decisions	Citizenship is best promoted by decision making based on mastery of social science concepts, processes, and problems.	Citizenship is best promoted through a process of inquiry in which knowledge is derived from what citizens need to know to make decisions and solve problems.
Method	Transmission: Transmission of concepts and values by such techniques as textbook, recitation, lecture, question and answer sessions, and structured problem-solving exercises	Discovery: Each of the social sciences has its own method of gathering and verifying knowledge. Students should discover and apply the method that is appropriate to each social science.	Reflective Inquiry: Decision making is structured and disciplined through a reflective inquiry process which aims at identifying problems and responding to conflicts by means of testing insights.
Content	Content is selected by an authority interpreted by the teacher and has the function of illustrating values, beliefs, and attitudes.	Proper content is the structure, concepts, problems, and processes of both the separate and the integrated social science disciplines.	Analysis of individual citizen's values yields needs and interests which, in turn, form the basis for student self-selection of problems. Problems, therefore, constitute the content for reflection.

*From Barr, R.D., Barth, J.L. and Shermis, S.S. Defining the Social Studies. Bulletin 51. Arlington, VA.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977, p. 67.

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Appendix 2.

OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
DELAWARE OHIO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF
ARTHUR R. MEAD, PH. D.
CHARLES C. PETERS, PH. D.
HUBERT W. NUTT, PH. D.
LUTHER J. [illegible] M. A.
HELEN V. [illegible] M. A.
GEORGE E. [illegible] M. A.
DAVID B. SMITH M. A.
[illegible] A. [illegible] B. A.

LABORATORY SCHOOLS
DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL
KILBOURNE OHIO
CO-OPERATIVE STUDENT-TEACHING CENTERS
RADNOR OHIO
COLUMBUS OHIO
DEPARTMENTAL SECRETARY
[illegible]

May 25, 1926.

Mr. B.F.Ashe,
University of Miami,
Miami, Florida.

Dear Mr. Ashe:-

In your letter of April 7th you said you would try to stop to see me when in the North. Since it is now so near the time for me to start on my summer trip to the University of California, I am afraid I shall not get to see you before leaving here. Hence I am taking the liberty to write this.

After receiving your letter I hoped you might see fit to take me on the teaching staff of the University of Miami when organizing your faculty. I have been approached by the University of North Dakota and by Battle Creek College but would much prefer to go to Miami if there is an opportunity, and hence shall try to slow up negotiations at North Dakota and Battle Creek until I shall have had time to hear from you.

As a basis for your consideration let me give a summary of my academic history. The printed part is clipped from the Ohio Wesleyan catalog.

Charles Clinton Peters, M.A., Ph.D., *Professor of Education.*
110 Montrose Ave.
B.A., Lebanon Valley, 1905; M.A., Harvard, 1910; Ph.D., Pennsylvania, 1916; Professor of Classical Languages and Mathematics, Clarksburg, 1906-07; Professor of Philosophy and Education, Westfield, 1907-11, (Dean 1910-11); Dean and Professor of Philosophy and Education, Lebanon Valley, 1911-13; Superintendent of Schools, Royersford, (Pa.), 1913-16; Instructor in Education, Lehigh, 1916-17; Assistant Professor of Education, Ohio Wesleyan, 1917-19; Associate Professor, 1919-20; Professor, 1920-

In addition I have taught in the summer sessions of Pennsylvania State College, Ohio State University, West Virginia University, the University of Kansas and the University of California, two summers in each of the last three. Also worked a half year on the Inter-church World Survey on curriculum research.

The following are my principal publications:

BOOKS.

HUMAN CONDUCT, published by the MacMillan Company, 1918.
FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, MacMillan Company, 1924.
MEASURING THE MERIT OF TEXT BOOKS, George H. Doran, 1925.
(This last is part of the Indiana Survey report).

Principal Articles in Educational Journals.

"A New Technique for Computing Accomplishment Quotients on the High School and College Level", to be published in the June number of the Journal of Educational Research.
"Influence of the Home on the Aesthetic Education of Children", Journal of Applied Sociology, Nov. 1923.
"The Influence of Speed Drills on Silent Reading", Journal of

OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
DELAWARE OHIO

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

INSTRUCTIONAL
STAFF

ARTHUR R. MEAD, PH. D.
CHARLES C. PETERS, PH. D.
[illegible] W. HUTT, PH. D.
LUTHER J. BENNETT, M. A.
HELEN V. CORBETT, M. A.
GEORGE E. THURSTON, M. A.
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BERNICE A. O'BRIANT, B. A.

LABORATORY SCHOOLS

DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL
ELLSWORTH OHIO
CO-OPERATIVE STUDENT-TEACHING
CENTERS
MARION OHIO
COLUMBUS OHIO

DEPARTMENTAL SECRETARY
ESTHER C. FEAD

Educational Psychology, June , 1917.
Others in the Pedagogical Seminary, School and Society, Ohio State University Research Bulletin, Educational Administration and Supervision, Education, the Monist, and other journals.

If you wish to see my principal books, Human Conduct and Foundations of Educational Sociology, I shall be glad to send you a copy of each with my compliments. It may be worthwhile to say that my Human Conduct is used as a text book in a number of the high schools of Florida, including Tampa.

Since 1923 I have been secretary of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology and also secretary of the Ohio Society of College Teachers of Education. Besides these I am a member of the American Association of University Professors, the National Educational Research Association, the National Society of College Teachers of Education, the American Sociological Society, and a number of others. I shall be listed in the forthcoming volume of Who's Who in America (due about June 1st).

I should like to be considered for the Deanship of the College of Liberal Arts or of the Teachers College, preferably the former. If these places are closed, I might consider a professorship in Psychology or Education. But I believe I could render my best service in the deanship of the College of Liberal Arts. My experience, and especially my many summer contacts, have enabled me to observe and work with college administration in varied circumstances. My training in Education has made the study of the improvement of teaching and of school administration my continual business and my special field within Education - Educational Sociology - is centered entirely upon the question of making the school and college curriculum and teaching procedures meet the needs of present-day society. That is, the science of Educational Sociology is a kind of science of Educational Engineering. Also while most other men in my special field have been studying the high school and elementary school curriculum, my own researches have been turned more largely upon the problems of college education. I believe, therefore, that I could render to the University of Miami a genuinely scientific and constructive service in the deanship of the College of Liberal Arts.

If a deanship is not open to me, but an ordinary professorship is, I should prefer to take it tentatively for a year while holding open my place here at Ohio Wesleyan for my return if Miami did not prove to offer a first class opportunity. Since I shall anyway be on Sabbatical leave of absence from here next year, that could easily be done. Under those circumstances I should prefer to take only half time work and half pay, or full time work during half of the year, so that I could do some writing the rest of the time. However I could take full work for the year if necessary.

But I should much prefer to have a deanship with the prospect of organizing the college on the basis of the best that is now known among students of the science of education, cut loose entirely from my present moorings, and throw myself enthusiastically into the great Miami development.

I shall give you the names of some educators of national reputation who know me and from whom you can get confidential information regarding me.

Dr. A.Duncan Yocum, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Dean R.A.Schwegler, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
Professor David Snedden, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.
Dean W.S.Athearn, School of Religious Education, Boston
University, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Frank P. Graves, President of the University of the State
of New York, Albany N.Y. (State Commissioner of Ed.)
Dean W.W.Kemp, School of Education, University of California,
Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. J.N.Deahl, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
Prof. L.J.Bennett, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

I shall leave here for California the morning of June 8th and arrive at Los Angeles June 26th., traveling by auto. Mail will be forwarded to me on the way , but if you write me during that interval, better address me both at Delaware and Carson City ~~at~~ the University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, on account of the possibility of mail being lost when forwarded to me while enroute. Please note that there are two institutions in Los Angeles with names much alike, so that the name should be used as given above.

Very truly yours,

Charles C. Peters

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have had no science of sociology ade-
our educational endeavors. The weak-
al practice in this respect may be noted
otably in the curriculum, in the school
inistration and supervision, and in the
results in educational procedure.

hese various aspects of education has
Practically nothing has been done in
Miss Strang, in the September number
urnal of Sociology, has summarized the
ntelligence as follows:

> ," which is frequently defined as "ability to deal
> aspects, not necessarily related—the knowledge
> onal aspect. Measurements of these two aspects
> (1) paper and pencil tests to measure knowledge,
> ons used as tests, rating scales, questionnaires,
> scertain the extent to which an individual reacts
> ssesses certain skills or traits judged to be useful
> There is need for testing further the reliability
> e measures and for improving those which seem
> n differentiating the individual who can get along
> from the one who lacks this ability.

have had some contributions in curriculum
ch have taken into account sociological fac-
e being Rugg's reconstruction of the social
most part this aspect has been completely

f the development of education must take
nt of these scientific sociological factors i
an education that conforms to modern socia
s provides great possibilities in the field of
tional sociology for the future.

Appendix 3.

HIDDEN PHILOSOPHIES[1]

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

t one see the deeper implications of his thinking? man may think extensively and even fruitfully on a level and yet not take account of the presuppositions underlie his conclusions is a fact well established. If presuppositions in their proper bearings are found to in one definite direction, the whole may be called a sophy. If an author does not know about the philos- thus present, it may well be called hidden.

hese thoughts have been brought forcibly to mind in ction with a new book on "civic education" which I been asked to review.[2] Two considerations brought this article rather than an ordinary review: on the hand the apparent inconsistencies between professed y and an actual curriculum outcome; on the other the tionable implications of the professed theory.

y book on "civic education" must be judged in part by ecial system it tends to support. It is here most of all presuppositions must be considered. The more one s about it the more it seems clear that any educational ry consistently wrought and applied will have conse- s to the social *status quo*. One theory may facilitate, y or unconsciously, a control by the few over the by upholding a general education in and for docility quiescence. Another may seek by indoctrination and ching of taboos to fix in the youthful and (relatively) s minds lasting attitudes along some chosen line, say fense of a cult or in antagonism to democracy or capi- Still another may teach a thoroughgoing and open- d study and criticism of all that concerns man, with

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d by agreement simultaneously in the *Educational Outlook* (University of) and *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (New York University).
Peters, *Objectives and Procedures in Civic Education. An Intensive Making* (New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Com- x + 202.

Journal of Educational Sociology, 4,5, Oct., 1930.

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the correlative implication that the remaking of thought and behavior patterns in obedience to such study is normal and proper. How far consistent theory and school can go along the road of results may be debated, but that there is a direction of influence seems clear.

The professed theory of the book under review we wish especially to study because it is a theory widely held in this country, particularly among those who hope to make education into "a science." We may thank Professor Peters for stating it so clearly. The implications are thereby the more easily seen. These implications cut very deep into life, so deep that we must postpone their "civic" bearings while we study their more fundamental bearings on experience narrowly considered.

This professed theory may be stated in general terms as follows: "Science" is even now establishing a "new education." The new plan and bases are analogous to those of mechanical engineering. Life and our world of affairs is the kind of thing that can in time—granted probable increase of knowledge—be foretold with fair accuracy. Man as a behaving organism can, also in fair probability, become similarly well known. So that we can expect to be able to foretell with sufficient accuracy the "preadjustments" man will need in this about-to-be-foretold world of affairs. In this view of life, the problems and uncertainties will gradually be solved by the capable few and the solutions as "preadjustments" be taught to the many. This is to be the "new education." Science is here put forward as all inclusive. The bearings of the underlying and conditioning presuppositions of the theory seem hardly if at all sensed. Curriculum making becomes on this basis a social engineering, a blue printing of whatever may be decided (by the same few) to be appropriate (for the same many).

That this is in fact the theory put forward by the author as the basis for the book seems clear from many explicit statements. In a chapter on "the meaning of education" we find (p. 21) a section on "education as social engineering." Note these key sentences and the spirit they breathe. "The engineer first plans the object he wishes to make." "He sets up his plan in the form of a detailed blue print." "After he has perfected his blue print in every detail, his next step is to have the plan embodied in concrete materials." Note here for later use the words, "has perfected his blue print in every detail." And see how the illustrations of what is dealt with exclude any regard for self-directing personalities—"the bridge, the electric transformer, the railroad bed," all entirely physical, all completely under outside control. "Now," says the author, "precisely the same procedure characterizes the new education." And he goes on to tell (pp. 21-23) how the "educational engineer" will determine subject matter and method by "scientific experiment" "on the measured outcome of scientifically controlled parallel-group experimentation." Note throughout the scientific exactness of every procedure. We are dealing with practical certainties.

Throughout this presentation as the correlative of exact procedures the author thinks consistently in terms of exactly foretold wants. For such an education with its "almost unlimited potentialities," "we need only know what is wanted and, given time enough and sufficiently intelligent purposiveness, we can supply it within any reasonable degree." And the conclusion in blackfaced type: "In order therefore to plan a functioning education we need to know what the preadjustments are the individuals in question will need." "This necessitates blue printing the outcomes we want, just as the mechanical engineer blue prints the house or the electric transformer he wishes to build" (p. 26). And elsewhere (p. 23) the words pregnant with social implication: "The only factor that can curtail this unqualified control over the future conduct of the educand, and that can impair the force of our guarantee to meet specifications, is imperfect engineering." And the discussion recognizes no permanent or inherent imperfection in the engineering.

From the foregoing we get the following reasonably implied characteristics of this theory: (a) Education is fairly analogous to mechanical engineering. (b) We can know the child's future and his future needs in the same sense that the engineer knows the needs which the house or the electric transformer are to meet and in much the same degree. Blue printing is an equal possibility in both cases. (c) The child is the kind of material to be molded to suit our wishes in the same sense that the house-building materials are at the disposal of the engineer. Or at least, the molding in the one case is analogous to molding in the other case. The one is now already exact, the other can become so. Psychologically and ethically the two cases are parallel and analogous. (d) It is reasonable to expect that the new "science of education" will by sufficient procedures tell us precisely (a) what "preadjustments" the child will need and (b) how to get them. The fact that many educators as above suggested accept substantially the presuppositions here made, makes it all the more important that we examine into their validity. Of the four characterizing features above listed the middle two, foretelling the future and molding the child to our will, contain the crucial presuppositions. The other two follow in greater or less degree from these.

Can the future be foretold? Consider life, experience, the on-going stream of human events. Can this be foretold in the way needed by the theory under consideration? Is this stream such that thinking can exhaust its possibilities? Shall we in time become able to foretell what difficult situations the child will later meet so as to be able to provide him in advance with "preadjustments" to fit them? Or may it be objected that "preadjustment" is not the right term or concept to use. Considering life as we know it, are "preadjustments" the way of meeting it? Do we not rather need an intelligent grappling with events as they come? Could any aggregate of such "preadjustments" (contrived by somebody else's prechoice and predecision) without intelligent readaptation enable one to grapple with life's succession of difficulties? Do we not need to consider the life process more closely and see wherein and how it can and cannot be foretold? And accordingly wherein and how its successive situations can or cannot be met on the "preadjustment" theory?

To any one who looks with open eyes, life presents an on-going stream of novelly developing events. In each such event we shall recognize familiar elements, many such frequently recur. Two parts or aspects or elements we must then recognize in life, the novel and the recurring. If we consider the stream of events more closely, we can see that it is a "one-way" affair. Time always goes forward. What has been once done can never be undone. And if we consider the *total* content of the stream, no one cross section ever exactly repeats a preceding. In very literalness each successive total content of experience is novel.

Now what about foretelling? For one thing the continuance of the recurring elements can be foretold better than can the events in which they will figure. That my chair will be here to sit in for a good while to come is fairly certain. How long I shall sit in it much less so. The telephone may ring at any minute. In general the simpler the recurrent element the surer can its future conduct be foretold, in uncertainty man ranking highest. As regards events, the longer in general the interval of prediction the greater uncertainty as to detail. Also the more complex the situation, the greater in general the uncertainty of prediction. Putting together all we know, it seems reasonable to say that if we disregard total contents and fix attention on chosen and limited features, some events, as the needs of food, clothing, shelter, etc., we can foretell with fair certainty. But these had to be consciously limited before we could foretell them. When I shall become hungry, how hungry, where I shall be, what food will be available, how it will be cooked, who else will be there, what will be said, etc.,—if we consider the *total* content we can foretell the future hardly if at all. In the stream of time the recurrent elements are always present but they swim along in more or less abiding but still ever-shifting combinations within the waters of uncertainty.

What then do we conclude about fore-preparing or "preadjusting"? In any precise sense it must in general be limited to the recurrent elements. It can be applied to events as such only in very limited degree. The farther we can get from man the better will preparing—in the sense of devising precise procedures in advance—apply; namely, best of all in dealing by machinery with nonliving matter, the ordinary manufacturing. Among human affairs we can best prepare in advance with the simplest elements, as spelling or the mechanics of typewriting, in which individual choice has little or no place. Beyond these, preparation in the sense of preadjustment is less and less possible the more complex the recurrent element dealt with. *Always, however, preadjustment is to an element not to a whole (typical) situation or event.* This means then that preadjustment is (in general) limited to those activities which we expect to use as tools or means in dealing thoughtfully with a novelly developing situation.

We come thus to dealing with the unpredictable, with the novelly developing event. A very simple case will perhaps serve for all. I am walking north. As I am about to cross an east-and-west street I see a motor car that looks as if it might swing into my street. I pause to see. It continues south. I then walk on. Here I could not have planned my walking in advance because I did not know about the motor car; and when I saw it, I had to adapt my movements to the development of its program.

In this instance there are many recurring elements which I know, principally for present purposes the street arrangement and motor-car movements. Walking, recognition of streets, and of motor-car movements I had prepared in advance. I had learned these in such a way that I could use them as instrumental elements in dealing with such a situation as that described. But I had to contrive on the spot, in terms of things then occurring, my plan of action. Both in contriving and in executing I used tool procedures prepared in advance by means of which I could so contrive and execute. Preadjustment holds then of instrumental unit-element adjustment procedures but not of the inclusive plan of action. For dealing with the novelly developing, plans (except as possible construction units) cannot be made in advance. The actual working plan must be made at the time as the novel situation develops itself. The process of actual contriving as the situation develops to view is thinking (in any proper sense of that term). What we need then as preparation for dealing with the novel and unpredictable is thought materials (concepts, etc.) and a stock of instrumental unit procedures from which selection can be made as necessity demands. But this is not "preadjustment." For the novelly developing situation preadjustment in any inclusive sense is impossible.

We are now prepared to say why we reject Professor Peters's professed theory. The future cannot be "blue printed"—never can be in the sense demanded by the theory. "Preadjustment" in that sense is impossible. No educational theory based on prepared in advance, ready-to-use, preadjusted solutions can take care of the life we live. Life in any sense that interests us, even the humblest of us "allowed to go around loose," consists of a stream of novelly developing events, with many recurrent elements to be sure, and we have to deal with these novel situations each on the basis of intelligent grappling at the time. Using unit elements prepared beforehand, yes; using suggested plans made by experts, yes; but at every significant juncture each must contrive for himself as best he can, how he will meet the situation confronting him. If we are to meet life successfully, we have to meet it intelligently. And that means that the remaking of old patterns of all sorts is a never-ending affair. Preadjustment, no, impossible. Remaking patterns, yes, continually.

Suppose the preadjustment theory were accepted as the dominant educational program, what would it mean? There would result a division of people into two groups, the few to contrive (directly and indirectly) the preadjustments, the many to accept them. This doctrine of "leadership" and "followship" is already preached. But it would besides mean the destruction of democracy (in fact if not in name), the assumption of social control by the unscrupulous powerful, the using by these of school systems to teach docility under the pretense that most cannot think anyhow. Already our so-called "scientific" education leans too much in this direction. Already this "science of education" minimizes thinking, purposing, responsible acting, and magnifies "habit" instead with acceptance of leadership from above. The book under review again states with disconcerting clearness this general position. "One of the inevitable implications in the present [*i.e.*, 'scientific'] trend of educational theory is indoctrination." "All education must inevitably take the form of indoctrination . . . since all education consists in a set of preadjustments for meeting the problems of life" (p. 26). How such a position lends itself to teaching the young what the rulers have chosen needs no argument. And interesting it is to read in plain words that we are to "forge out individuals according to order" (p. 24). To this end we are to begin "with the present interests and outlooks of the pupils and to *manipulate* these *covertly* towards ends *known to be right*" (p. 26.) [The italics are mine to show how easy the process of social control already thus becomes.] The "known to be right" is a delicious assumption of the kind of infallibility always professed by those who would "covertly" "manipulate" others.

That the author either sees or means such a social doctrine I think is not true. The presuppositions and bearings of the doctrine I judge he has not examined. It remains a hidden philosophy. In fact, strange as it may seem, the author does not use this professed doctrine at all in the rest of the book. No slightest use is made of "scientifically controlled parallel-group experimentation." In spite of the ridicule poured upon "tradition" and "arm-chair philosophizing" and of the promise of scientific experiments, it appears that the actual curriculum was made first by getting the judgments of one thousand advanced students as to what elements should be included (a good way to preserve the existing American *tradition* and, second, by the author's own reworking of these into what is then inaccurately called a "blue print" as found in the book. The theory seems to be that one thousand separate "tradition" and "arm-chair" opinions when "telescoped" somehow eliminate from each other the tradition and arm-chair elements so that the result becomes "scientific." In other words, instead of a "scientifically" made "blue print" curriculum "perfected" "in every detail" we have a pretty good common-sense "arm-chair"-made curriculum in which Professor Peters profited by the suggestions of a thousand practical schoolmen. When we read that "choosing one's mate in the light of more pertinent considerations" is one of the specific "preadjustment" items to be included, we know that this curriculum is not a blue print preadjustment affair at all—as far from it as possible.

There are many matters that would call for attention if space allowed, such as the positive teaching of "taboos" ("taboos and biases built up by subtly manipulating public opinion"), the entire misconception of why others are interested in child purposing (the conception of "spontaneous" growth as given on p. 25 is but a caricature of the doctrine opposed). In particular the complete failure to see the need and possibility of developing each person, beginning in childhood so that he can and more likely will base his life increasingly on the best available meanings that can be got. In fact the aim of building self-directing personalities seems far removed from the author's thinking.

In conclusion, we seem to find three parts to the book, each with its own presuppositions, but in no case do these seem to have been examined for their implications. There are present three philosophies but they remain to the author hidden, unexamined, uncriticized. The first is the professed theory, dropped as soon as it was stated. This it would appear is the author's first choice of what education should be. Its more significant presuppositions we have examined. They are as stated totally impossible of being put into operation. The implications here we examined slightly, but enough to sense their antidemocratic trend. The second is the working theory underlying the making of the actual curriculum. The author seemed to think that this was the same as the first theory. In fact it differs very greatly, being hardly more than a gesture towards "science." Its presuppositions and implications we have had time to consider hardly at all. The third philosophy is that included within the actual curriculum. It is, as its origin would lead us to expect, the common American attitude, democratic in profession, with all the uncriticized strengths and weaknesses of American democracy, differing almost *toto coelo* from the first professed theory of life and education. We seem thus to have reached an answer to the opening question. An author may not see the deeper implications of his thinking.

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Noah Webster's Speller, 1783-1843:
Causes of Its Success as Reading Text

(1983)

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I: Introduction

Educators and researchers alike have always taken it for granted--and rightly so--that children are influenced in some manner by the texts they read in school. This belief has motivated a number of studies of textbooks used in the American classroom of the past.[1] Of all the textbooks that might be studied, those designed to teach children to read may be said to be more important than any others, because all children encounter reading textbooks.

Given that reading textbooks as a class are influential, it is also obvious that the more widely used a series is, the more worthy a candidate it becomes for study. Any reading textbook, therefore, that has become a "best seller," (for we may gauge "use" by the number of copies sold) is a work that deserves close scrutiny, for it has touched the hearts and minds of millions of children. This has been the justification for the attention paid, for example, to the immensely popular McGuffey Readers.[2]

There have indeed been studies of old reading texts, but they have generally been examined for the information they provide on how reading was taught in the past.[3] Very little attention has been paid by researchers to the causes of a reading textbook's popularity. Is its popularity due to its intrinsic merits, such as its reading methodology or value system? Or--a more cynical suggestion--did a reading textbook of the past become a bestseller because of external factors, such as the promotional skill of the publishers? These are not trivial questions, for how we answer them reflects on the real worth--or lack of it--of the book under scrutiny.

Importance of the Study: The first school book bestseller was The New England Primer--a reading instructional text, whose overall sales have been reckoned at 3,000,000.[4] It was supplanted at the end of the eighteenth century by Noah Webster's spelling book, first published in 1783.[5] The speller reached sales figures of almost 10,000,000 by 1829, and, as the Elementary Spelling Book after 1829, attained a life-time figure of nearly 100,000,000. It was undoubtedly the most popular and important textbook of its time.[6] Yet there has been no full-scale treatment of the work: one recent evaluation of Webster's books dismisses it in a few pages.[7]

But a spelling book is of even more importance than its title suggests: for, as Smith put it, "the speller served in the same capacity as the basic reader does today," in that it introduced children to the art of reading.[8] It follows, then, that Webster's spelling book is of importance as the text most widely used to teach young Americans to read, for decades.

The Problem: Why did Webster's spelling book become the textbook most widely used in America for teaching children to read, for the sixty years from its first publication in 1783 until the death of its author in 1843?

There are both "internal" and "external" variables to which a textbook's success might be attributed. "Internal" variables are features in the text itself, and a product of the mind of the author. We may label these (1) "learning theory," (2) "reading theory and methodology," (3) "content," and (4) "value system." "External" variables are extrinsic to the text, but relate to a book as a marketable product. They comprise the variables (5) "printing" and (6) "publishing features," and (7) "price." In addition, the variables (8) "book reputation" and (9) "author reputation" might be relevant to the popularity of a book.

Concepts of importance to the present study are those of "rival" (or "competitor") and "superiority." A "rival/competitor" is a book which could equally well have been selected: a rival to a spelling book is, of course, another spelling book. "Superiority" is defined operationally, and presupposes "difference": a textbook may be judged "superior" to a rival in a given variable (e.g. "reading methodology") only if the textbook (a) differs from its rivals in this respect (e.g. it indicates Letter-Sound-Correspondences--LSCs--by some marking system while they do not); and (b) the difference is subsequently adopted by later textbooks (they too use some system to mark LSCs).

Hypothesis: Our hypothesis is that Noah Webster's spelling book was superior to its competitors in one or more of the nine variables specified. As Webster's speller was a series of editions between 1783 and 1843, the hypotheses fall into two groups: that, first, Webster's earliest spelling book was superior to its competitor(s); second, that his last speller, the Elementary Spelling Book of 1829 and thereafter, was superior to its competitor(s), in one or more of the nine variables.

Delimitations, limitations and methodology: Apart from some background material on the alphabetic method, the present study is restricted to the years 1783 to 1843. Its limitations are that it does not attempt a complete reconstruction of Webster's financial affairs or involvement with his books. Two basic methodologies are used: textual analysis to probe the content of the spellers; and historical research to reconstruct Webster's participation in the events surrounding their publication.

Sources of primary data are correspondingly twofold: the texts of Webster's books themselves, and his manuscripts. Both are unusually rich: a complete bibliography has been provided by Skeel, and there are large repositories of Webster manuscripts in (in descending order of importance) the New York Public Library (14 boxes), The Connecticut Historical Society, the Jones Library Inc. of Amherst, among others.[9] (Webster's more important letters have also been edited by Warfel, who is author of the standard biography.)[10]

II: Spelling and the Spelling Book in England and the American Colonies, 1596 to 1783.

From the sixteenth century on, spelling was undertaken as a tool for learning reading as well as for writing and just spelling. "Spelling-for-reading" (better known as the "alphabet method,") may be found as early as Edmund Coote's text in 1596.[11] In the words of the English author, Thomas Dilworth, "Letters . . . are the Foundation of all Learning, as being those Parts of which all Syllables, Words and Sentences and Speeches are composed."[12] Great stress was therefore laid upon learning the alphabet and syllabarium, and from there progressing from words of one syllable, to words of two, and so on. All texts of the time embodied this methodology.

Textbooks used in the American colonies included imported hornbooks, reprinted British primers, and the famous colonial New England Primer.[13] But spelling books were a feature of the colonial scene as early as 1643.[14] By the time of the American Revolution, Thomas Dilworth's work, A New Guide to the English Tongue (1740, first reprinted in America in 1747), was the most widely used speller in the country.[15]

III: The Alphabetic Method: Its Theory and Practice in America, in the Revolutionary Period, 1750 to 1790.

The alphabetic method presupposed both a theory of learning in general, and a theory of reading in particular. It was assumed that the child was not predisposed to learn, but had to have learning forced upon him by rote and repetition. It was also assumed that reading involved turning written language into spoken language, and that learning to read was in fact also learning to speak. The fluent reader--who was reading orally, not silently--was said to be able to read well only if he understood what he was reading; but beginning reading was viewed simply as decoding.

The alphabet method was synthetic: it proceeded from the smallest possible unit to the largest--from letters, to syllables, to words. Syllabic division was essential to the method, for it indicated the pronunciation of short and long vowels.[16]

The value systems that emerged from the texts in colonial America were imbued with a conversion-oriented Christianity. Whether one examines the New

England Primer from 1727 on, or Anthony Benezet's 1778 speller, the message is the same.[17] The value system of Dilworth's speller was no different; in fact, his "lessons" (the sentences after the "tables" of spelling words) were adaptations of the Scriptures.[18]

While Dilworth's methodology was alphabetic, his discussion of Letter-Sound-Correspondences (LSCs) was thoroughly inadequate.[19] His work would be the model for Webster's speller. In discussing his sources, Webster claimed that he had not seen a copy of William Perry's speller, first published in America in 1785, which had a complex diacritical marking scheme to indicate LSCs.[20]

IV: The Man: a Biography of Noah Webster, 1758 to 1785

Noah Webster was born on October 16, 1758, a farmer's son. His father mortgaged the family farm to send him to Yale College in 1774. Webster was admitted to the Hartford bar in 1781, but, unable to obtain briefs, turned to teaching to support himself. In Goshen, New York, he opened a classical school, and began to compile a spelling book and grammar to replace Dilworth's A New Guide.[21] Even before he had completed the former, he sought copyright protection for it, at a time when there was no general copyright law.[22]

Back in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1783, Webster entrusted his spelling book to the publishing firm of Hudson & Goodwin.[23] It faced stiff competition; for, as a friend warned Webster, the country was "prejudiced in favor of old Dilworth, the nurse of us all. . ." and the printers "afford it very cheap."[24]

V: The Books: a Grammatical Institute of the English Language

Webster's first edition of his spelling book, Part I of his Grammatical Institute of the English Language, was in effect an improved Dilworth. Webster, as he saw it, made five improvements over Dilworth: he altered the traditional way of dividing syllables, so that Dilworth's ha" bit and le" mon became hab it and lem on; made one syllable of -sion and -tion endings, where Dilworth had had two; classified words according to their pronunciation, so that "words having a like vowel sound, though represented by different characters" were in the same table; arranged words of irregular orthography into tables; and, finally, provided a numerical key to indicate LSCs.[25] In addition, Webster replaced all Dilworth's British place names by American place names. Because so much of his text was an adaptation of Dilworth's, Webster's content and value system was essentially the same as his model's.

Webster's use of Dilworth as his source led to charges of plagiarism, in an exchange of letters in New Haven newspapers which began in June 1784. The first attack was signed, appropriately, "Dilworth's Ghost."[26]

VI: The Man: a Biography of Noah Webster, 1785 to 1818

The three parts of Webster's Grammatical Institute--the speller, grammar and reader--were off the press by February 1785. In May Webster began an eighteen month tour that would take him as far south as Charleston, and as far east as Boston. His purpose was twofold: to secure copyright protection for his books, and to promote them.[27]

In December 1786, Webster returned to Philadelphia, where he had already stayed on his tour, and had many meetings with the aged Benjamin Franklin. They shared a common interest in alphabetical reform.[28] While there, Webster put to press a new and improved edition of his spelling book, now titled the American Spelling Book.[29]

After living in New York, where he put out a journal for a year, Webster returned to Hartford to practice law. The following year, now married, he published a number of books, ranging from his Collection of Essays and Fugitiv [sic] Writings (1790) to his Little Reader's Assistant (1790), intended as a transitional book between his speller and reader.[30]

From 1793 to 1798, Webster was again in New York, now engaged in putting out America's first daily newspaper, in the federalist cause. This venture, too, ran into financial difficulties, and, by now thoroughly disillusioned with politics, Webster withdrew from national affairs to New Haven. More books appeared from his pen: his *History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases* (1799), and a four-volume educational work on American history and geography, and biology.[31] But for many years he had cherished a broader view of education: "My views comprehend a *whole system* of education; from a Spelling Book through Geography & various other subjects--to a complete Dictionary--beginning with *children* & ending with *men*."[32]

He had begun work on his dictionary in 1800, and produced a stopgap dictionary in 1806.[33] But, as he realized the scope of what he had undertaken, he saw that he must devote his entire time and energy to the project. To economize, he moved with his family to Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1812. To raise money, he sold the fourteen-year rights of the upcoming edition of his speller, "printing, publishing & vending" to the Hartford firm of Hudson & Co., successors to his original publishers, Hudson & Goodwin, in 1816.[34]

VII: *The Man and the Book: Webster and the Spelling Book, 1783 to 1818*.

During the years from 1783 to 1818, Webster nursed his books along the road to educational and commercial success. The terms of his first contract, which stipulated that a publisher was limited to vending, (as well as printing) only in a certain area, proved impossible to control. So in 1804, when he issued a new edition of his spelling book in order to obtain new copyright protection, Webster reorganized his licensing arrangements. Printers could now vend where they wished, and, in addition, were to pay him a penny a copy.[35]

In addition to the control Webster exercised over his publishers, he kept an eye on the price of the speller. At first he was alarmed at how expensive the speller was, in relation to its rivals; but in a remarkably short space of time he felt compelled to remonstrate with his publishers for underselling. At all times, he was concerned with uniformity among his editions, both in the price charged, and in the text. His most characteristic spelling reforms (honor and theater) appear very early in his speller, but not his more startling respellings, such as hed and nabor.[36]

But of all Webster's concerns for his book, the most striking were his promotional efforts on its behalf. His publicity campaign included obtaining recommendations for the book; lecturing to draw attention to it; as well as placing advertisements (which he wrote himself) and "notices" (press releases, which he also wrote) in the newspapers. Less obvious promotional devices were donations of books, books given as school prizes, and even grants based on a percentage of his income from his books, awarded to various institutions. Moreover, he used all his friends and relations as unpaid agents. He also kept a weather eye open on possible rivals to his speller. He even furthered the cause by writing school texts to complement the speller.[37]

It should not be thought that the spelling book was the only work of his that Webster promoted. On the contrary, he campaigned on behalf of all his works with equal vigor.[38]

VIII: Interlude: Biography of Noah Webster, 1818 to 1828.

In Amherst, Webster worked on his great American Dictionary assiduously, and in 1822 felt able to move back to New Haven. Two years later he packed up his bulky manuscript and, with his son William as his secretary, voyaged to Europe. He spent the winter in Cambridge, England, where he finally completed his dictionary.[39] Unable to find a publisher in England, he and William returned home in June 1825. It took another three years before the American Dictionary of the English Language, published from New York, at last appeared in the fall of 1828.[40]

IX: Noah Webster and Orthography

Webster's dictionary was superior to any previous work in the number of its entries (some 70,000) and in its definitions. Its etymological work, in contrast, was deeply flawed; but it was for its inconsistencies in orthography that its critics attacked it.[41] Webster realized this himself, and the following year, 1829, produced a completely revised version of his spelling book; he contracted with an educator, Aaron Ely of New York, to compile it.[42] The Elementary Spelling Book, as this new edition was titled, was followed a year later by Webster's Dictionary for Schools (1830).[43]

To appreciate Webster's views on orthography, as they changed over his lifetime, one must compare two conflicting theories on the topic: those held by Leonard Bloomfield, on the one hand, as opposed to those of Noam Chomsky and Richard Venezky on the other. Bloomfield did not consider writing to be language, but a way of recording language by visible marks, and thought that English spelling was a transcription riddled with imperfections.[44] Chomsky, however, believes that there is a highly abstract "lexical" level in the phonological system, and that traditional English orthography is a "near optimal system" for representing this lexical level.[45] Similarly, Venezky sees English orthography as more than a deficient representation of speech; instead, he believes it to be a complex system in which phoneme and morpheme share leading roles.[46]

Early in his life, Webster undoubtedly took the first position: that the English spelling system was an imperfect and irregular representation of speech sounds. Under the influence of Benjamin Franklin, he proposed a reformed alphabet, and in his 1790 Collection of Essays and Fugitiv Writings included several essays "ritten" in his reformed spelling.[47]

The public response to such innovations was not encouraging, however, and, as we have seen, Webster did not include his wilder spellings (hed, giv, nabor) in his speller. But it is clear that it is Webster that we have to thank for all the spellings which to this day distinguish American orthography from British: and for the fact that, as Carol Chomsky has expressed it, in many cases "words that are the same look the same."[48] Webster's major changes have ensured that this is indeed so: we have honor and honorable (not honour: honorable); public: publicity (not the old English spelling publick: publicity); and defense: defensive (not defence: defensive). In some measure, then, Webster came to take a position analagous to the Chomsky-Venezky approach.

X: Noah Webster and Pronunciation

Webster's work on pronunciation is of interest as a stance from which to examine his opinions on LSCs. The notion of syllabic division was fundamental to his views. In an early discussion of syllabic stress, he evolved complex rules to explain why one syllable should be stressed rather than another.[49] In his works on language for children--his spellers and his school dictionary--syllabic division was always marked by a space between syllables. In his American Dictionary, in an accented syllable, an accent after a vowel indicated that the preceding vowel was long (ha'tred); after a consonant, that the vowel was short (ab'sent).[50]

Webster's innovation in his Elementary of 1829, and his school dictionary of 1830, was a diacritical marking system to indicate LSCs, which replaced his old numerical system:

Bär, fa̤ll, whạt, prḛy, marïne, pin, bǐrd, mōve, bọọk, dőve, fṳll
ʉse, ȼan, c̃haise, ġem, aꞩ, thin, ŧhou.

The Elementary Spelling Book also differed sharply from its predecessor, the American Spelling Book, in content. The material was much more secular, and the "lessons" consisted of isolated sentences, in which words appearing in the preceding tables were used in context. It had no stories of any kind. But Webster's theological value system emerges unchanged, through the surface differences. Into these two works (the speller and the school dictionary), Webster for the first time introduced some of his more glaringly idiosyncratic spellings (e.g. maiz, sleezy and porpess for maize, sleazy and porpoise).[51]

XI: The Man and his Books, 1829 to 1835

When Webster emerged from his lexicographical endeavors in 1828, he found, to his dismay, that the American Spelling Book had lost ground to the dozen or so spellers that had been published since 1825.[52] Marshaling his resources anew, he prepared to recapture his position with a new speller, his Elementary Spelling Book of 1829. Its compilation could safely be left to another, but not the question of who should publish it. After an acrimonious correspondence with Henry Hudson, in which he charged that Hudson had allowed the speller to slip while it was in his sole charge,[53] Webster handed over the licensing rights of his new speller to the New York firm of White, Gallaher and White.[54]

With the issue of price (written into the contract) and uniformity among editions (the plates for the speller were now stereotyped) both taken care of, Webster turned to all the concerns that had engaged him when he had fostered the acceptance of his first edition after 1783. In the fall of 1830 he traveled to Washington to speak on behalf of new copyright legislation; and he used his position as America's leading lexicographer to obtain recommendations from scores of members of Congress. For the first time he paid for agents, as well as continuing to press his friends and relations into service. He continued his attacks in the public press on his competitors, and even produced supplemental works--a Biography for the Use of Schools, and a History of the United States, as well as a bowdlerized bible--to support his educational scheme. And he looked to the growing market of the west to see if he could further his sales there.[55]

XII: The Men and the Books: Noah Webster and William Webster as Promoters of the Elementary Spelling Book and Other Works in the West, 1835 to 1839.

In May, 1835, Webster despatched his son William to Cincinnati, to join the publishing firm of Corey & Fairbank. The firm concentrated on schoolbooks, chief among which was Webster's Elementary Spelling Book. In March, 1836, however, William disclosed to his father that the firm was on the verge of bankruptcy.[56]

Even as William's financial woes deepened, he worked manfully on behalf of his father's books, and reported on relevant events out west. He mentioned the success of The Eclectic Readers, a series by William Holmes McGuffey, and hoped to achieve a business alliance with its publishers, Truman & Smith.[57]

When this hope faded, William left Cincinnati for Lafayette, where he found a position in a bank. His father obtained for him from the White firm the right to issue licenses for the speller west of the Allegheny mountains. Requests for licenses poured in: William said he was "embarrassed" by the demand.[58]

XIII: Changing Times in American Education, 1818 to 1839.

While Webster had been working on his dictionary, the traditional view of the child had been changing, and with it, views on how the child should be educated.[59] A progressive movement in education, inspired by Pestalozzi's work in Europe, brought a number of educators to advocate that learning should be made interesting and pleasant for the child.[60]

Under the searchlight of this new approach, all the traditional features of reading instruction in the 1820s--in both the spelling book and the reader--were found unsatisfactory. A chorus of voices inveighed against the spelling book, in particular, for the rote and meaningless repetition that it involved.[61] A number of alternative approaches to reading instruction, which included a whole word approach, phonic methods and a sentence method, were suggested in the educational journals of the day.[62]

Webster was uninterested in any method which did not hew to the traditional alphabet method, and maintained steadfastly that learning of necessity involved some drudgery. He did not understand the significance of the publication of the Eclectic Readers, which were destined to replace his own speller as a beginning reading textbook.[63]

XIV: The End of the Story: 1839 to 1843

At his father's request, William returned to New Haven in 1839 to assist him in a new edition of his dictionary. Webster had published two more works in 1836 --the Teacher and The Little Franklin--and in 1839 put out A Manual of Useful Studies.[64] As he had done all his life, he promoted all his books with undiminished vigor. But by now the Elementary hardly needed his aid: licenses for 998,000 copies of the book were sold for the years 1840 to 1842 alone.[65]

In May 1843 Webster put a collection of essays to the press. It was published by Webster and Clark: undeterred by his former failures, Webster had sent William off to New York to open a publishing house there. William was saved from yet another publishing disaster by his father's death, from pleurisy, at the end of May.[66]

XV: Conclusion

It is now possible to isolate those variables that were responsible for the success of, first, Webster's first edition of his spelling book, after 1783, and second, his final version, the Elementary.

(i) In the first comparison, it is clear that Webster's only rival was the then favorite, Dilworth's A New Guide.[67] As Webster's book obviously did not differ from Dilworth in its learning theory, content or value system (variables 1, 3 and 4), because it was so closely modeled on Dilworth, these factors are excluded from further consideration.[68] As far as reading methodology went, however, Webster did improve upon Dilworth, notably in his explication of LSCs.[69] We may judge this innovation "superior" because later spellers also used some system to mark pronunciation.[70] Webster was, moreover, unquestionably superior to Dilworth, (long dead,) in the attention he was able to pay to the printing and publishing aspects of his work.[71] In other areas, however, he was at a severe disadvantage. His work was more expensive than Dilworth's, and a newcomer, competing with a well-loved textbook (variables 7 and 8).[72] As far as "author reputation" was concerned, Dilworth was as unknown, as a person, as Webster was at first; for even those who rose to speak in Dilworth's defense as his "ghost" were defending the book, not the man.[73] We may judge, then, that there was no essential difference in the reputation of both men when Webster first published his spelling book.

Our hypotheses may be summarized as follows:

Table

	Variable	Competitor: Dilworth's New Guide	Webster's Spelling Book A Grammatical Institute, Part 1 (1783)		Accept/Reject Hypothesis
			Overall	Comments	
Internal	1. Learning Theory	rote and repetition	0	same	reject
	2. Reading theory and	alphabet method	0	same	reject
	methodology	no pronunciation key	+	numerical key to LSCs[a]	accept
	3. Content	tables/lessons; religious content	0	returned to Dilworth's model in later editions	reject
		organization place names	- +		reject
	4. Value System	Protestant Christianity; didactic	0	same	reject
External	5. Printing Features	varied with printer	+	closely supervised	accept
	6. Publishing Features	no promotion	+	zealous promotion	accept
	7. Price	cheap	-	copyrighted, so costly	reject
	8. Book Reputation	"nurse of us all"	-	*Institute*, Pt.I a newcomer	reject
	9. Author Reputation	not known as person	0	NW unknown at first	reject

Where:

0 = Webster's 1783 spelling book did not differ from Dilworth's → reject
+ = Webster's 1783 spelling book was superior to Dilworth's → accept
- = Webster's 1783 spelling book was inferior to Dilworth's → reject

[a] LSCs = Letter-sound correspondences

If we look more closely at the interaction among these variables, it might be suggested that the printing and publishing aspects were the real key to the book's success, and that Webster's improvements in indicating LSCs were only a minor factor. Fortunately, we have a "control" to evaluate this hypothesis. Webster put equal effort into promoting all his books, yet they never achieved the popularity of his speller.[74]

Second, it might be hypothesized that Webster's promotional efforts were less important to the success of the work than Webster himself thought. Again, we have a "control": in 1816, Webster handed over the management of his speller to Henry Hudson, so that he could devote himself full-time to his dictionary. Without Webster's solicitude, the sales of the work languished, relative to their hypothetical rate of increase (appendix II).[75] We may conclude, then, that variables 2, 5 and 6 jointly contributed to the spelling book's success.

(ii) In a second comparison, we hypothesized that Webster's last version of his speller, the *Elementary Spelling Book*, was superior to its competitors in one or more of our nine variables. In contrast to our first comparison, there was now no one book with which Webster's was competing. Instead, a host of rivals had emerged to challenge its supremacy.[76] It is clear that Webster's speller was no different from its competitors in learning theory nor in its underlying methodology (variables 1 and 2); indeed, all spelling books as a group were being roundly attacked by progressive educators.[77] It is more difficult to assess the acceptability of Webster's new diacritical marking scheme: its merits may have been offset by Webster's introduction of his more extreme spellings.[78] His speller did not differ from its new rivals in content or value system (variables 3 and 4); it no longer held the advantage in printing, as, with the introduction of stereotyping, error-free printing was more readily available to any textbook: nor did it differ from them in price (variables 5 and 7). Ironically, as far as "book reputation" was concerned, the *Elementary*'s own predecessor, the *American Spelling*

Book, was one of its major rivals, and suffered from being so different from its popular early version (variable 8).[79]

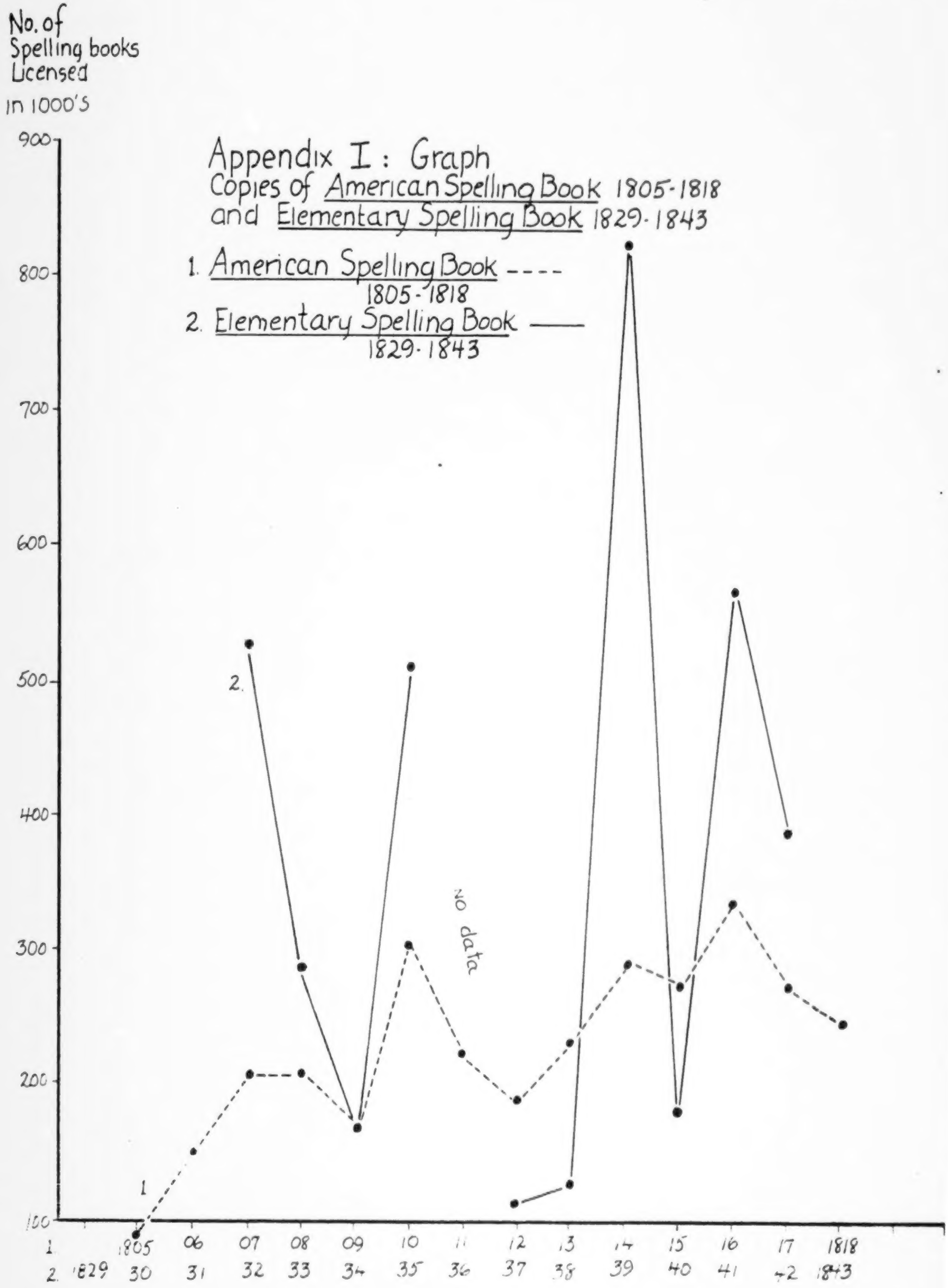
But if Webster held no advantages in these aspects of his work, it is clear that he held trumps in two other respects: in the publishing side of the work, and in "author reputation." He promoted the Elementary with all his old vigor and skill, soliciting recommendations, employing agents, and publishing supplementary books.[80] He even sent his only son out west to try to capture the western market.[81] Moreover, with the publication of his great American Dictionary, he had achieved national renown, invited to speak before Congress on copyright legislation.[82]

We may therefore assert that the success of Webster's Elementary Spelling Book was due to that fact that his speller was, if not superior, certainly not inferior to its many rivals in its refinements in reading methodology; and was unquestionably superior in its promotional aspects and in the reputation of its author.

Implications

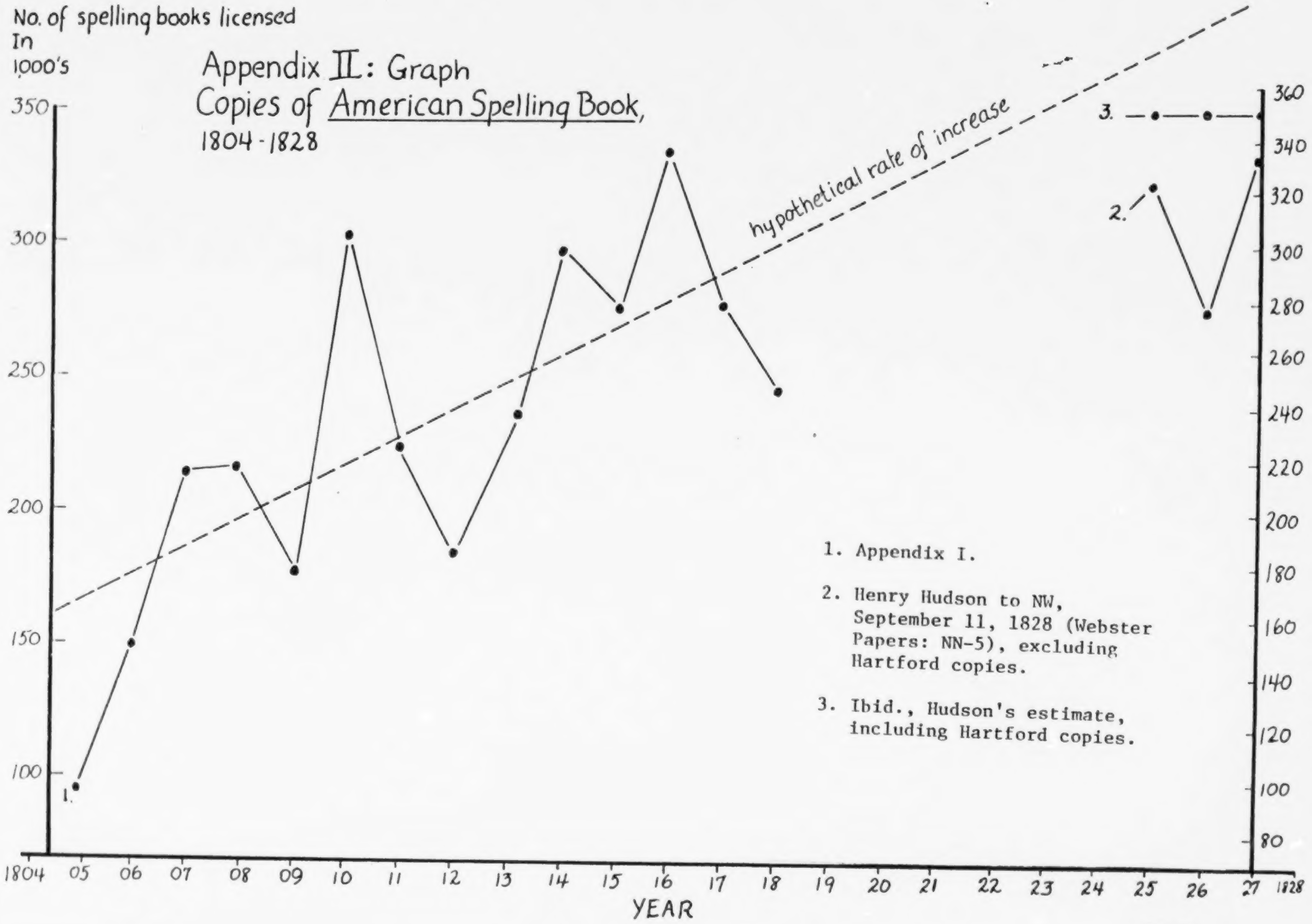
Any best selling book or series is of interest not merely for its own sake, but because it tends to act as a model for competing texts. One successful series will, therefore, have the effect over time of encouraging the publication of other textbooks highly similar to it in content and form. Jointly, they become the "conventional wisdom" of an era.

The results of the present study suggest that it would indeed be rash to assume that a reading textbook becomes a bestseller on the basis of the quality of its reading methodology alone. The variables of "publishing features"--promotional effort, in particular--and of "author reputation" should be assessed in future research on the causes of a successful reading textbook's popularity.



Appendix I: Graph
Copies of American Spelling Book 1805-1818
and Elementary Spelling Book 1829-1843

Appendix II: Graph
Copies of *American Spelling Book*, 1804-1828



1. Appendix I.

2. Henry Hudson to NW, September 11, 1828 (Webster Papers: NN-5), excluding Hartford copies.

3. Ibid., Hudson's estimate, including Hartford copies.

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[8] Smith, *American Reading Instruction*, p. 66.

[9] Skeel, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster*. The Manuscript collections drawn upon for this study are to be found in the New York Public Library, the New York Pierpont Morgan, The Jones Library, Inc. of Amherst, the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, and the Yale University Library.

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[13] George A. Plimpton, "The Hornbook and its Use in America," *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new ser., 26 (1916), 264; Charles F. Heartman, *American Primers, Indian Primers, Royal Primers, and Thirty-Seven Other Types of Non-New England Primers Issued Prior to 1830* (Highland Park, N.J.: H.B. Weiss, 1935); Ford, *The New England Primer*; Charles F. Heartman, *The New-England Primer Issued Prior to 1830* (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1934).

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[15] Thomas Dilworth, *A New Guide to the English Tongue* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1747). For editions of Dilworth and other spelling books, see volumes 1 to 5 of Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, 14 vols. (Chicago: privately printed for the author by Blakely Press, 1903-1959) and Roger P. Bristol, *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of America, 1970).

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[23] Noah Webster, *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language . . . Part I* (Hartford: Printed by Hudson & Goodwin, for the author [1783]).

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[32] NW to Samuel L. Mitchell, June 29, 1807 (Noah Webster Collection, Jones Library Inc.).

[33] Noah Webster, A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1806).

[34] Contract between Noah Webster of Amherst and Hudson & Goodwin of Hartford, April 19, 1816 (Webster Papers: NN-9).

[35] Printed indenture (Webster Papers: NN-9). A note in NW's handwriting on the back reads "used in 1804."

[36] For examples of price, see NW to Hudson & Goodwin, July 24, 1786 (Webster Papers: NN-1); uniformity, NW to Hudson & Goodwin, August 29, 1786 (Noah Webster Collection: Pierpont Morgan); spelling, NW's own copy of his letter to Hogan, January 10, 1804 (Webster Papers: NN-1); cf. Skeel, Bibliography, p. 167, who cites NW to Isaiah Thomas re his reader, "Spell honor with u public &c without k luster theater &c e before r."

[37] For examples of recommendations, see advertisement in Connecticut Courant [Hartford, Conn.], October 14, 1783; lecturing, NW to Hudson & Goodwin, April 3, 1786 (Webster Papers: NN-1); advertisements, Connecticut Journal, November 23, 1784; notices, NW to [Hudson & Goodwin], December 24, 1810 (Webster Papers: NN-1); donations of books, NW to Hudson & Goodwin, August 22, 1785 (Webster Papers: NN-1); school prizes, Nath[aniel] W. Appleton to NW, February 21, 1790 (Webster Papers: NN-2); grants, Grant to Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, n.d. (Webster Papers: NN-9); agents, Thomas Dawes to NW, January 5, February 15, 1804

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[53] The correspondence between Henry Hudson and NW continues from Henry Hudson to NW, August 7, 1827 to H[enry] Hudson to NW, September 22, 1831 (Webster Papers: NN-5). See also NW to H[enry] Hudson, March 19, 1829, February 22, 1830, (Webster Papers: NN-1), and NW's own copy of his letter to Henry Hudson, September 14, 1831 (Webster Papers: NN-10).

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[57] See note 2.

[58] William Webster to NW, June 8, 1838 (Webster Papers: NN-6).

[59] Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic: the Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 11-23, 67-76.

[60] Robert B. Downs, *Heinrich Pestalozzi, Father of Modern Pedagogy* (Boston: Twayne, 1975).

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[62] For a whole word approach, see T[homas] H. Gallaudet, "Methods of Teaching to Read," *American Journal of Education*, 5 (1830), 373-375: for a phonic method, William R. Weeks, "Orthography," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 2 (1832), 437-442; and for a sentence method, "On Teaching to Read according to the Method of Jacotot," *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, 4 (1834), 40-44.

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[65] Skeel, Bibliography, p. 112. The figures are derived from Webster's papers and account book (Noah Webster Papers: Connecticut Historical Society).

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NOTE: To support the conclusions drawn in Part XV, Conclusion, the reader is referred back to the documentation provided in the preceding notes, as indicated.

[67] Note 15.

[68] Note 18.

[69] Notes 19, 25.

[70] e.g. Perry's, note 20.

[71] Notes 22, 35-37.

[72] Note 24.

[73] Note 26.

[74] Note 38.

[75] Notes 34, 53.

[76] Note 52.

[77] Notes 60-61.

[78] Note 51.

[79] Note 51.

[80] Note 55.

[81] Section XII.

[82] Note 55.

FIRST EFFORTS TOWARDS A NATIONAL CURRICULUM -

The Committee of Ten's Report on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy

(1990)

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First Efforts Towards a National Curriculum - The Committee of Ten's Report on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy

The United States has carried on a flirtatious relationship with a national curriculum for nearly 100 years. We alternately admire the French or Germans for their standardized curriculums and pillory these same peoples for their lockstep approach to the curriculum. It is not new, and it continues today.

The first attempt, and possibly the closest this country has come, to the notion of a national curriculum was as a result of the Committee of Ten, which was initially conceived in 1891 and developed in 1892, publishing its report in 1894. This paper examines the Madison Conference report on History, Civil Government and Political Economy and its attempt at setting national standards in these areas.

The idea for a national committee arose from a meeting in 1891 of the National Council of Education, a discussion forum of the National Education Association.[1] A discussion on 'the general uniformity in school programmes (sic) and in requirements for admission to college,'[2] led the National Council Committee to organize a conference on this topic during the National Council's meetings in July 1892 in Saratoga, New York. There being general agreement among the twenty to thirty delegates, they then recommended the appointment of a committee to appoint subject area committees to report to the larger Committee of Ten on the programmes of each subject and the requirements of each subject for admission to college.

According to Edgar Wesley, the 'members were selected primarily by Nicholas Murray Butler,'[3] who became NEA president in 1894 and president of Columbia University in 1901. Butler asserted that he 'brought forward the plan to interest the association in research and proposed the appointment of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies...and nominated President Eliot as its chairman.'[4] He also introduced the motion naming the committee, though to what degree he initiated the names of individuals is not clear. Butler obviously was highly influential. He noted that the Committee of Ten's first meeting was at his apartment and 'subsequent formal meetings were held in the Faculty Room of the Old Columbia College.'[5] The latter statement is corroborated by the Committee of Ten Report. [6]

The formation of the Committee of Ten was the natural culmination of an intense re-examination of public education that had begun just after the Civil War and continued for over 20 years. A desire for a more scientific curriculum that did not openly reject classical study was discussed, most notably by President Eliot of Harvard. He proposed, 'the introduction of algebra and other secondary school subjects in the upper grades, a lowering of the average age of college entrance from nineteen to eighteen and the reduction of the grammar school period from ten years to eight.'[7]

Eliot was concerned wtih not wasting time of pupils and society. Thus, the efficiency movement had an indelible effect on revised curricular demands at all school levels.

Those appointed to the Committee of Ten were either influential at the college level or the academy level (except for Harris, the Commissioner of Education) and were seen as people who should be able to identify subject area committees and charge them appropriately with their task. Charles W. Eliot, the president of Harvard, was internationally known and was persuaded, according to Butler, by him to accept the post of chairman. By 1891, Eliot had been president of Harvard for 22 years and would continue in that post until 1909.

William Torrey Harris was 56 years old and had held the position of U.S. Commissioner of Education for two years after serving 23 years in the St. Louis public schools, the last 13 as an assistant superintendent and superintendent. Harris was a native of Connecticut who had attended Yale.

James Burrill Angel, the president of the University of Michigan, had degrees (A.B. and A.M.) from Brown, had been the editor of the Providence Journal for seven years and the president of the University of Vermont for five. Midway through his appointment as president in Ann Arbor (1871-1909), he served as U.S. Minister to China.

John Tetlow also had degrees from Brown (A.B. and A.M.) and surely had frequent contact with Eliot, since from 1885 to 1907 he was Head Master of the Girls' High School and the Girls' Latin School in Boston. (Eliot had attended Boston Latin for boys in the 1840's.) Tetlow, along with Ray G. Huling, who was appointed to the History, Civil Government and Political Economy Conference of the Committee of Ten, had organized the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in 1885.

James M. Taylor had a degree from Rochester and was an ordained Baptist minister practicing at a number of sites in New England until his appointment as president of Vassar in 1886.

Oscar Robinson, who joined the NEA in 1892, had become principal of the high school in Albany in 1886. He received a B.A. from Dartmouth in 1869 and an honorary doctorate in 1887.

James Baker, who was chairman of the National Council of Education and principal of the Denver High School, was appointed President of the University of Colorado in 1892. Born in 1848, Baker was originally an Easterner, with a degree from Bates College.

Richard Jesse had re-opened the defunct department of Greek, Latin and English at the University of Louisiana, which later merged with Tulane in 1878. Prior to that, he had taught at academies for two years and became president of the University of Missouri in 1891.

James MacKenzie was born in Scotland but received both an A.B. and Ph.D. (probably honorary) from Lafayette in Easton, Pennsylvania. An ordained minister at 33, he organized Lawrenceville Academy, the wealthiest boys' boarding school in the country[8], serving as its headmaster from 1882 to 1899.

Henry C. King had two bachelor degrees from Oberlin and a Masters from Harvard. After tutoring in Latin and Mathematics at Oberlin Academy, he became a professor of mathematics, then philosophy and theology from 1884 to 1901, when he became dean at Oberlin. He served as its president from 1902 to 1927.

Butler saw this group of ten as 'a very remarkable and very representative committee.'[9] That is a bit hard to accept. First, the Committee was all white males between the ages of 34 (King) and 63 (Angel), and it was dominated by easterners, particularly from the Ivy League or analogous institutions. Its lone westerner (Baker) was from the east originally, and its 'southerners' were from Missouri (though Jesse had lived in New Orleans for a number of years). Despite protestations to the contrary, this was an elite group, making elite recommendations for college-bound youngsters. As Edgar Wesley notes,

> The report piously observed that secondary schools 'did not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges.' It then proceeded to discuss the teaching of only those subjects which colleges did recognize...[10]

The Committee of Ten met, as noted, in New York in November of 1892, where they appointed members of each of the nine subject committees 1) Latin, 2) Greek, 3) English, 4) Other Modern Languages, 5) Mathematics, 6) Physics, astronomy and Chemistry, 7) Natural History (Biology, including Botany, Zoology and Physiology), 8) History, Civil Government and Political Economy, 9) Geography (Physical Geography, Geology and Meteorology), all of which would contain ten members. They sought to divide the selections fairly between colleges and schools, as well as to accord 'proper' geographical distribution. They also selected 'backups' in case some selected declined the offer to serve. In these cases, the careful attention to distributions and allotments were no longer considered. The Committee report acknowledged that 'in filling a few vacancies...it was necessary to regard as qualification nearness of residence to the appointed place of meeting.'[11] Seventy persons selected agreed to serve. Twenty substitutes agreed to serve, twelve of whom were selected by the Committee of Ten, and eight were selected by the chairman and Secretary of the Committee in emergencies. All of the appointees were white males, and none were Herbartians.[12]

The charge to all nine conferences was to discuss and answer eleven questions. The direction of the committees' works was shaped by this list of questions. They were:

> 1. In the school course of study extending approximately from the age of six years to eighteen years--a course including the periods of both elementary and secondary instruction--at what age should the study which is the subject of the Conference be first introduced?
>
> 2. After it is introduced, how many hours a week for how many years should be devoted to it?
>
> 3. How many hours a week for how may years should be devoted to it during the last four years of the complete course; that is, during the ordinary high school period?
>
> 4. What topics, or parts, of the subject may reasonably to covered during the whole course?
>
> 5. What topics, or parts, of the subject may best be reserved for the last four years?
>
> 6. In what form and to what extent should the subject enter into college requirements for admission? Such questions as the sufficiency of translation at sight as a test of knowledge of a language, or the superiority of a laboratory examination in a scientific subject to a written examination on a text-book, are intended to be suggested under this head by the phrase 'in what form.'
>
> 7. Should the subject be treated differently for pupils who are going to college, for those who are going to a scientific school, and for those who, presumably, are going to neither?
>
> 8. At what stage should this differentiation begin, if any be recommended?
>
> 9. Can any description be given of the best method of teaching this subject throughout the school course?
>
> 10. Can any description be given of the best mode of testing attainments in this subject at college admission examinations?
>
> 11. For those cases in which colleges and universities permit a division of the admission examination into a preliminary and a final examination, separated by at least a year, can the best limit between the preliminary and final examinations be approximately defined?[13]

The Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy met in Madison, December 28-30, 1892, less than two months after the Committee of Ten had met in New York. This conference committee was different from the other conferences because 'history was at that time not universally accepted as a respectable discipline'[14]. The American Historical Association (AHA) had only been organized in the fall of 1884, and it was not until 1890 that a major reference appears in the official papers of the AHA to history as a school subject. This was in John Jay's presidential address in 1890 wherein he called for improvements in teaching history in common schools and academics[15].

According to Lewis R. Harley, only a few years previous history scarcely was considered worthy of a place in an American college course, let alone a school subject.'[16] Between 1870 and 1885 courses of study in history were established at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, University of Michigan, Syracuse, University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Wisconsin.

The appointed chairman of the Conference, Charles Kendall Adams, had been a professor of history at Michigan for 22 years, but had recently been appointed president of the University of Wisconsin after a seven-year stint (1885-1892) as president of Cornell and in 1889 AHA President.[17] His position allowed him to admirably 'host' the conference, as well as appoint at least one member to fill out the Committee. That member, William A. Scott, was an assistant professor of political economy at Wisconsin. Judging by his decided lack of scholarly publications, it can only be assumed that he filled in for a more prominent, invited member of the conference.

The other members had academic credentials that made their appointments understandable and made the direction of the conference predictable. Adams authored books on Italian, French and British history. Edward G. Bourne was a young (32) professor of history at Adelbert College (later Western Reserve) in

Cleveland, but his A.B. and Ph.D. were from Yale, where he returned to teach in 1895 until his death in 1908. His expertise was in early American history, particularly the Spanish exploration of the New World.

Another young (38) professor of history, from Harvard, Albert Bushnell Hart, served as secretary of the conference. By 1892 he had authored at least five books on American and constitutional history including History in high and preparatory schools. By the time Hart died in 1943, he had authored over 50 books in American history.

Abram E. Brown, principal of the Central High School in Columbus, was 43 at the time of his appointment; and as a native New Englander, had written two published books of Massachusetts history by 1892.

Ray Greene Huling, mentioned previously as a co-founder of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, had A.B. and A.M. degrees from Brown. Before becoming a principal at Fitchburg, Massachusetts and New Bedford, Massachusetts, he had been a classical assistant for six years at Fall River (Massachusetts) High School, and by 1893 became headmaster at Cambridge English High School, where he served until 1908.

Another appointee with Ivy League background was James Harvey Robinson, who received an A.B. from Harvard, lectured in European history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1891-92, then taught at Columbia from 1892-1919. Robinson had written one book on European history by 1891. That, and his graduate work at the University of Freiburg in Germany, made him an attractive candidate for the conference from the point of view of people like Eliot.

Henry P. Warren was a graduate of Phillips Academy, had spent a year at Amherst, and graduated from Yale. He was immediately appointed principal of the New Bedford Grammar School, then moved as principal to the high school in Dover, New Hampshire (1872-75) and to the New Hampshire Normal School (1879-83). He was then English Master for four years at the Lawrenceville (New Jersey) School;

and in 1887, he became headmaster at the Albany Academy, where he stayed until his death in 1919. He wrote two books -- one of history stories and one of the history of a town in Maine.

The last two appointments were the geographical 'oddities' -- Jesse Macy and Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, of course, became governor of New Jersey and President of the United States; but in 1892, he was a 36-year-old professor of political jurisprudence and political economy. Despite his Bachelors from Princeton and his appointment as a professor there, it stands to reason that Wilson, who had written two noted books on government by 1891, was seen as a representative of the South. He was a native of Virginia, had attended Davidson, had a law degree from Virginia, where he had practiced for a year, and a doctorate form Johns Hopkins, which was in a 'southern' city, despite being in the North.

Macy was the only appointee from west of the Mississippi. At the age of 50, he had authored at least three books on government by 1891. His degree was from Iowa (now, Grinnell) College, where he had been principal of the Academy of Iowa College for 14 years before becoming professor of political science in 1885.

The Conference, with some exceptions, then represented the very elite views of the Northeast, particularly Ivy League institutions or preparatory schools or academies known to Eliot, Tetlow, Robinson, Taylor, Mackenzie, Angel and Harris of the parent Committee of Ten. The appointees had classical educations, and most authored works in the traditional fields of history or government. It is not surprising, then, that the report came to the general conclusions that it did. It would have been nearly impossible for these men to reconceptualize traditional fields of knowledge when one considers how deeply immersed in them that they were.

Credit is also given for assistance to Professors Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles H. Haskins, and to Mr. Wells, State Superintendent of Education for Wisconsin. Turner was a native of Wisconsin who received his A.B. and A.M. at the state university, then became a tutor in history at Madison in 1885 at the age of 24. He was appointed professor in 1889 and taught American history at Wisconsin until 1910, when he moved to Harvard, where he taught until his death in 1924. Haskins had just received his Ph.D. in European history at Johns Hopkins in 1890 and was beginning his teaching at the University of Wisconsin. He taught there until 1902, until he, too, moved to Harvard, where he taught for 29 years. Little is known of Mr. Wells. Nevertheless, the assistance these folks offered would have seemed most consonant with the establishment views and ideas of the Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy.

As noted earlier, the Committee of Ten sought to standardize requirements for each subject area taught in high school in relation to college entrance requirements. That was to include allotments of time and content, as well as to address methods of instruction and testing.

Overall, each of the separate conferences (Latin; Greek; English; Other Modern Languages; Mathematics; Physics, Chemistry and Astronomy; Natural History; History, Civil Government and Political Economy; Geography) agreed that there was a need to teach their respective subjects earlier and better. All agreed that they wanted correlation with other subjects (this in spite of, or maybe because of, the fact that each conference met separately). Of those that addressed the issue, there was also consensus agreement on the need of better trained teachers, though what that meant was not usually specified.

The seventh question from the Committee was answered 'unanimously in the negative by the Conferences,'[18] and that was that 'every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probably destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease.'[19] It was this statement that provided the foundation for arguments of a national curriculum and against tracking of students that had the greatest impact on educators of the time. Charles

De Garmo poetically noted, 'So long as he chooses to remain in school, the training given to the son of the artisan or the farmer shall not differ, so far as any given study is concerned, from that of the future scientist, statesman or professional man. Not only is this principle to hold good for social classes, but it is to be equally valued for the sexes.'[20] De Garmo went on to praise this egalitarian notion so in contrast with the caste idea in education found in countries like Germany.

Principal Cecil Bancroft of Phillips Academy writing in that same volume also praised this view shared by all of the Conferences. Francis Parker also lauded this conclusion of all of the conferences, calling it 'worth all the cost and all the pains that were necessary to produce the report. The conclusion is that there should be no such thing as class education.'[21]

As Wesley observed, despite the hosannas of praise for this concept, it was a sham. The high school students comprised only a small percentage of the total school population, and the conference members represented almost exclusively academies, colleges and universities. The recommendation was de facto; if not de jure, elitism. The Committee implied through its various curriculum programs (Classical, Latin-Scientific, Modern Languages and English) that one course taught well was as good as another. Baker, in his dissent to the report, strongly objected to this view. He encouraged more effort by the Committee, since these reports were so rushed; but his suggestions went unheeded. This notion that all subjects were of the same value was of particular importance to science and social science subjects that had been struggling for acceptance in a classics dominated curriculum, as the Committee of Ten noted. For this reason, the reports of the Sciences, Geography and of History, Civil Government and Political Economy were lengthier and more elaborate.

Some Committee suggestions had significant and swift impact on the schools. Noting the increased number of high school and college requirements, the Committee suggested more curricular and structural flexibility, particularly in the offering of a 6-6 program in schools rather than an 8-4 organization. This was instrumental in the calls soon after for a junior high school.

The Committee noted that a key to better learning was getting better teachers. It was suggested that to 'procure' better trained teachers, wiser utilization of certain agencies might help. First, at universities, summer programs should be available to more teachers by having their cities or towns pay the cost of tuition fees and traveling expenses for the teachers. Second, colleges and universities should offer coursework during the year to teachers in the main subjects that teachers offer in the local schools. Third, the superintendent, who was seen as a master teacher, could teach a 'whole body of teachers under his charge.'[22] The Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy discussed these issues briefly, and this will be discussed more fully below.

The Committee closed its section of the report by appealing to colleges and scientific schools to establish uniform dates for their admission examinations and to schools of Law, Medicine, Engineering and Technology, to arrange their admission requirements to conform to the courses of study recommended by the Committee.

The Report of the Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy

According to Tryon,[23] the NEA in 1876 recommended United States history for the common schools with 'universal' history and the study of the Constitution for high or prep schools. Up until 1876, and even after, history in schools had been a minor subject; and, as noted previously, struggled for acceptance and greater time in the school curriculum. The American Historical Association was founded in 1884 and chartered in 1889, so this was the first opportunity for AHA members to have some impact on the school curriculum. Thus, against this enthusiasm and backdrop, the conference examined the questions put to them by the Committee and produced the lengthiest document of any of the conferences that met under the aegis of the Committee of Ten.

Just as the larger Committee saw their mission as being for all students, the conference observed that their recommendations were more for non-college-bound students, in fact, even for 'the larger number of whom will not enter even a high school.'[24] The conference then stated the chief objective of historical study as training students to make good judgments using the lessons of history and to state their conclusions in their own words,[25] which sounds very much like critical thinking. The conference did not let the opportunity pass in which to speak against the trivia that permeated history study in schools, even then.

> When the facts are chosen with as little discrimination as in many school textbooks, when they are mere lists of lifeless dates, details of military movements or unexplained genealogies, they are repellant.[26]

The report is divided into seven sections, the bulk of which are in parts III Arrangement of Studies and IV Subjects and Programs. The first important question concerned when history should be taught in schools. Because it was not as widely accepted as a subject of school study, history was taught at widely disparate times and places in the curriculum. The conference seized the opportunity to recommend that children begin reading history at ages nine to eleven and that there be at least two years of 'methodical' history study in grammar school. Students should, they noted, have history in each year from grades five through twelve.

In their observations and solicitations of information from across the country, the conference found time spent on history teaching uneven, but approximating one to three periods (of 40 minutes each) per week nationwide. This should be, they stated, at least three 40-minute periods per week for eight years, around 900 exercises in all. Where would the extra school time come from to do this? They proposed solutions to this dilemma: The combining of teaching history, political geography, English and/or civil government and political economy. As the larger Committee of Ten noted, the same program was recommended by the conference for all students.

The Subjects of the Curriculum. The conference began with a strong recommendation that no general history be taught. Instead, they recommended Greek, Roman, English, American and French history; and European history taught in connection with French and English history.[27] '(T)he steady history must begin with Greece, for in Greece all history is found in a nutshell.'[28]

Later, overwhelming emphasis on American history cannot be traced to this conference. They noted, that the opportunity for comparison and the training gained from a study of other systems are both lost if the study of history is confined to that of our own country.'[29]

One of the most interesting and flexible suggestions of the Conference, one that has reappeared in various guises in many subsequent reports and recommendations, was that of intensive study of a brief period (depth not breadth). The conference gave some suggestions such as 'Spain in the New World,' 'The Mohammedans in Europe,' and 'American Political Leaders from 1783 to 1830,' but noted that 'many intelligent teachers will be able to find topics which the interest of their students and the resources of their libraries may make more suitable.'[30]

Just as scholars like Kieran Egan[31] and those of the Bradley Commission[32] 90 years later, the Conference felt that elementary study of history should begin with biography and mythology reinforced by good historical reading. This, they asserted, needed 'no argument' and none was offered.[33] After two years of this (grades 5 and 6), American history was suggested for grade 7 and Greek and Roman history for grade 8. The report noted that 'This order of subjects was strenuously urged in the conference by professors and teachers of American history, upon the express ground that the large number of pupils who leave the schools at the end of the grammar school course should not be deprived of the opportunity of learning something of other civilizations.'[34] This comment is interesting in at least two respects. First, because only Warren and Brown among the school people and only Hart among the college people had any background in American history. With probably deference toward the Harvard professor, this is one indication of the influence that Hart wielded even at a young age. The other point of interest is that the rationale used to justify this coursework for grade 8 was the same used to justify different coursework in subsequent reports (1899, 1916, for example) indicating the import of educational philosophy, rather than logical, historical thought in course selection recommendations.

The Conference noted the lack of chronological order, but did proclaim that there was a logically connected series. They also argued against a method common in Germany, 'by which the student begins with the history of his own city and widens out to his nation, to Europe, and perhaps eventually to the rest of the world,'[35] what we know today as the expanding communities model. Their biggest concern was that 'if this process is at any point interrupted the child is left with the feeling that the world stops where his study has ceased.'[36]

In recognizing that civil government is taught much less than history, the Conference recommended that civil government, including the elements of political economy, be allotted about one-half the time devoted to history and allied studies in each of the two years (grades 7 and 11) recommended.[37] It was seen as propitious, however, to integrate the study of government with American history.

The theoretical constructs of government seemed difficult to teach to children, thus the conference suggested emphasizing instances of the individual's contact with government contacts like city councils or local courts. Because of the complexity of studying foreign governmental systems, this was seen as not needing elaborate coverage, but the conference did see value in references to the German, Swiss, English and French governments in comparison to that of the United States.

The last subject discussed was political economy, which 'received no favorable consideration from the Conference in spite of the fact that two of its members had the expression 'Political Economy' in their academic titles.'[38] Noting that political economy is taught in only about one-twentieth of the high schools, is not attempted in other counties and suffers form a lack of trained teachers, the Conference chose to recommend no formal instruction in the area. Instead, they recommended teaching the principles of political economy in conjunction with American history, civil government, or common geography.

The fifth section of the report dealt with college examinations, which the Conference found compelled 'the teacher to accept bad methods for college preparation.'[39] Rather than just memory, the Conference saw an unmet need to test mental training, alertness, and intelligence as well. Colleges would do well to accept written tests or papers in history done in school as part of the evidence of preparation.

The lengthy sixth section presented ideas on methods of historical teaching. It was noted that much teaching is by rote from textbooks, textbooks that are frequently poor, antiquated, and dull. One conference member questioned whether, in light of this, history should be omitted altogether from school programs.

There were exceptions noted, but this was largely due to better trained teachers, which the Conference heartily supported. Teachers needed specialized training in history for new and in-service teachers. Thus, the university should cooperate with the schools in establishing training courses.

A number of useful methods were discussed, first being lectures, which should come after simple storytelling. Even during lectures, the Conference discouraged elaborate notetaking. Pupil preparation of lectures done jointly with the teacher was seen as interesting and profitable.

The textbook was seen as the center of the study of history in the schools, and this was viewed as right and proper by the Conference. But a good textbook, then, was essential, and the Conference offered their criteria for one: 1) it should be written by an expert in the field; 2) it should be 'conveniently' arranged; 3) it should deal with the essentials of history, avoiding accounts of military events or the mere outlines of political discussions; 4) it should have good maps; 5) the book should be interesting, with illustrations and quotes.

Few texts did as suggested, and the Conference recommended 'that a practice be established in the schools of using two, three, or four parallel textbooks at a time'[40] so that students could learn to compare and not accept the written word at face value. Even today this is still an unusual, but often lauded, practice. Though some teachers cite the difficulties in coordinating classroom teaching with more than one textbook, the Conference saw this as no problem.

On its face, the next two sections on recitations would seem inappropriate for today's classroom with the variety of teaching techniques emphasized. Mere lecture-recitation would seem to some as hopelessly outdated. The Conference, however, saw recitation as more than just regurgitation of facts. '(T)he question in a recitation ought not to demand from the pupils a bold repetition of the phrases or ideas of the book, but ought to call for comparison and comment.'[41] Comparisons and references to other subjects or previous lessons were to be encouraged. 'A few things' were to be memorized and, when forgotten, learned again, but these were to serve only as 'a framework to assist the memory.'[42]

Open text recitations were encouraged in order to develop and practice what would be referred to today as higher order thinking. Of necessity would be reference books. '(I)t is as impossible to teach history without reference books, as it is to teach chemistry without glass and rubber tubing.'[43]

Written exercises in history were mandatory, but were seen as expeditious to link English with history by having students write English compositions on subjects drawn from history lessons.[44]

Individual and original research was encouraged under the heading of the topical method. It was the teacher's duty to shape the topics chosen so that students would not select inappropriate projects.

> The topics must be very limited in scope; the writing of elaborate theses and monographs in the school is not be to commended; all the good results can be had by a succession of brief pieces. The material to be used may comprise the local records, which, in the towns possessing them, have seldom been carefully used.[45]

The best time for this study was during the one year 'intensive study of history,' but other times were also applicable. The reading of original sources was encouraged to reduce bias and because they are more 'delightful reading.'

All of this would improve history teaching and would be even more effective with proper surroundings such as an attractive classroom. Both the teacher and the students were seen as responsible for developing a positive attitude toward history through imaginative use of materials.

Use of various media was encouraged, such as debates, personal accounts of historical sites, and the use of the magic lantern. Even then, social studies teachers were encouraged to use media that today often makes them the target of derision for excessive film use of various countries or events.

The Conference reflected the times by encouraging constant references to 'the lives of great men,'[46] and that was really great white men such as Cicero, Charlemagne, Luther, John Calhoun, and Lincoln. Women were of little, if any, concern.

Despite a conference on geography, which will be discussed briefly below, the Conference on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy included some comments on historical geography. One of the Conference's resolutions recommended that history study should be linked to geography study, particularly historical, commercial, and political (human) geography. Good, inexpensive maps and atlases were greatly needed, it was noted.

The Conference's summary section was brief and offered no new insights. Directly following this is placed the geography conference report, mentioned above. The majority of the members of the conference saw their field as geology and meteorology, so-called physical geography, and produced a report that emphasized that area. This served to further split the field of geography in human (social science) and physical (hard science) factions. This is a split that geographers today are still seeking to reconcile.

The directions, suggestions and conclusions of the Geography Conference were unacceptable to Edwin J. Houston of Central High School in Philadelphia, who wrote a lengthy minority report which called for a more unified view of geography. Though Houston still was mostly concerned with physical geography, he saw political geography as part of that and suggested key questions about geographic features - 'What is it?', 'Where is it?', 'Why is it?' - that are as applicable to human as well as physical geography.

Reactions to the Committee Report

As noted earlier, most of the general attention to the report focused on the recommendation that every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil. G. Stanley Hall saw this as an extraordinary fallacy, as well as the notion that all subjects were of equal educational value if taught equally well. Hall's developmentalist view contrasted sharply with the mental disciplinarians who comprised the bulk of the members of the conferences and the Committee of Ten.[47] Hall later asserted that one-third of the dropouts in schools were a result of the loss of interest in the classical study proposed by the Committee of Ten.[48] Overall, most Herbartians felt that there were insufficient provisions for the teaching of science and social studies.[49]

Charles Adams thought that the final report of the Committee departed more from his Conference's recommendations than it did from any other.[50] Adams' view would obviously be limited, since he served on no other conference; but this would indicate that there was some dissatisfaction with the Committee's work, even on the part of some of the Conference members.

Tryon offered a simple assessment of the report based on school offerings. He noted the increase in schools offering the courses recommended by the Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, indicating that the report's recommendations might have been heeded. In addition, however, he observed that there was an increase in schools offering general history, a course specifically discouraged in the Conference Report, from 41% to 61% over the period 1894-1904 He, thus, saw reaction to the report as mixed.[51]

E. G. Dexter echoed that in noting that, 'more of the specific recommendations of the committee have been actually violated by the trend of high school organization, or have proved inert, than have been followed.'[52]

In 1896, Albion Small, head professor of the social studies of the University of Chicago and the initial force in the shaping of its sociology department, delivered an address to the National Education Association in which he expressed his dismay at the report of the Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, because it had no real sense of education as a whole. Rather than identifying particular subjects with various faculties (mathematics to train reasoning, history to train judgement, etc.), he saw the student as the rational center with 'pedagogy the science of assisting youth to organize their contacts with reality.'[53] Small went on to assert that 'educators shall not rate themselves as leaders of children but, as makers of society.' Small's impatience with the report, with the traditional course of study, and his belief in education as a shaper of society, was characteristic of a larger body of educators, mostly associated with John Dewey. They would finally see their ideas widely accepted and published in 1916 as part of the NEA's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education; but in 1894 (when the first report was published), they were still the minority.

'The AHA, perhaps depressed because the schools had failed to respond to the suggestions of the History Conference, set up its own Committee of Seven, which issued a report in 1899...'[54] In its introduction to that report, the AHA Committee acknowledged the 'highly interesting' Madison conference report of 1892, but still concluded that the state of history in the schools has not been accurately assessed. The Committee, thus, sought to provide common foundational work in history, just as the Committee of Ten's[55] Madison conference had sought to do.

E. V. Robinson was one observer who rejected the Conference's disavowal of general history teaching in the schools. He noted that Professor Salmon also disagreed with this[56c] and he offered his own model for grades 9-12 as follows.

Gr. 9 - Ancient History

Gr. 10 - Medieval and Modern History

Gr. 11 - English History

Gr. 12 - American History and Civics[57]

Sizer observed that had the Ten accurately predicted the changes in American Society and education -- changes clearly implied in the Commission of Education's statistics of 1892 -- the Report might have found a more permanent place in American school curricula.[58] This was particularly true for the Conferene on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy.

The Conference Report Today

As Tryon noted, many schools adopted some variation of the Conference recommendations. Sizer added that, '(I)t is clear that the Commitee of Ten started a movement toward research by committee with groups studying all sorts of things in the curriculum.'[59] As new reports were issued in 1899, 1908, 1910, and 1916, the import of the report of 1892 was eroded more and more. By 1980, the Conference recommendations had been reduced to a quaint, esoteric document. In 1988, however, the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools issued its guidelines and acknowledged its intellectual debt to the 'subcommittee' on History, Civil Government and Political Economy, which 'recommended that all students...should take four years of history on the secondary level.'[60] The Bradley Commission went on to extol the mental disciplinarian view attacked by Hall and no longer held to be accurate by most, if not all psychologists. The Commission lamented that 'this common, democratic curriculum did not survive the educational changes made during and after World War I.'[61]

As was discussed earlier, the winds of educational change were blowing almost as soon as the Committee of Ten Report was issued. Mental disciplinarians were losing their influence, and developmentalists were gaining greater adherents and respect. The Bradley Commission is historically inaccurate in its assertion of the common curriculum falling victim to changes during and after World War I. In fact, this common curriculum was a sham and was recognized as such by many educators in the 1890's. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, begun in 1912-13, had been preceded by three American Historical Association (AHA) reports in 1899, 1909 and 1910, which eroded the impact of the Conference Report of 1892 within five years of its issuance.

These AHA reports were either conveniently forgotten or intentionally snubbed by the Bradley Commission in its introduction, where it was stated

> The Bradley Commission, however, is the first national group to devote its attention exclusively to history in the schools. Indeed, the case for the importance of history has not been cogently and powerfully made since 1892, when the National Education Association appointed a distinguished Committee of Ten to examine the entire high school experience.[51]

Clearly, this statement is in error historically, which is more than ironic, considering the nature of the report and its recommendations. These inaccuracies should not totally undermine the strength of the report; but when the foundation is weak, that which is built upon it at least must be questioned. Under the circumstances, the Bradley Commissioners were obliged to present the borrowings from the 1892 report in their historical context. It would not have been enough to present the references merely in the context of the Report (which was not done), but to present the report in the context of the educational times. It would have been preferable to omit the references to the 1892 Report entirely than to manipulate their meaning for some smaller, personal reasons.

The recent unpublished draft prepared by the Curriculum Task Force of the National Commission on Social Studies in Schools and the National Social Science Disciplinary Associations draws, unknowingly it seems, some interesting parallels with the Report of 1892. The Task Force urges that "coverage' should be replaced by carefully selected topics studied in depth.'[63] which is quite similar to intensive study devoted to the careful study of some special period recommended by the Conference Report of 1892. The Task Force urged a separate course in geography that sounds much like the Conference on Geography Report, particularly Houston's minority report. There are a number of other similar instances.

All this, of course, could be a coincidence, and, in fact, probably is. Nevertheless, it does indicate the staying power of much of the Report of 1892 and the need for better historical perspective on the field of social studies.

The Committee of Ten Report was born out of concern for the uneven fit between schools and colleges and the perceived need for standards, if not standardization. The desire for a national curriculum was strong for these men who felt that they saw America's needs clearly. Despite that, they still offered no fewer than four programs (Classical, Latin-Scientific, Modern Languages, English) for students in the high school, all of which they claimed were equally good. The Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy saw an opportunity to increase their time in the schools and attempted to seize that opportunity. Their report was lengthy, detailed, and made more specific comments and recommendations than any other conference.

Certain hierarchies emerged from that report. Political economy is less important than civil government. Civil government is less important than history. History is best taught in conjunction with geography, English and/or civil government.

Despite their failure to use the phrase 'social studies,' since it did not come into popular use until 20 years later, the Conference advocated a social studies approach. The boundaries between and among subjects were fuzzy and often traversed in topical pursuit. Intensive study of a period was to include all aspects of study, not merely chronology. Study was not just a combined social science approach, but one encompassing literature, social sciences, and all aspects of human life. In the midst of fragmented argumentation for stronger coverage of geography advocated by geographers, or economics advocated by the Joint Council on Economic Education, and history advocated by reports like those of the Bradley Commission, it would not be unwise to use reports like that of 1892 to help get to the nub of the issue to many people -- social studies or social sciences. At a time when social studies did not even exist, a group of educators saw fit to inspire, if not invent it, in thought and tone. Their views, though dated, are not out-of-date.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies*, published for the National Education Association by American Book Co., NY, 1894, p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Wesley, Edgar B. *NEA: The First Hundred Years*, Harper and Brothers, NY, 1957.

[4] Butler, N.M., *Across the Busy Years*, Vol. 1, p. 196.

[5] Ibid. p. 197.

[6] Committee of Ten, p. 4.

[7] Krug, E. A. *Charles W. Elliot and Popular Education*, p. 5.

[8] This according to Selmeir, "Curriculum Construction in National Committees, 1880-1930," 1948, p. 34 quoting Robinson of the Committee of Ten.

[9] Butler, op. cit. p. 196.

[10] Wesley, op. cit., p. 73.

[11] Committee of Ten, p. 8.

[12] Butler, N.M. "The Reform of Secondary Education in the United States," *Atlantic Monthly*. 73:372-383, March 1894.

[13] Committee of Ten, pp. 6-7.

[14] Boozer, H. R. "The American Historical Association and the Schools, 1884-1956", p. 48.

[15] Ibid, p. 46.

[16] Harley, L. R. *Education*, p. 334.

[17] Three other Conference members, Hart (1909), Wilson (1924) and Robinson (1929) would serve as president of the AHA.

[18] Committee of Ten, p. 17.

[19] Ibid, p. 17.

[20] De Garmo, C. "Report of the Committee of Ten," *Educational Review* VII, March 1894, p. 275.

[21] Parker, F. W. "The Report of the Committee of Ten," Educational Review VII, May 1894, p. 488.

[22] Committee of Ten, p. 54.

[23] Tryon, Rolla. The Social Sciences as School Subjects.

[24] Committee of Ten, p. 167.

[25] Ibid, p. 170.

[26] Committee of Ten, p. 168.

[27] Committee of Ten, p. 175.

[28] Ibid, p. 175.

[29] Ibid, p. 176.

[30] Ibid, p. 177.

[31] E.g. Egan, K., "Social Studies and the Erosion of Education." Curriculum Inquiry.

[32] Bradley Commission on History in Schools, "Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools."

[33] Committee of Ten, p. 177.

[34] Ibid, p. 178.

[35] Committee of Ten, p. 179.

[36] Ibid., p. 179.

[37] Ibid, p. 180.

[38] Tryon, Rolla. The Social Sciences as School Subjects, pp. 11-12.

[39] Committee of Ten, p. 183.

[40] Ibid, p. 189.

[41] Ibid, p. 190.

[42] Ibid, p. 190.

[43] Ibid, p. 193.

[44] Ibid, p. 195.

[45] Ibid, p. 197.

[46] Ibid, p. 198.

[47] Herbert Kliebard discusses this more fully in The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958, pp. 12-16.

[48] Selmeier, H.L., op. cit., p. 63.

[49] Ibid, p. 59 and De Garmo, op. cit.

[50] Selmeier, op. cit., p. 57.

[51] Tryon, R., op. cit., p. 12.

[52] Dexter, E. G., Quoted in Sizer, T. R., Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century, Yale University Press, 1964, p. 187.

[53] Small, Albion quoted in Kliebard, op. cit. p. 61.

[54] Sizer, T. R., op. cit.

[55] Committee of Seven of AHA, The Study of History in Schools, MacMillan Co., NY 1899.

[56] Professor Lucy Salmon of Vassar was one of the AHA's Committee of Seven of 1899.

[57] Robinson, E.V. "An Ideal Course in History for Secondary Schools," School Review, November 1898, p. 672.

[58] Sizer, op. cit, p. 205.

[59] Ibid, p. 194.

[60] Bradley Commission on History in Schools, Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools, p. 1.

[61] Ibid, p. 1.

[62] Ibid, p. 1.

[63] Curriculum Task Force of the National Commission on Social Studies in Schools and the National Social Science Disciplinary Associations, "Charting a Course: Social Studies Curriculum for the 21st Centruy," Preamble, p. 7.

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"The Social Contexts of the Committee on Social Studies Report of 1916"

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No work in social studies has been consistently referred to over the past 75 years as much as The Social Studies in Secondary Education, Bulletin No. 28 (1916) of the United States Bureau of Education. This volume, the Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association has developed a mystique of its own and inspired tones of reverence when the work is mentioned.

Despite this awe, it seems safe to state that few social studies educators have ever seen this slim bulletin of 63 pages and even fewer have read it. Yet the Report is viewed as seminal in the foundations of the social studies. The recent spate of reports on history/geography in the schools places much of the blame for the woeful status of history knowledge on the erosive effect on history by social studies over the past 75 years. The reference, be it indirect, is to the 1916 Report.

Even though most social studies educators have failed to read the 1916 Commission Report, many of those same educators seem to "know" what is contained within that Report and see that knowledge as foundational in the existence of the very field of social studies. Is it any wonder that social studies educators are often at a loss to clearly present the underlying precepts of their field?

What is it that is known about the 1916 Report? The so-called conventional wisdom needs to be presented and assessed in the light of today's use of that wisdom. This essay will present the 1916 Commission Report in both educational and historic contexts. From whence did the ideas for this report emerge and why? The procedures and content of the Report are then examined with particular focus on the Commission members and their respective ideologies. The last section of this piece looks at the Commission Report today in light of the recent rash of curriculum reports and recommendations. It is hoped that by scrutinizing the 1916 Commission

Report closely regarding its members, content, structure, historic and educational perspectives and impact, the reports of the past years may become more meaningful and clearly understood.

It is interesting that despite the great acknowledgement given to the ramifications of the 1916 Commission Report, few scholars have ever examined the Report closely. An exception is Michael Lybarger, whose 1981 dissertation, "Origins of the Social Studies Curriculum, 1865-1916" almost immediately became a standard in the foundational study of the social studies.

Unfortunately, rather than acting as a catalyst for more interpretive study of the Commission Report, it instead was seen by many as the ne plus ultra of this analysis. Lybarger, many felt, had "done" the Commission Report. What more should be examined regarding it? Surely this Report deserves more attention. One examination of the Constitution or even of "A Nation at Risk" hardly is enough. At the 1988 meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, the attention given to E. D. Hirsch's Cultural Literacy and Allen Bloom's The Closing of the American Mind resulted in more papers and symposia than have ever been devoted to the 1916 Report at any NCSS meeting. Part of the reason for that is because NCSS was not created until March 3, 1921; but nevertheless, this Report has endured and generated a body of folk knowledge within and outside the field of social studies education.

What folk knowledge has been handed down regarding this Report? First is the fact that this was the first NEA Commission report after a number of American Historical Association and American Political Science Association reports. Second was the use of the term social studies, which had not been in popular use before this. Third was the curricular structure offered by the report - seventh grade would have geography, eighth and eleventh grades United States History, ninth grade would be civics, tenth grade European History, and twelfth grade a new course, Problems of Democracy. Fourth was the belief that this curriculum immediately fell into place in America's schools, and that's what we still see today. That's it. Through the miracle of educational reductionism, the ideology and tenor of the 1916 Report has vanished, the background has been distorted and the flexible curricular structure calcified. The Commission Report deserves better. It is hoped that this work will build upon Lybarger's scholarship and stimulate more assessments of the Reports of this Commission.

The Commission Reports - Historical Background

At the time of the appointment of various committees of the National Education Association in 1913, a number of national and international issues were prominent and would have an obvious effect on the committee procedure and selection of content. The issues were often intertwined, and teasing them out may simplify their very complexities. Thus, one should not reduce these issues in the singular fashion that they are presented here. That will be done only for clarity.

First was the threat of war in Europe and the question of potential American involvement. At the time of the Committee's appointment (1913), tension was high in Europe, but war had not begun. During the two years that the Committee on the Social Studies met, the Great War began and grew to engulf most of the European continent. The factions for and against American involvement in Europe grew more vocal. Unlike World War II, there was often decided indifference toward the war in Europe among many Americans. The school curriculum had little response until the American entry into the war after the issuance of the Committee Report in 1916. Nevertheless, European affairs dominated the international section of major newspapers, and this may have had some effect on the Committee as it met from 1914 to 1916.

As Europe erupted in war, it also increased the great wave of Eastern and Southern European immigrants, most of whom came to America. These immigrants were in sharp contrast to the better educated western Europeans who had constituted the previous great wave of emigres. Much like many Asian and South American emigres today, these Europeans not only could not read and write English, many could neither read nor write any language. Some had no access to schools because of economic reasons or legislative fiat.

Overall, these emigrants were poorer, had less access to education or proper health care, and few contacts with the franchise. Many had been discriminated against in their own "homelands" for being minorities in a larger majority-dominated society. These immigrants flooded America's shores and crowded America's large cities. The Committee was acutely aware of the "problems" generated through the arrival and settlement of these immigrants, and the Report reflects that awareness and concern.

Just as today, the arrival of new, unskilled immigrants made the exploitation of workers by business a common practice. The use in industrialization was still heavily labor intensive, and the immigrants provided the bodies for the sweatshops and factories that grew into larger corporations. The debate over child labor and subsequent child labor laws were passed at this time. Laws restricting work to a 54-hour week were also passed, and talk of a minimum wage was begun. Nevertheless, many workers were working more than 60 hours per week, children were the backbone of many industries, and industrial accidents left workers maimed or dead with no compensation.

In the urban slums, cold water flats with no toilets were common, and immigrants often were so overcrowded that diseases spread rapidly. Settlement Houses and other private social welfare agencies arose to meet the needs of this exploited underclass. Many of the members of the 1916 Committee were also members of the Municipal League, a socially concerned private organization found in cities throughout the United States.

The exploitation of workers at all levels led to the great rise in unionism from the late 1800's through the early 1900's. This struggle was fraught with death, destruction of property, and cries of public corruption. The Haymarket Riot of 1886 was only the beginning of threats, strikes, lockouts and violent union busting activities. As active members of the Municipal League with strong social concerns, it is highly unlikely that the Committee members were not aware of the union activity, as well as the pressures to quash such activities by industrial/corporate forces.

The Commission Reports - Educational Background

Reducing the tremendous movements in American education from 1900 to 1916 to a few pages does a disservice to them all, but some should be highlighted, if only for purposes of recognition. From this milieu of concerns came many of the pressing issues that shaped the Commission on the Reorganization of SEcondary Education.

The rising tide of immigrant children had to be schooled not just for their own benefit, but for that of their parents and society generally. Knowledge of language, custom, health practices and economic consumerism would be left to the schools to provide. All of these concerns and others would be taught to these young immigrants so that they would come to understand their civic duties as both citizens and landed immigrants. The survival of "proper" civic virtue was dependent upon the school's initiative.

At the time of the Committee's existence, the finest public high schools were located in the heart of the cities. Suburbs, as they are known today, hardly existed, and smaller town high schools could or would not provide the comprehensive curriculum available in the urban centers. Even in the city school systems, fewer than 15% of the elementary students went on to high school, often under 10%. To put this into today's terms, the dropout rate ran at anywhere from 85 to 90%. Recognizing that situation meant that the Committee's recommendations for high school were for a very small percentage of students. Thus, the important concerns were really for the seventh and eighth grade or, in some places, the ninth.

This ambivalence regarding grade nine was due to the fact that the junior high school had just begun. The movement to junior highs would flower in the 1920's; and, although the Committee was hopeful of this occurring, they could not be sure.

The calls for a middle school had been prominent as early as 1892 when President Eliot of Harvard had chaired the committee of ten which had suggested the earlier introduction of high school subjects. Soon after that, such institutions appeared -- Richmond Indiana with a 6-2-4- plan in 1896, Baltimore with a 6-3-2 plan for the brightest students, Berkeley, California and Columbus, Ohio in 1908. By 1916, over 250 junior high schools had been established nationwide in cities large and small.

With the growth of junior high schools, curricular practices were altered. No longer would students leave after graduating elementary schools. Instead, in many schools grade nine would be the terminal grade and curriculum could be altered accordingly. The committee of 1916 acknowledged this, and the overall schema presented was dependent upon it. This is often overlooked and will be discussed more in the next section.

The period 1913 - 1916 was the forerunner of the great growth of Progressivism in American education following World War I. Col. Parker's ideas were furthered by Dewey and his work at the University of Chicago Laboratory School. Child-centered and society-centered factions of progressivism would emerge after the War, but in 1916, Dewey and the scientific approach to curriculum and schooling were favorably viewed by most of the school people on the Committee.

Progressivism in education seemed to fit naturally with the social progressivism of the late 1800's and the commensurate concerns with social welfare for all Americans. This concern led to more attention to "social study" in schools. Lybarger notes this concern in social scholars like James Gillette who authored "An Outline of Social Study for Elementary Schools" in the American Journal of

Sociology in 1914, and especially Franklin Giddings of Columbia, who had direct or indirect contact with almost all of the Committee members. (Lybarger, 1981, 175)

The Committee Report was the climax of over 20 years of various committee reports examining the schools and making recommendations for their curriculum. The first in 1894 was also under the aegis of the National Education Association and was known as the Committee of Ten. The subcommittee on History, Civic Government, and Political Economy was chaired by Charles Kendall Adams of the University of Wisconsin. This report, 40 pages in length, had over 30 resolutions proposed by a committee of 4 historians, 3 political scientists or political economists, and 3 school principals. This committee included Woodrow Wilson, E.G. Bourne, Jesse Macy and Albert Bushneel Hart, and sought to codify the offerings of history in school. They stated that political economy and civil government should be coordinated with history and that English and geography should be brought into close study with history. Clearly, this is the kind of thinking that led to the creation of the term and concept "social studies;" but because it did not exist as such at that time, "strict constructionists" argue for history above all.

The Committee of Ten offered two curricular sequences for history, civil government and political economy -- a preferred and an alternative sequence. The preferred was an eight-year sequence beginning in grade five and carrying through grade twelve. It is shown below:

Grade 5 Grade 6	(referred to as grade) Biography and Mythology
Grade 7	American history and elements of civil government
Grade 8	Greek and Roman history with their oriental connections
Grade 9	French history
Grade 10	English history
Grade 11	American history
Grade 12	A special period to be studied intensively

The alternative six-year plan appeared as follows:

Grade 7	Biography and Mythology
Grade 8	
Grade 9	American history and civil government
Grade 10	Greek and Roman history with their oriental connections
Grade 11	English history
Grade 12	American history and civil government

All study should be at least three 40-minute class periods per week for the entire school year.

This report hardly had time to be digested when another report was commissioned by the American Historical Association in 1896. This report, the Committee of Seven, was chaired by Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Michigan. Overall, the Committee consisted of only one teacher, and this report was much more extensive than the previous committee's (1894). The volume runs over 250 pages, of which nearly half are appendices consisting of status reports on history in American secondary schools, elementary schools, German gymnasia, French Lycees, English secondary schools, and Canadian secondary schools.

This Committee recognized the work of the Committee of Ten of 1894 which had a coincidental member with the Committee of Seven (Albert Bushnell Hart), but noted that this new work was the first to provide a status study and to begin to lay "the foundations for a common understanding" (Committee of Seven, 1899, 4). The committee would make recommendations for history study in the schools, but noted that "when all is said and done, only so much will be adopted as appeals to the sense and judgment of the secondary teachers and superintendents, and that any rigid list of requirements, or any body of peremptory demands, however judiciously framed, not only would, but should, be disregarded in schools whose local conditions make it unwise to accept them" (Committee of Seven, 4-5).

The Committee presented a four years' course consisting of four blocks or periods to be studies in the order presented by the Committee. The first block was Ancient History with special reference to Greek and Roman history, but including also a short introductory study of the more ancient nations up to about the year 843 and the treaty of Verdun.

The second block would cover medieval and Modern European history from the end of the above period to present (1899).

Block three was to be English history from pre-Norman conquest to the present.

The fourth block was to be American history and civil government. In making this recommendation, the committee mentioned that American history "is given in the eighth and lower grades in probably the vast majority of schools...(Committee of Seven, 38). Thus it would be best to offer it later in high school as an advanced subject "with the purpose of getting a clear idea of the course of events in the building of the American Republic and the development of its political ideas" (Committee of Seven, 74). It was thus deemed most expeditious to teach civil government and history as one subject rather than as two distinct subjects (Committee of Seven, 81).

The concerns of the elementary schools were addressed by the American Historical Association's Committee of Eight, which was constituted in 1905 and issued its report in 1909. The committee consisted of three superintendents, two members from normal schools, two from colleges, and the chairman, James Alton James of Northwestern University. This committee began by acknowledging the work of the Committees of 1894 and 1899 and noted that a member of the latter committee, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, had also outlined a six-year course of study which was though suitable for the elementary schools of the country" (Committee of Eight, vii).

The plan, as stated by the committee, was "based on the proposition that the history teaching in the elementary schools should be focused around American history" (Committee of Eight, x). The descriptions of the offerings of grades one through eight are as follows.

First and second grades should "give the child an impression of primitive life and an appreciation of the public holidays" (Committee of Eight, 1). They focus on Indian Life, Thanksgiving, Washington's Birthday, Local Events, and Memorial Day.

Grade three examines heroes, Columbus, Indians, Independence. Fourth grade was to deal with American explorers (i.e. explorers of North America), colonial Virginia life, colonial New England life, life in other colonies, local pioneers, Washington, New France and Franklin.

Fifth grade considered more of this, including narrative pre-revolutionary biographies; the Revolution and its heroes; the Great West; the Northwest; the New Republic and its growth; later great statesmen like Webster, Clay and Calhoun; the Civil War; and Great Industries.

Grade six would introduce American history, then study Ancient Greece and her neighbors the Romans, the later Teutons, trade between east and west including the Crusades, the age of discovery, and European rivalries of that time.

Seventh grade would deal with the exploration and settlement of North American and the growth of the colonies until the close of the French and Indian War (Committee of Eight, 48). Eighth grade would be the history of the American nation. This entire report included lists of books for every section of each grade level for teacher and children's uses. The courses were presented in chronological outlines. The committee also noted that elementary civics should permeate the entire school life of the child. They, too, recommended that "civics and history should, so far as possible, be taught as allied subjects..." (Committee of Eight, 117). However, they also felt that specific civic instruction could not be successfully accomplished prior to grade five.

In 1907 another committee was appointed by the AHA to present a report on the Study of History in Secondary schools. This Committee (of Five) issued its report in 1911, by which time one of its members, Charles W. Mann, a professor of history at the Lewis Institute, in Chicago had died. Thus, only four members signed the report; and of those four, three, A. C. McLaughlin, now of the University of Chicago, Charles Haskins of Harvard, and James Harvey Robinson of Columbia, had been on one of the previous committee reports issued. The fourth member was James Sullivan, principal of Boys' High School in Brooklyn. The Committee of Five recognized this overlap and noted that they used the Committee of Seven report as their starting point. Thus, this new report contained both new recommendations for change and for implementing the work of the Committee of Seven.

Overall, the Committee of Five saw little to change from the recommendations of the report twelve years earlier. They felt that a substantially similar curriculum in history did exist nationally, and, with local modifications where necessary, that this was a good thing. In response, however, to a petition from the Headmasters' Association, this new Committee re-examined the block schedules of the Committee of Seven.

After much discussion, the Committee of Five proposed that the new schedule be as follows for the four years of high school:

A. Ancient History to 800 A.D. with the last 500 years to be passed over more rapidly.

B. English History to about 1760.

C. Modern European History, including introductory medieval history and English history from 1760.

D. American History and government arranged on such a basis that some time may be secured for the separate study of government. (In contrast to the recommendation of the Committee of Seven.)

From this mileau of recommendations, reports and assessments, the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies Report emerged. Shortly afterward (1921) another AHA committee (a second Committee of Eight) produced a report on history in the schools. Much of the results of this report and subsequent discussion are to be found in issues of Historical Outlook from February to June 1921.

All of these reports were acknowledged by A. C. Krey and his Committee of the American Historical Association in a 1926 report that called for a more detailed study of history and other social studies in the schools. This led to the formation of the exhaustive multi-volume study led by Krey that was published as the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies in the 1930's. Despite the time and effort spent, this report seems to have had little effect on social studies in school or out. Thus, it becomes more intriguing to recognize the "endurance" of the 1916 report in light of so many other reports issued before and after, including ones by the American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Association.

The Report of the 1916 Committee -
The Social Studies in Secondary Education

In 1912, the Committee on Articulation of High School and College of the NEA recommended the appointment of high school subject matter subcommittees, and these were appointed the next year by the NEA president at that time, Edward F. Fairchild, the president of New Hampshire College (now the University of New Hampshire). "Many people, including each State (sic) superintendent, were asked to suggest persons best qualified for this important work" (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1913, 7). The chairman was Thomas Jesse Jones, formerly of the Hampton Institute; and his statement of 1913 indicates his view of the Committee's work. He noted that "good citizenship should be the aim of social studies in the school" and that social studies should have direct responsibility for the social welfare of the community. Thus, only fact, conditions and activities that contribute to human betterment should be taught (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1913, 16-17).

It should be noted that in Clarence Kingsley's address to the NEA as chairman of the Committee on Articulation of High School and College, he asserted that:

> "...each committee has attempted to make these aims specific and to express them in terms of the effect to be produced upon the boy or girl either in the power to execute or in the ability to appreciate rather than in terms of subject matter to be mastered." (Kingsley, 1914, 483)

Thus, subject matter was to be a means to an end, and Kingsley went on to illustrate this point for various subject areas. In history, aims such as the appreciation of the development of the rights of the individual as achieved by the Anglo-Saxon were to be stressed. In civics, a point of view that would lead to cooperation with the local charity organization was preferable (Kingsley, 484).

This was consistent with Jones's statement that an aim of social studies was not exhaustive knowledge, but to see the significance of these (community) matters and to arouse a desire to know more of environment, i.e. "to think and live 'civically'" (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1913, 17).

The Committee on Social Studies had been meeting for approximately a year by the time of the 1913 bulletin. Many of their later recommendations were obvious in this earlier statement by Jones. The term "civics," for example, was defined as including "all the possible activities of the good citizen, whether as individual or with private organizations or with the government" (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1913, 18).

Before proceeding further it is appropriate to examine more closely the individuals who constituted the committee, their ideologies as best can be ascertained, and the procedures that resulted in the Committee Report of 1916. In that way the contents of the report may make greater sense, particularly when viewed against the backdrops presented earlier.

The committee was dominated, at least in published materials, by the thoughts of Thomas Jesse Jones, and Arthur W. Dunn. Both men claimed in correspondence to have written the report (Lybarger, 1981). Jones had had a long career at the Hampton Institute before joining the Bureau of Education in 1912. There are references throughout the report to Hampton where Jones had established one of the first programs in social studies. In Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum (1906) reprinted from a series of articles in the Southern Workman, Jones, who later led the Phelps-Stokes Education Fund, presented the foundations for his "civic" thinking. Jones' work at Hampton was almost exclusively with blacks and Native Americans who were "totally lacking in ideals of the home, the school, the church or the state" (Jones, 1906, 2). Jones saw Negroes as inferior, but not hopeless. He believed that they might become equal if they were to develop their race through proper economics, sociology and civics. If they did, then the eventual eradication of prejudice was likely. Social studies was to provide the opportunity for the Negro and the Indian "to understand the essentials of a good home, the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, the cost and meaning of education, the place of labor and the importance of thrift." (Jones, 1906, 1).

Jones may appear to be a blatant racist with his evolutionary notions. Lybarger has shown the great influence of Franklin Giddings and his work at Columbia on the influence of climate on character. This was an underlying principle of much thought in social work at that time, and it was clearly influential in the Municipal League. In addition, however, Jones' thoughts and comments were consistent with the evolutionist writings of Lewis Henry Morgan, who envisioned human history as consisting of three major ethnical periods -- Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization -- which were passed through sequentially over many years.[1]

Jones laments the swift passage from slavery (savagery) to the demands of civilization. "The justification of this radical step is in the need of the Negro and Indian arising from the fact that they have been suddenly transferred from an earlier form of society into a later one without the necessary time of preparation." (Jones, 1906, 4). Thus, Jones pleaded for patience, moderation and time. Negroes and Indians should work hard at their own level rather than demanding more than they were capable of. Lybarger quotes Giddings as observing that, "(The Negro) still relapses into savagery, but kept inn contact with whites he readily takes the external impress of civilization." (Lybarger, 175). Thus, blacks should listen to whites for guidance and character, not other blacks. This paternalism may seem admirable, but it is still racism, however benign. The view was reflected in the ideas of many of the committee's members.

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[1] An excellent discussion of the evolutionists is found in Marvin Harris' The Rise of Anthropological Theory, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York 1968.

William Arey of the Hampton Institute had been a colleague of Jones there and had also studied sociology as a graduate student at Columbia under Franklin Giddings, as had S. B. Howe of the Committee. Lybarger observed that Kingsley had taken a course from Giddings at Columbia (Lybarger, 1981).

J. Lynn Barnard had a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania and was in the School of Pedagogy in Philadelphia as a professor of history and government. The school was attached to Central High School, whose principal from 1893 to 1920 was Robert Ellis Thompson. Up until 1892, Thompson had been a professor of social science at the University of Pennsylvania where he espoused the same social Darwinist thought as Giddings (Lybarger, 1981, Chapter III).

George Bechtel, Frank Boyden, Jessie Evans and J. Herbert Low had all "attended colleges and took coursework in sociology at institutions where Giddings' textbooks are known to have been used." (Lybarger, 124). This is speculative, but still makes the influence of Giddings and other social Darwinists a real possibility.

Henry Burch was another graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and "spent three years at the School of Pedagogy, before joining the Department of History and Economics at Central High School where he taught until 1912" (Lybarger, 114), the year that the Committee was originally appointed.

F. W. Carrier, as part of the subcommittee that authored the 1915 Bulletin, "The Teaching of Community Civics" had helped gather the data for said bulletin as did Kingsley, while participating in a course taught at Hyannis (MA) for teacher of community civics. The course was taught by J. Lynn Barnard; and although not part of that subcommittee, Jessie Evans did provide acknowledged suggestions in its writing. She also co-authored with Barnard two civics books based on the recommendations of the Committee on Social Studies.

Blanche Hazard, the other woman on the committee was at the High School of Practical Arts in Boston when the committee was appointed, but had joined the faculty at Cornell, which had deep roots in the social welfare movement, by the time the report was published in 1916.

William T. Morrey, a history teacher, and William A. Wheatley were among the ten committee members who were also members of the National Municipal League, according to Lybarger (Barnard, Bechtel, Branison, Burch, Carrier, Jones, Kingsley, and Dunn were the others).

William H. Mace had a Ph.D. from Jena University in Prussia and an LLD from Syracuse. At the time of the Committee's Report, he had been retired for more than ten years as a professor of history and political science.

James Harvey Robinson, the only committee member who had served on a previous committee (that of 1892-94), was one of the most respected of American historians and at the peak of his career in 1912. He had written books on various aspects of European history, including the French Revolution, the rise of Prussia, Italian city-states and western civilization.

Two of the original members of the Committee, H. M. Barrett, principal of East High School in Denver and Alexander E. Cance of Massachusetts Agricultural College (now University of Massachusetts - Amherst) left the Committee before the final report, and Bechtel, Carrier, Hamilton and Kingsley were appointed some time after the formation of the original committee.

Arthur W. Dunn, the Secretary of the Committee was also not an original committee member, but was employed as civic education specialist in the Bureau of Education. The Bureau had no specialists in secondary education (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1913, 5); but because the Municipal League paid part of Dunn's salary while he was at the Bureau, he was the exception to the above statement (Lybarger, 191). Dunn had studied sociology at the University of Chicago under Albion Small and, before coming to the Bureau, had been director of instruction and training in civics for the Indianapolis schools.

It should be clear that the National Municipal League had a great interest in the committee's work. The League was a non-partisan (though vehemently anti-Socialist) organization interested in reform through gradual and orderly change. Members of the League felt that the key to Municipal reform lay in education - first through adult social study clubs. Social studies to the Municipal League was "the simplified findings of social science and sociology whose dissemination will ameliorate the lot of unfortunate city dwellers in order to establish the necessary preconditions for Municipal reform." (Lybarger, 207).

In 1903, a League Committee on Civic Education (which included Dunn, Carrier and Barnard) had recommended that students study the present, not the past, and, if possible, the future. Despite appearances, Lybarger notes that there was "no evidence of conspiracy or desire to restrict choices available to children in American schools." (Lybarger, 265). Clearly the bulk of the Committee members had a very consonant ideology, and that will be discussed more freely below.

The Committee was appointed by the NEA president, but very few members of the Committee were NEA members. Kingsley and Jones were likely given their head to recommend appointees, and it is no surprise that the Committee was heavily weighted toward social reformers. The Committee met for three years for sessions of one or two days each and subcommittees met at other times. Jones noted in his preface that the committee had conferred with many persons not members of the committee and had met in conference with representative of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.

Jones also notes in the preface a 1915 report written by a subcommittee and published as "The Teaching of Community Civics" (Bulletin 1915, No. 23). "This bulletin, which is referred to in the body of the present report, should be considered, therefore, as an integral part of the Report of the Committee on Social Studies." (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1916, 6). That 1915 Bulletin was, as mentioned previously, developed in the summer of 1914 when Dr. Barnard conducted a course, at the invitation of the Massachusetts Board of Education, for teachers of community civics. The sentiments of the Commissioner of Education were consonant with the subcommittee that prepared the report. The Commissioner, P. P. Claxton, noted:

> "For good citizenship men and women must not only have good will, but an abiding interest in the welfare of the community. They must also have a working knowledge of social agencies, good judgment as to methods of social activities, and a more or less comprehensive understanding of fundamental principles of social life and progress." (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1915, No. 23, 5)

This bulletin was divided into three parts, the latter being bibliographical suggestions. Part I was "Aims and Methods in Teaching Community Civics." The good citizen was defined as "a person who habitually conducts himself with proper regard for the welfare of the communities of which he is a member, and who is active and intelligent in his cooperation with his fellow members to that end." (Bulletin, 1915, No. 23, 9). Stages in developing good citizenship were described and community civics defined and described. Since these duplicate the statements of the 1916 Bulletin, they will not be given here. Eleven elements of welfare for study were listed in part I and described more fully in part II. These elements were the same given in the chairman's statement of 1913 and the final report of 1916. There were minor modifications, but the essence of this report was given in 1913 and developed in the subsequent reports of 1915 and 1916. The key elements of welfare for study were health,protection of life and property, recreation, education, civic beauty, wealth, communication, transportation, migration, charities, correction.

The body of the 1916 Report begins on page 9 with a definition of social studies as "those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups."

(Bulletin, 196, 9). The aims of social studies were social efficiency, the cultivation of good citizenship, including loyalty to high national ideals. The Committee was, it stated, more interested in "socialization" than the number of social studies offered or the number of hours for each.

One of the most important statements in the introduction noted that,

> The Committee has refrained from offering detailed outlines of courses, on the ground that they tend to fix instruction in stereotyped forms inconsistent with a real socializing purpose. The selection of topics and the organization of subject matter should be determined in each case by immediate needs. (Bulletin, 1916, 10)

The Committee went on to illustrate the importance of teachers' independent selections of data with a quote from Bulletin, No. 17 "Civic Education in Elementary Schools as Illustrated in Indianapolis" by Arthur W. Dunn.

Lest one believe that the social reformist bent of the Committee made it solely social reconstructionist in philosophy, the Committee's next concern clearly belies that. They noted that the high school course had been determined too largely by supposed future needs and called for more emphasis on present needs and past experience.

The next concern of the committee was curricular continuity, which was in some disarray with the advent of the junior high school. They noted that secondary education must now include grades seven and eight. As mentioned earlier, the junior high school plan flowered in the 1920's. One early rationale for junior highs and a 6-3-3 alignment was to keep students a year longer and school them in better citizenship (Briggs, 1920).

The committee explained what it called the "cycle" plan of organization -- two three-year cycles preceded by an earlier six-year cycle -- as coinciding roughly with the physiological periods of adolescence, but was "based chiefly upon the practical consideration that large numbers of children complete their schooling with the sixth grade and another large contingent with the eight and ninth grades." (Bulletin, 1916, 12). This is a vital component of the Report easily ignored by later eulogists of it.

The Report recognized a very real problem of early school leaving. Statistical data and many cultural anecdotes of the time illustrate the vividness of this "problem." The Committee of 1916 essentially reduced the vital content of social studies to European history, geography, American history and civics. They did not believe that a "double dose" of them was the answer for all. They also recognized the shallowness required to make them understandable to all in grades 7-9. The Committee thought civics was necessary in both eighth and ninth grade, not only if many schools remained on an 8-4 organization,but to provide the pupil with a "motivation for the continuation of his education" (Bulletin, 1916, 14). If the percentage of students going on to high school (because of stricter compulsory attendance regulations) had approached what is true today, it seems obvious that the Committee would have taken a different turn. What that might have been would be merely speculative, but that will be discussed in the next section of this essay. The Committee also recognized the societal needs impacting upon the school, and to some extent, bought into the industrial model of schooling. They note that non-native or native children might need more or less American or European history. However, "In both European and American history the selection of topics for emphasis should, within certain limits at least, be made to meet industrial or other specific needs," (Bulletin, 1916, 13) including local or current circumstances.

Part II of the Commission Report presented the seventh, eight and ninth grade curriculum with more discussion and examples. A number of combinations were offered for one-half or whole year coursework, all involving European history, geography, civics and American history. A number of admirable references to the Indianapolis program (developed by Dunn) are made.

In addition, a discussion of sixth grade geography work is included to show the continuity of method from elementary to secondary schooling. According to the Committee, sixth grade geography was to be Africa and South America in the first half of the year and the United States in the second half. Sixth grade history roughly paralleled this. This is interesting, because these "observations" of sixth (and fifth grade) seem to have no basis in previous recommendations or cited status research.

The overall rationale for history offerings in grades seven and eight is taken from Dewey's notions of relating study to the child's world. "No history, therefore, should be treated as though it had meaning or value in itself, but should constantly be made to show its relation or contribution to the present" (Bulletin, 1916, 21). The close coordination of American history with community civics was intentional and reflected the earlier "elements of welfare" mentioned in Jones' work, the 1913 Bulletin statement, and the 1915 Bulletin on Civics by the subcommittee led by Barnard. These elements were listed on page 18, but three additional topics appear in the 1916 Bulletin and focus on community agencies -- 12) How governmental agencies are conducted; 13) How governmental agencies are financed; 14) How voluntary agencies are conducted and financed.

The Committee, while seemingly sympathetic to the War in Europe, seemed to take a more isolationist view of the curriculum by referring to "internationalism" as sometimes having a tendency to undermine "our" sense of the importance of National solidarity. World community was fine in its place, but first "there must be efficient and self-respecting nationalism" (Bulletin, 1916, 26). The Committee did go on to concede the increasing state of world interdependence and need for world understanding. That was to be fostered through community civics.

The section, civic relations of vocational life, was probably most reflective of Jones and the Hampton curriculum.

> The chief purpose of the phase of the ninth-year work now being emphasized should be the development of an appreciation of the social significance of all work;...of the necessity for social control, governmental and otherwise, of the economic activities of the community...(Bulletin, 1916, 27).

Superintendent Wheatley's work (a committee member) in Middletown (CT) was then described and lauded. Other examples were also given to coincide with a number of the elements of welfare.

Part III described the work for grades 10-12. The general outline was one year of European history to the end of the seventeenth century; one or one-half year of European history, including English history, since the end of the seventeenth century; one or one-half year of American history and one or one-half year of the problems of American democracy. This is the cycle repeated from grade seven to nine. The decision as to which course is most appropriate for each student was addressed by the Committee. "(I)t would seem desirable for the pupil, whose time in the last three years is limited, to take those social studies which would most directly aid him to understand the relations of his own social life." (Bulletin, 1916, 35). The equal amount of time given to pre-seventeenth and to recent history was noted by the committee whose members were convinced that "recent history is richer in suitable materials for secondary education than the more remote periods, and is worthy of more intensive study." (Bulletin, 1916, 36).

As to course organization, the Committee subscribed to a topical or problem method, as opposed to a method based on chronological sequence alone and felt those problems should be selected with the pupil's immediate interest and general social significance in mind (Bulletin, 1916, 37). Of particular concern would be the aforementioned elements of welfare.

In considering principles underling history instruction, the Committee stated that "the historical training acquired by the pupils is not proportional to the number of courses offered. The Committee struggled with this and with different approaches to history, but found no substitute for the chronological organization of history adequately meeting the needs and conditions of secondary education (Bulletin, 1916, 48). But rather than a comprehensive overview, the Committee considered one year of school work on one historical epoch, permitting the teacher free choice within these limits. This sounds similar to the "special period" studied intensively in grade twelve recommended by the Committee of Ten in 1894.

To the Committee of 1916, the Problems of American Democracy course might also be seen as appropriate for intensive study. The Committee was responding to the demands of economists and sociologists and the perceived needs of high school students in proposing this course, which in its content of issues would vary from year to year and class to class.

Illustrations for the course were given, drawn in part from Jones' work at Hampton Institute. The Committee noted that they could find "no better illustration of the organization of economic and sociological knowledge on a problem basis...than that offered in the work of this institution" (Hampton). (Bulletin, 1916, 55-56). Because of the innovative nature of this proposed course, the committee urged experiment in the content of this course using the principles applied to community civics (i.e., the elements of welfare).

Part IV of the Report dealt with teacher preparation and relied upon standards proposed previously by Dunn to test the value of civics instruction. These included the pupil's present interest as a citizen, motives for studying civics, stimulation of cooperation among pupils, cultivation of judgment and initiative in civic situations and subject matter organized on the basis of the pupil's past experiences, immediate interests, and needs of his present growth.

While offering few suggestions for improvement, the Committee did note that "the greatest obstacle to the vitalization of the social studies is the lack of preparation on the part of teachers (Bulletin, 1916, 58). The next greatest was the lack of suitable textbooks.

The Committee was less concerned about textbooks because they were confident of the future fluidness of the social studies curriculum, precluding the use of the same text each year. History and social science instruction would "vary...from term to term from class to class and even from pupil to pupil. The future textbook will accordingly be less and less a compendium of information and more and more a manual of method and illustrated material...(Bulletin, 1916, 62).

Textbooks might be abandoned, and that was seen as a wholesome development, within reason, as was the development of local materials. These can be boring and useless, however, and rarely "constitute suitable textbooks or adequate substitutes for them" (Bulletin, 1916, 63).

On this note the Committee Report ends.

Analyzing the 1916 Report and Its Use Today

Barr, Barth and Shermis have noted the tremendous, unanticipated impact that the 1916 Report had on the public schools.

> The primary effect seems to have been to establish a certain organization of courses, paradoxically the very part of the report not recommended for universal use. The call for developing unique curriculum suited for local use seems to have ben ignored, as was the integration of history and civics, and the use of topics or problems as a basis for course structure. (Barr, Barth and Shemis, 27).

Briggs found in 1920 that history, geography and civics were the offerings basically in grades seven, eight and nine. Five years later Wilson found similar patterns, as did others through the thirties and forties. The patterns observed, however, as Barr, Barth and Shermis noted, were the courses not recommended for universal use. Thus began a mythology persistent today of the course recommendations as the key to the 1916 Report. A continued view of social studies as social science coursework persisted based, at least in part, on an erroneous (or non) reading of the 1916 Report. The writers of the Committee Report were far more flexible than the misinterpretations of the report would imply; but, as noted, these Committee members did have strong ideological biases and that report as well as others should be read with an eye for scrutinizing closely the biases of the authors.

The 1916 Report began in a way different from the previous AHA reports, that is by failing to note any previous work done by others in the area. Each AHA Report acknowledged previous AHA work as well as the NEA Committee of 1894 and, sometimes, the American Sociological Society or American Political Science Association reports. But the members of the 1916 Report chose not to do this. Even if some members were unfamiliar with previous reports, the committee collectively could not have been. After all, Robinson had been on the Committee of Ten in 1892, and he was actively involved with the AHA.

This lack of credit may seem trivial, but I see it as sending two or three messages. First, the Committee could have been saying that it felt the previous reports were worthless and would not give them credit. Second, the Committee might have been concerned that the NEA, not the AHA or other social science groups, should be the body to make statements of curriculum policy and not matter what was in previous AHA Reports, the Committee simply would not acknowledge it. It might also have been that Dunn and/or Jones, in writing the report, had failed to draw enough on the Committee members' expertise, and simply weren't familiar enough with what the previous AHA reports had to say.

Despite the flexibility, the Committee felt history could not simply stand on its won as the AHA committees had. History, too, had to answer the test of good citizenship. As Jones noted in 1913, "recent history is more important than ancient; our own than that of foreign lands; labors and plans of the multitudes more than the pleasures and dreams of the few." (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1913, 18). Economic concepts would provide the students with clearer understandings of the citizen's role in a socially responsive democracy.

> The student should, at the end of the course, be in a position to see just what social workers, single taxers, socialists or organized labor advocates and government regulation enthusiasts are trying to accomplish. The ideal of individual and social welfare will in the manner be impressed upon his mind and serve as an inspiration for his life work. (Bulletin, 1913, 26).

The Committee of 1916 believed in what we refer to as social Darwinism. Natural selection played a strong part in societies' successes as well as the success of individuals or groups within a society. Change was slow, yet generally accretive. Success came by knowing your place in the social order and slowly working to improve it. Education was the key to municipal and, generally, social reform. One would profit by studying the functions of government where one's impact might be felt. Thus, city, not national, government study was most important.

The Committee members, as Lybarger observed, were strongly opposed to socialism. They saw nothing wrong with the system as designed; it was practice which was often corrupt, and education would highlight this. I am convinced that in today's curriculum, many of the Committee members would support free enterprise education and that sort of economic education.

Lybarger has observed that many Committee members saw the need first for order in the school in order to insure the safety of the Republic (Lybarger, 253). He also noted that,

> Obedience, patience, punctuality and hope, etc., considered as the virtues of citizenship and embodied in school curricula, mean that educators view the good citizen as "obedient...' But citizenship in a democratic republic may require other virtues. For example, the good citizen in 1916-17, might have needed to evaluate the way in which the United States was becoming involved in World War I...
>
> Had members of the Committee on Social Studies understood citizenship in other ways, they might have modified or changed their list of civic virtues. The Social Studies in Secondary Education might have read: 'The good citizen is not only obedient, helpful and courteous, but also is intelligent, assertive and critical (Lybarger, 83).

Thus, early on social studies "were drained of critical content in order to pursue the piecemeal improvement of social, economic and political conditions while at the same time obscuring the causes of poor conditions" (Lybarger, 299).

As Barr, Barth and Shermis noted, the reverence to the mistaken notions of what the 1916 Report said endure. This, despite more extensive reports that followed. (It should be noted that of the spate of reports issued between 1895 and

1935, the two most flexible and shortest were the NEA Reports of 1894 and 1916, and these have become the most referred to for what they supposedly said.) The National Society for the Study of Education's Yearbook (Part II) of 1923 was devoted to the social studies and examined many experiments in curricular offerings. The American Political Science Association's report of 1916 referred to and supported much of the NEA Report of 1916. The tremendous AHA undertaking, the study of the Social Studies in the Schools, first proposed in 1926 and completed ten years later, seems to have been universally ignored by social scientists and educators. Yet the "romance" of the 1916 Report endures.

The parallels between 1916 and today are worth noting and discussing. Then, as now, we have increasing concern with immigration, only this time the immigrants come not from Europe, but Latin America and East Asia. English only regulations of the early 1900's have become the more sophisticated "English as official language laws" of the 1980s and 90s.

The new immigrants are putting an added strain on already pressed social services, including the schools. In addition, there are those who see American life as "we" know it threatened by minorities becoming the majority, as will be the case by the year 2000 in California. Schools are being looked to once again to "properly" Americanize these new youngsters.

The dropout rate among minorities is over 25%, maybe as much as 50%, depending on measures used. The overall dropout rate is of pressing concern, and the social studies curriculum needs to be restructured by local districts with this in mind. Many studies of dropouts have indicated that the curriculum is part of the reason students drop out, rather than part of the solution to preventing dropping out. (Nelson, 1987).

A related concern to dropping out is drugs. Many students drop out who have become drug users. Drugs are clearly a factor in dropout, and the major factor in the dramatic increase in violent crime incidents nationwide.

The United States has become in the 1980's the leading debtor nation in the world. Can schools continue to ignore such things in their social studies curriculums?

The spate of new reports and studies in the past six years -- What Our 17-Year Olds Know; "Madison High School;" The Bradley Commission's, "Building a History Curriculum"; Bloom's Closing of the American Mind, Hirsch's Cultural Literacy and the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools -- constitute a period in social studies education that is much like the early twentieth century when reports were issued with regularity.

It is difficult to assess and keep track of today's reports, and the Report of 1916 can be helpful in that process. The recommendations of 1916 that are most useful should be borrowed, but viewed in context. Social studies curriculum can and should be flexible and teacher developed. A truly independent curriculum that is not like all others would seem to have much to be considered by teacher-curriculum developers.

Returning to some previous notions of history or social studies curriculum which are "traditional" is foolish without keeping in mind that another century of history has transpired while efforts to institutionalize the history up to 1916 go on. The Bradley Commission report laments the demise of the "common democratic curriculum" of 1892 (Bradley Commission, 1). Their recommendations reflect the strong history base of the members of the commission. Though many of their themes seem broader in scope, the strong ideological notion of history for the sake of history contrasts sharply with some other reports and reflects the earlier concerns of AHA reports.

Just as this essay sought to present a sociology of knowledge approach to the 1916 Report, so should today's reports be scrutinized. Who are the folks writing these reports, and who is appointing them? What constituencies do they represent and what ideologies do they seek to put forth?

As Lybarger noted, there is no reason to believe that the report writers of 1916 were conspiratorial or meant to restrict choices available to children in American schools (Lybarger, 25). Similarly, there is no evidence that any of today's report writers have such notions in mind. It behooves educators to know, however, much more about the experts who put forth recommendations for the social studies curriculum and the schools.

All of the reports issued so far have strong ideological underpinings. That is a strength of the character of the reports. Those ideologies are often ignored in accepting reports at face value. In order to fully understand and appreciate the "new" reports, members of the field of social studies must be facile with their own foundations and ideological biases. It is hoped that this essay fosters that process.

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SHAPING INFLUENCES ON THE TYLER RATIONALE

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SHAPING INFLUENCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The University of Chicago, sometimes called "the Midway", has been described as a place "for archers and men with catapults." During 1926-1927, the graduate faculty of the College of Education was the capital of curriculum thought and practice. It included authorities such as George S. Counts, W. W. Charters, Franklin Bobbitt, Charles H. Judd, Frank N. Freeman, Karl J. Holzinger, and William S. Gray. John Gunter observed that "there is nothing provincial about the Midway" for "the university has, one might say, its own nationalism."[1]

Tyler's early arrival before the opening of fall quarter allowed him the opportunity to pass both the foreign language and the qualifying examinations for the doctorate. That year, he studied courses under Counts, Judd, and Charters, all of whom were chief contributors to the process of curriculum reconstruction or development in the proposals and recommendations of the National Society for the Study of Education. The Society's Twenty-Sixth Yearbook stands as a tribute to the Chicago education faculty, for it is a watershed in the curriculum field. Tyler says that the contributions of Counts, Judd, and Charters as disclosed in that volume filtered down to him: "Throughout the next two decades (1926-1947), that Yearbook was a guiding factor in the development of curricula in the United States and several foreign countries."[2]

Tyler indicated that the ideas of Counts were influential factors in his doctoral education. The Counts article, "Some Notes on the Foundation of Curriculum," delineated a series of six topics: 1) the social purposes of education, 2) the function of the school, 3) curriculum-making and the nature of the society, 4) curriculum-making and the nature of the learner, 5) curriculum-making and the organization of knowledge, and 6) curriculum-making and the scientific method.[3] Categories 3, 4, and 5 ultimately became the sources for what came to be called the Tyler Rationale. The last category made the deepest impression on Tyler's future intellectual stance. Counts argued that the relation of the scientific method to the construction of curriculum was the central question of importance in the domain of constructing an institution that would provide for the needs of each person. Counts argued that the curriculum developer has an arduous task: "Indeed, the thesis might very well be defined that the curriculum-maker has a more difficult task than the engineer, the lawyer, the physician, or the clergyman."[4]

Counts believed that if the scientific method was to render a maximal service to the cause of education, then the limitation through which it operated had to be clearly understood. He stated that the science of education exhibited the limitation of all science, and that the situation was further complicated by the fact that the science of curriculum construction was an applied science. The basic liabilities were incompleteness, the seeming omnipotence of the scientific procedure, and the individual curriculum designer's affective stance. The fundamental goal of education, according to

Counts, could not be discerned from the manipulation of scientific instruments and procedures.

> The fundamental goals of education are the product of a process of evaluation which, while dependent on the results of science, cannot be identified with those results. But, when once the purposes or goals of education are determined, the field is clear for the work of educational science. We cannot hope that science can give us a complete educational philosophy, but it can at least give us an effective educational technique.[5]

It was Counts' concept of science as a tool or instrument that affected Tyler's intellectual development. This was indicated in a letter from Tyler to Counts on the occasion of the latter's retirement from Southern Illinois University in June, 1971. "It was forty-five years ago this fall that I had the privilege of being a student in your class (Educational Sociology)," he wrote. "The new perspective I attained and the method of thought you stimulated have been very helpful to me ever since."[6]

Charles H. Judd was the head of the School of Education at the University of Chicago. He taught Tyler courses in advanced educational psychology. Judd placed an emphasis upon social studies and did important work in elaborating techniques for school surveys. Like Counts, Judd argued against the segregation of technical from academic high schools, the making of curriculum by legislatures and pressure groups, and the more individualistic aspects of certain academic disciplines. Judd was primarily interested in studies designed to gauge the social implications of standard school subjects. Three principles that he advocated and consistently exemplified in his scholarship and research had an influence on Tyler.

The first was his belief that a sound foundation for educational policy and practice had to be based on facts and tested principles rather than on speculation or collections of best practices. The second was his view that, if the school was to be effective, its aims and content had to be derived both from a study of society and from a study of the learner. These aims and content had to be translated into concrete curriculum materials appropriate for the maturity level of the pupils. The third principle was "tough-mindness." Judd thought that because education involved the welfare of children, many educators were overly sentimental and reacted to children in terms of emotion rather than on the basis of rational considerations. Tyler later recalled:

> Mr. Judd's strict adherence to the canons of inductive logic and deductive logic, his willingness to face new facts that upset previous explanations, his unshaken attitude toward scientific method no matter how unpleasant the implications, represented "tough-mindness" to an unusual degree.[7]

Tyler's dissertation, "Statistical Methods for Utilizing Personal Judgments to Evaluate Activities for Teacher Training Curricula," reflects a Judian focus, for Judd had made the Department of Education a major center for the quantitative study of education.[8] Judd's seeming influence on Tyler can be further illustrated by an illuminating comment by Harold Rugg:

> Judd believed in having a small, highly selected body of students who would work with meticulous care at the laboratory analysis of human behavior. This led him to develop the famous laboratory at the University of Chicago. They fixed their studies on the processes of education and the psychology of social forces.[9]

The most lasting influence on the theoretical development of Tyler was W. W. Charters. Tyler took three courses in the techniques of curriculum construction from Charters. In fall, 1926, he also worked as a statistical technical on the Commonwealth Teacher Training Study which was directed by Charers. The purpose of the study was to determine the objectives and content for the curriculum of teacher education by collecting and analyzing the activities of teachers.

Tyler was impressed by Charters' ability to state his intentions in simple sentences and then outline them clearly in procedural terms. Tyler remarked twenty-seven years later:

> I have never before seen anyone more succinctly summarize the previous discussion or more clearly raise relevant questions which kept the conference moving ahead constructively and developed a common understanding of the purpose and procedure of the study.[10]

Tyler was also impressed by the way Charters conducted staff meetings. Charters would accept criticism from faculty and students on the specificity of some tasks of the Commonwealth Teacher Training Study: "This was the first of many times that I saw Mr. Charters use criticism, not as something to refute, but as a stimulus to further study which resulted in the modification and revision of earlier views."[11]

MOVE TO CHAPEL HILL

Tyler had planned to journey back to the University of Nebraska and work in the Bureau of Educational Research in the Teachers College. But the Great Depression had struck the heartland of the nation, and the Nebraska legislature had cut the University's budget. Tyler considered himself fortunate to secure his first faculty appointment as an associate professor of education at one of the South's most respected institutions of higher learning, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. No doubt he got the position because of his outstanding academic record at the University of Chicago and his experiences in teacher supervision at the University of Nebraska.[12]te

The School of Education was experiencing substantial growth with the help of a grant of $75,000 from the General Education Board to support a five-year program of practice teaching based at the Chapel Hill High School. The 1927-28 appropriation would pay the salaries of three staff members of the School of Education to supervise practice teaching in English, French, Latin, mathematics and natural science. Tyler taught methodology courses to future science and mathematics teachers at Chapel Hill. He also worked with teachers from the mountain communities of North Carolina. He spent the first year in three different cities in the eastern half of the state. The second year he worked in the western half of the state with his headquarters at Asheville.

Tyler was also responsible for establishing a state-wide testing program for the high schools. In this effort, he combined curriculum and instruction with testing. He realized that to develop effective tests, he had to be in direct contact with teachers, for they are the ones in contact with pupils and hence the ones through whom the results of scientific findings concerning curriculum and instruction with testing could finally reach students. John Dewey had reached the same conclusion when, in his characteristic way, he took a long look ahead toward a science of education and observed:

> As far as schools are concerned, it is certain that the problems which require scientific treatment arise in actual relationships with students. Consequently, it is impossible to see how there can be adequate flow of subject matter to set and control the problems investigators deal with, unless there is active participation on the part of those directly engaged in teaching.[13]

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

In fall 1929, Charters brought three of his former students from the University of Chicago to join the staff of the Bureau of Educational Research: Tyler, W. H. Cowley, and Edgar Dale. With his background in mathematics and statistics, Tyler was the logical choice to head the Division of Accomplishment Tests, but Tyler had misgivings. "I was greatly disappointed," he later recalled. "I thought of myself as a curriculum and instruction person, not in the field of testing." But, because he wanted to be of help, he took the appointment.[14]

The Bureau was expanding in order to serve more adequately the educational needs of the University itself. In the five major colleges enrolling freshmen (Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Education and Engineering), junior deans had been appointed to give leadership to the education and guidance of lower-division students. Charters and his staff devoted much of their time and energy to assisting the junior deans in this difficult task.

Charters also requested Tyler's aid on a project with the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute (now the Rochester Institute of Technology). The purpose of the project was to develop a new program for engineering students who were reluctant to tackle the abstractions in the curriculum. Since they were working with a technical institute, Charters and Tyler were free to use bold thinking and creative planning. They worked out their ideas rapidly with more adequate understanding and more effective implementation than on any other project they had previously encountered.

In an article that grew out of the project, Tyler distinguished between "grading" and "evaluation." Grading was represented in many institutions as a measurement of a student's accomplishments in terms of information that supplied the criteria for a grade. Tyler stressed the need for comprehensive measurement or evaluation with reference to the student's interests, character traits, accomplishments, and abilities.[15]

Charters and Tyler used evaluation in the development of remedial programs to identify students who had been insufficiently prepared.[16] The next part of the evaluation program was the development of routine pretests, progress tests, and mastery tests for each unit of instruction. This was an attempt to facilitate reliable comparisons of each year's work with that of earlier years so that the evaluation program could furnish both maximum incentive values for the students and the desired values for administrative study. The third phase was directed to the mastery tests in particular and the evaluation program and record system in general. With these documents, the school administration could evaluate the objectives of each course being taught and determine the success with which the institute as a whole was achieving its objectives. In effect, Charters and Tyler were developing a work-study program that brought the abstractions closer to the practical applications.[17]

While at Ohio State University, Tyler published fifty-nine articles in a wide variety of educational journals, twenty-five of which were in the Ohio State University journal, The Educational Research Bulletin. Many of his articles on testing and evaluation published between 1931-33 in the Bulletin were brought together in a book, Constructing Achievement Tests. Tyler also wrote eight articles for the Journal of Higher Education, a publication instituted by Charters in 1930 at the University. All of these publications added to his growing reputation in testing and evaluation.[18]

ROOTS OF THE TYLER RATIONALE

The roots of what would be called the Tyler Rationale are found in these early articles and in Constructing Achievement Tests. Tyler argued that educators should use more generalized behaviors as goals of education. This idea was based on the principle of generalization in learning that had been formulated by Charles Judd in 1912. In research experiments conducted at Yale and then at Chicago, Judd and his colleagues had found that students could learn a general principle and apply it to a variety of situations. Tyler had done similar research in Judd's seminar at Chicago.[19]

The principle of generalization in learning opened up a new way of viewing educational objectives. It was a break from the associationist theory of psychology of learning which had led to very specific objectives. This latter theory had been based on the research and theory building of Edward Thorndike. Thorndike had developed two basic principles of learning which he called the Law of Exercise and the Law of Effect. These generalizations came from an extended series of experiments, first with animals and then with young people, which he published in 1910. They had a profound impact on his students at Columbia University and opened up a new conception of how learning takes place.

Tyler's argument for the use of more generalized behaviors as goals of education supported those in the progressive education movement who held that education had a general role in society. Tyler called for a close tie between objectives, instruction, and evaluation. He proposed specific guidelines for the formulation of those objectives, arguing that they needed to be spelled out in statements of student behavior which should then serve as the objectives of teaching and as the basis for testing. The fundamental step was to determine course objectives in relation to student behavior. If teachers accepted Tyler's position that the primary aim of education was to bring about desired change in student behavior, then they would state the desired changes as course content. Tyler held that the casting of objectives in behavior terms gave power to the process of curriculum development and evaluation.[20]

The objectives had to be stated in specific behavioral terms. Tyler said that objectives stated in sloppy and imprecise ways meant either "many things to many persons or . . . little or nothing to most persons." He proposed that a very limited view of evaluation of specific elements of knowledge should be broadened to encompass all important outcomes of education. As the director of the Accomplishment Tests Division, with a primary responsibility of working with teachers in improving their testing programs, Tyler realized that the problem was complex. If the teachers were to improve their tests, they must first consider their objectives. He also discovered from the research done in the Bureau that the nature of the examinations dictated much that the students learned. Students merely memorized specific answers to specific questions in order to pass the tests. Tyler believed that teachers could improve the range of student accomplishments if they approached the process in a more rational way.[21]

BROAD DEFINITION OF MEASUREMENT

Tyler argued that the demands for the measurement of student accomplishments could not be met unless a broad definition of measurement was accepted. At the Rochester Institute, he was concerned about techniques for obtaining evidence of the degree to which engineering students were attaining the important goals of education. He asserted:

> Such evidence is called measurement when it conforms to certain standards: 1) when it is based directly upon observed behavior or the observed results of behavior, 2) when these observations or results are recorded, and 3) when various independent evaluations of the behavior do not fluctuate widely.

These ideas would be refined in the Eight Year Study and fully articulated in what became known as the Tyler Rationale. What differentiated Tyler's procedures of developing a curriculum and evaluation "rationale" from other schools of testing was not one or another failure in method, for they were all considered "scientific" for their era, but what Thomas S. Kuhn has described as "what we shall come to call their incommensurable ways of seeing the world and of practicing science in it."[22]

The early outlines of the Tyler Rationale as expressed in Constructing Achievement Tests was supported by a subpremise that learning activities provided the means through which the course objectives could be reached. The teacher determined, Tyler argued, the type of learning experiences that would enable the students to attain the desired objectives before the curriculum could be operationalized. Tyler believed that curriculum makers had failed to recognize the importance of studies in learning. This criticism was directed at both the activity analysis approach and the child-centered school of curriculum development. He was concerned that learning activities should be only "voluntarily chosen and wholeheartedly conducted by the child." Techniques for evaluating "higher mental processes" would be later developed and described by his students. Tyler and his graduate student would later argue that in addition to the cognitive outcomes, including knowledge and higher mental processes, educators should teach for and evaluate affective outcomes of education.[23]

The principles and procedures advocated by Tyler in Constructing Achievement Tests have served as the basis for most of the major efforts in evaluation throughout the century.

THE EIGHT YEAR STUDY

The Commission of Relations of School and College of the Progressive Education Association (PEA) launches what came to be called the Eight Year Study, the most important and comprehensive curriculum experiment ever carried on in the United States. The Eight Year Study "grew out of the realization of secondary educators that they would never be able to establish an experimental basis for curriculum revision unless they were granted the freedom to do so by the colleges." The major part of the secondary curriculum was determined by college entrance requirements: these requirements had frozen the curriculum into the sixteen Carnegie Units. In 1930, the PEA took the first step by establishing a Commission to deal with the problem of the relation between school and college. After a year of study, the Commission issued a report on the shortcomings of the secondary schools:

1. Schools were not concerned about what happened to their students while in school, after dropping out, or after graduation.

2. The content and organization of the curriculum prevented the student from developing his own educational power.

3. The curriculum was nearly always laid out in isolated fragments as work for the student to do.

4. The student passed through the curriculum with neither an awareness nor an understanding of the forces shaping human destiny and was left unprepared for community life.

5. The schools were failing as inductors of the young into society.[24]

By 1932, the Commission gained the cooperation of more than three hundred colleges and universities, and a plan was developed that released a small number of secondary schools from the restriction of college entrance requirements. The waiver from the usual subject and unit requirement would be for a five-year period beginning with the class entering college in 1936. The primary concern of the Commission in selecting the schools was that these schools be willing to experiment in a "progressive" direction. The Commission's directing committee chose thirty schools that seemed both willing and able to conduct exploratory studies and make creative changes in the secondary school curriculum.

The Thirty Schools began to change their curriculum in fall 1933. Evaluation was an ongoing process from the beginning of the experiment. Data concerning the progress of the college-bound student had to be obtained for the colleges. The participating schools needed to be able to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the new program, in order to make improvements on the basis of evidence. The clarification of objectives demanded by a program of evaluation was needed to give direction to curriculum change. A number of the Thirty Schools had vague and fuzzy objectives, which had to be clarified to serve as guides for curriculum development and the construction of evaluation instruments. Some of the schools were unwilling to state the end points of instruction as they feared that this would limit teachers' freedom to experiment.

When Tyler joined the faculty at Ohio State in September 1929, he was assigned an office across the hall from Boyd Bode, professor of philosophy of education. He and Bode became friends, and they often walked together to have lunch at the faculty club. Bode was an influential advisor to the Committee of Relations of School and College. He was faced with the problem of evaluating the Thirty Schools that were unwilling to use the achievement tests that were available at that time. Bode suggested that Ralph Tyler be asked to draw up a design for a comprehensive evaluation of the Eight Year Study.

STORM OF PROTEST

Yet in June, 1934, the Eight Year Study almost ended. Although the colleges had waived the formal entrance requirements for graduates of the participating Thirty Schools, they demanded that the schools supply other and more pertinent forms of information about the students applying for admission. Therefore, a subcommittee on Reports and Records was to determine ways of obtaining and providing this information. When the subcommittee, chaired by Eugene R. Smith, headmaster of Beaver Country Day School, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, made its initial report, the Study was close to ending. The Smith Committee advised that the Thirty Schools obtain information by using standardized tests to be supplied by the Cooperative Testing Service.[25]

Once the school received the Smith subcommittee report, there was a storm of protest. The report seemed to challenge the autonomy of the Thirty Schools, and some of the schools said they would withdraw from the Study rather than conform. The Study remained stalled for the next months over the issue of testing and examinations and over the problem of devising a program of evaluation that would be acceptable to all the personnel in the experimental schools. Harvard and other New England colleges insisted on a comprehensive testing program and refused to cooperate fully until this issue was settled. In order to break this deadlock, a summer conference was held in 1934 in the Princeton Inn at Princeton University.

The PEA members were concerned with working out a compromise acceptable to both the Thirty Schools and James B. Conant, the most influential leader of the New England Association of Preparatory Schools and Colleges, a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation, and a future president of Harvard. Bode told Conant and some members of the Reports and Record Committee that Tyler had assisted Charters in a wide variety of departments at Ohio State to construct achievement tests. Bode and Charters saw in Tyler's work for the Bureau the evaluation program needed for the Eight Year Study. Many members of

Smith's committee were already familiar with Tyler's work in evaluation and testing and had worked with him on a variety of projects for the American Council on Education and the Carnegie Foundation. Bode phoned Tyler, briefed him on their needs and invited him to give his views to the Directing Committee on the establishment of an evaluation program. Tyler described what took place: "I presented the design, which was debated extensively by the Commission, the heads of the Thirty Schools, and Bode. It was accepted and I was named Director of Evaluation for the Study.[26]

FUNDING AND RECRUITMENT

Tyler accepted the directorship on a half-time basis, thus retaining his position as professor of education at Ohio State. Yet, at this point, he had neither funds nor staff. He had learned from Charters the procedures for securing funds from foundations. Through an earlier contact at Ohio State with Robert J. Havighurst, Director of the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, he secured $50,000 for the recruitment and operation of the evaluation staff of the Eight Year Study: salaries for the chairman and the regular staff ($12,000), salaries for research assistants ($12,000), and funds for travel and conferences ($15,000).[27]

With considerable deftness, he gathered and formed the early pioneers and innovators in educational evaluation and the future leaders in the general field of evaluation. Hilda Taba was in charge of social studies. Louis H. Heil, professor of physics at Ohio State, dealt with science; Maurice Hartung, mathematics; Wilfred Eberhart, English; and Paul Diederich, foreign languages. Bruno Bettleheim, a refugee from a Nazi concentration camp, evaluated art programs. Tyler's first and second associate directors were Oscar K. Buros and Louis E. Raths.

As he visited the schools and worked with committees of teachers, Tyler selected other impressive young people to work with him: Lee Cronbach, Chester Harris, Herbert Thelen, and the Pulitzer Prize winning author, James Michener. The evaluation staff at first worked on curriculum rather than on evaluation problems. Since the rationale used was essentially the same as the one Tyler had developed in his work with the Ohio State junior deans, the emphasis was on formulating objectives from which learning experiences or evaluative devices would be developed.

TEACHER INVOLVEMENT

Tyler and his staff developed several strategies to increase the involvement of the faculties of the Thirty Schools in both the planning and implementation of the program. The first strategy was to bring one teacher representing each of the Thirty Schools to work with the staff at evaluation headquarters in Columbus, Ohio. The school representatives were assigned to a committee working on the objectives in which his school was most interested. The committee's task was to define the objective as specifically as possible in terms of expected behavior. The staff collected a list of general objectives, "even though there was a marked difference given in the emphasis to these several outcomes." The objectives served as guidelines for developing curricular experiences and for evaluation as well. The objectives were to be a rare blend of the specific and the general. They were to be specific enough to guide the selection of appropriate educational experience and general enough not to place restraints on the freedom of the teacher to select appropriate experiences from a variety of content areas. Tyler then "selected eight areas in which he sensed that there was a good deal of interest and in which he saw some possibility of developing measures".[28]

The most common objectives of the school programs were the following: 1) developing effective ways of thinking, acquiring important information, ideas and principles; 2) developing effective work habits and skills; 3) developing increased sensitivity to social problems and aesthetic experiences; 4) inculcating social rather than selfish attitudes; 5) developing appreciation of literature, art and music; 6) developing an increasing range of worthwhile and mature interests, increased personal social adjustment, improved physical health, and formulation and clarification of a philosophy of life.

CONTINUING CONSULTATION

The second strategy used by Tyler and the staff was the frequent visiting of the schools as consultants. The involvement of the Study with the schools was a continuing one. The use of the Tyler Rationale was something that teachers could understand, which they could apply, and from which they could expect an outcome. Through this sharing between the evaluation staff and the teachers of the Thirty Schools, strong and lasting friendships developed that still exist today. The third strategy for obtaining involvement was the development of summer workshops. The purpose of the workshops was to train teachers in methods of evaluation. It was decided in the spring of 1936 by Tyler and Robert J. Havighurst that the teachers should be brought to Columbus, Ohio, to participate in an "institute." The program of the first institute, or workshop, has since become familiar. The focus was on the solution of problems brought to the workshop by the teachers. There were no course; teachers brought problems, and in small groups consisting of staff members and teachers, they attempted solutions. They worked around the table, with shirt sleeves rolled up. "Workshop" aptly described their activities. The workshop has become a familiar feature on the American educational landscape.

Tyler provided the schools with an evaluation rationale that helped overcome one of the major stumbling blocks in the path of innovation. He engaged the faculties of the schools in a variety of stimulating activities and fostered a commitment to continued evaluation and modification of educational programs. He provided sustained advice and made certain that frustration and failure were kept to a minimum. In short, he created an educational environment that allowed teachers to develop through their own efforts and capabilities the finest research and developing program in the history of American education.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The Eight Year Study made Tyler a nationally known educator and the foremost educational evaluator in the United States. But what were the results of the Eight Year Study? In a follow-up study that compared 1,475 matched pairs of students, the evaluation team found that the graduates of the Thirty Schools did as well or better in college than their matched counterparts who studied a conventional curriculum. The follow-up staff of the Study was headed by Tyler with Wilford N. Aikin as acting chairman of the Commission on the Relation Between School and College.

The findings of the follow-up study concluded that graduates of the Thirty Schools were successful learners and that many experimental roads in the secondary school curriculum might lead to college success. The study further stated that the graduates from the Thirty Schools 1) earned a slightly higher total grade average; 2) earned higher grade averages in all fields except in foreign languages; 3) received slightly more academic honors during each college year; 4) possessed more intellectual curiosity and drive and were more precise, systematic, and objective in their thinking; 5) developed clearer ideas concerning the meaning of college education; 6) demonstrated a higher degree of resourcefulness in meeting new situations; 7) approached the solution of social and vocational adjustment problems more effectively; 8) participated more frequently in organized student groups except religious and "service" activities; 9) earned a higher percentage of non-academic honors; and 10) demonstrated a more active concern in national and world affairs.[29]

The professionalism of Tyler was also a significant factor in the success of the Study. Tyler recently wrote describing the effect that the Study had on his career:

> Perhaps the greatest satisfactions I recalled were those during the Eight Year Study when our staff worked closely with teachers from the Thirty Schools developing new curricula and new evaluation devices appropriate for the cataclysmic changes in society during the Great Depression. We were all young--in our twenties and thirties, all challenged to make schooling helpful to youth who felt they were not needed, all dedicated and very energetic. It was a great time to be in education.[30]

FOOTNOTES

[1] John Gunter, "An Old Grad Returns to Chicago," Saturday Review, 16 October 1965, 85-87.

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[3] George S. Counts, "Some Notes on the Foundation of Curriculum Making," The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum Construction, The National Society for the Study of Education, Part 2, (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Co., 1927), 73.

[4] George s. Counts, "Who Shall Make the Curriculum," School Review 35 (May 1927): 333, private collection.

[5] Counts, "Some Notes on the Foundation of Curriculum Making,"

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[7] Ralph W. Tyler, "Charles H. Judd," School Review 54 (September 1946): 357.

[8] Ralph W. Tyler, "Statistical Methods for Utilizing Personal Judgments to Evaluate Activities for Teacher-Training Curricula," Abstracts and Theses, Vol. 4 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 83-90, 243-248.

[9] Harold Rugg, Foundations for American Education (New York: World Book, 1947), 722.

[10] Ralph W. Tyler, "Leader of Major Educational Projects," Educational Research Bulletin, 32 (February, 1953): 43.

[11] Ibid., 45.

[12] Ralph W. Tyler interview, 8 June 1977.

[13] John Dewey, The Sources of a Science of Education (New York: Horace Liverigh, 1929), 49-50.

[14] Ralph Tyler interview, 8 June 1977.

[15] Ralph W. Tyler, "Educational Research at a Mechanics Institute," Journal of Personnel 12 (December 1922): 214.

[16] Charters et al., Basic Materials for a Pharmaceutical Curriculum (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1927).

[17] This idea had been suggested by a colleague of Charter's at the University of Chicago, Henry C. Morrison in The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926).

[18] This vast array of material is only now being tracked down and collated. See Dorothy Neubauer, "Chronological Bibliography," in Ralph W. Tyler, Perspectives on American Education (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1976); see also Ralph W. Tyler, Constructing Achievement Tests (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1934).

[19] Ralph W. Tyler interview, 8 June 1977.

[20] Ralph W. Tyler, "Formulating Objectives For Tests," The Educational Research Bulletin 12 (11 October 1933): 197-206; Ralph W. Tyler, "Assumptions Involved in Achievement Test Construction," The Educational Research Bulletin 12 (8 February 1933): 29-36; Ralph W. Tyler, "Evaluation: A Challenge To Progressive Education," The Educational Record 16 (January 1935): 121-131.

[21] Ability to Use Scientific Method," Educational Research Bulletin 11 (6 January 1932): 1-9; "Measuring the Results of College Instruction," Educational Research Bulletin 11 (25 May 1932): 253-60; "Permanence of Learning," Journal of Higher Education 4 (April 1933): 203-04.

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[23] Tyler, "Educational Research at Mechanics Institute," 214.

[24] Patricia A. Graham, Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 99-100.

[25] H. H. Giles, S. P. McCutchen, and A. N. Zechiel, Exploring the Eight-Year Study: The Work of the Thirty Schools from the Viewpoint of Curriculum Consultants (New York: Harper, 1942), xxi.

[26] Ralph W. Tyler, "Remembering Boyd Bode," Curriculum Theory Network 5 (1975): 62.

[27] Robert J. Havinghurst interview, Lilly House, 8 June 1977; University of Illinois Archives, General Education Board, 1936-37, Box 18.

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HAROLD RUGG:THE SOURCES AND FORTUNES OF HIS EARLY COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

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A Dartmouth man, Harold Rugg was probably familiar with the College's song that applauds the men of Dartmouth for having the granite of New Hampshire in their muscles and their brains. However figuratively this song commends the Dartmouth experience, its assumptions rang true for Rugg. Attracted to the sciences, he studied for the B.S. as an undergraduate at Dartmouth College and pursued his continuing scientific interests as a graduate of Dartmouth's Thayer School of Engineering. When Rugg finally left the granite hills of New Hampshire, his Dartmouth experience had well-prepared him for a long-term commitment to the sciences. Exchanging an engineering profession for one in education, Rugg continued to believe that scientific objectivity supported by mathematical measurement was a sure guide to truth.

He applied his expertise in scientific measurement to his doctoral studies in Education. His dissertation The Experimental Determination of Mental Discipline in School Studies (Rugg, 1915a) studied transfer of training in mathematics and revealed his faith in the applicability of the sciences to an understanding of learning processes. It also announced his allegiance to Edward L. Thorndike and the tenets of his educational psychology. Working with Thorndike during WWI, Rugg helped administer intelligence and aptitude testing to army personnel. Rugg's article in the Twenty-First Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education on statistical methods in education iterated his continuing focus on scientific measurement.

Rugg's first encounter with curriculum issues in social studies occurred in W.G. Bagley's graduate seminar at the University of Illinois. The National Education Association had asked Bagley to establish minimum time-on-task requirements for geography and history in the seventh and eighth grades. Doctoral student Rugg, well-versed in mathematical analyses, was an obvious choice as this study's assistant. The resulting investigation of history textbooks exemplified the academic priorities of the efficiency movement in education and revealed the beginning of this young assistant's sustained endeavors to apply scientific objectivity to the development of the social studies curriculum (Bagley and Rugg, 1916).

When Rugg's central interests finally switched to the social studies curriculum, Thorndike's associative psychology provided the cognitive principles upon which this curriculum was constructed. Following this scientific psychology, Rugg insisted he was using the "methods of the laboratory " rather than those of the armchair (Rugg, 1923,vii). His efforts to establish the social studies on a sound scientific basis were prodigious. Before Man and His Changing Society was published, however, Rugg's commitment to science seemed to slacken. Now, he championed the creative processes and applauded their significant role in the curriculum; he considered them a necessary corrective to the scientific mentality that was dominating curriculum studies. His arguments favoring the creative processes attacked the intellectual basis upon which he had followed Thorndike to construct his cognitive theory of learning.

Had Rugg switched philosophical allegiance? Did his support for the creative processes signal a disbelief in scientific psychology and its ability to promote desirable educational outcomes? Had Rugg's Dartmouth experience lost its formative influence? The following essay explores these questions. Concentrating on the period during which Rugg constructed his social studies series---the early 1920's to the early 1930's---it begins by defining his initial idea of a scientific curriculum. This discussion includes an analysis of the intellectual basis of Rugg's cognitive theory and its formative role in developing his social studies series. Then, the relevance of his idea of the creative processes for his social philosophy is considered. Particular attention is given to the momentum this idea acquired from Rugg's strident criticism of John Dewey. How Rugg incorporated the idea of the creative processes into his social studies series is then described. Finally, whether this idea contradicted or confirmed his scientific perspective is decided.

RUGG'S DEBT TO THORNDIKE.

"Science," stated Thorndike, ". . .is often a struggle to educate the neurones which compose man's brain to act. . .toward objects to which by instinct and the ordinary training of life, they would respond quite differently" (Thorndike, 1913,29-30). Maintaining that too many people voted on impulse rather than according to informed choice, Rugg constructed his social studies curriculum on sound scientific principles that would educate in deliberate decision-making. Such a curriculum objective was certainly warranted, he argued; American's failure to render careful judgements on industrial, social and political issues revealed a "deep impasse" in the society (Rugg and Hockett, 1925, 23). While impulsive decisions on matters of public concern stemmed, in part, from the overwhelming complexities of these issues, these decisions were more the sign of inadequate education. Rugg believed the social scientist had a responsibility to abort this "instinctive tendency" (Rugg, 1923a, 20) and the schools were where this training should take place.

Rugg's methods for promoting deliberate judgments in American students relied upon a physiological model of the mind that described it as a network of neurones; knowledge depended upon the associative mechanisms of these neurones (Rugg and Hockett, 1925, 98; cf. Thorndike, 1913, 23). "It is a truism," Rugg insisted," that all learning is at basis the forming of associations" (Rugg, 1925, 2).

Described by Rugg's doctoral student, Neal Billings, these associative links developed as outcomes of repeated experiences. Like Thorndike, Billings regarded these associative connections as forms of mental habits and believed that deliberate judgments were the outcome of "the organization and cooperation of many habits " (Billings,1929, 26). The more elaborate this organization was, the more formative was the influence of the reigning ideas upon judgment.

The hierarchical arrangement of this associative structure dictated the priorities of Rugg's curriculum development. "The natural goal of instruction" (Billings, 1929, 46, italics his) were the general ideas, those ideas occupying the higher points on the heirarchical schema; they were "the tools which the mind-set calls forth or selects for use in advancing toward a solution of all problem situations, whether novel or habitual" (Billings,1919, 44). Therefore, the central task of educators was to ascertain as many of the generalizations relevant to the subject matter as possible.

According to Rugg's designation, the "tools" of the social studies curriculum were generalizations concerning the "critical conditions and the insistent and permanent problems of contemporary life" (Rugg and Hockett, 1925, vi). Writing in 1923, Rugg noted that his curriculum studies had spent the last four years constructing these generalizations from technical inventories (Rugg, 1923a, 13) of the writings of the "frontier thinkers;" (Rugg, 1923, 14) the insights and prescient thinking of historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and sociologists would provide the social studies curriculum with the requisite tools for building a nation of determinate thinkers. "No sounder source can be found," Rugg maintained," than the frontier thinkers to whom we have referred" (Rugg and Hockett, 1925, 28).

Rugg's emphasis upon addressing contemporary needs through an objective analyses followed similar patterns established by other scientific curricularists, such as W.W. Charters, David Snedden, and Franklin Bobbitt. Similar to Charter's recommendation that such an analysis focus upon socially-efficient persons, Rugg directed his analysis to frontier thinkers who shared leadership qualities and a dogged capacity to uncover central themes and formulate generalizations (Rugg, 1923a, 14). Not unlike Bobbitt's concern that the curriculum address real life skills, Rugg's concern was that the curriculum define modern life's problems; both curricularists sought discrete skill development in school that mirrored skills presumably required in the real world outside of school.

For Rugg, accumulating the generalizations from the frontier thinkers constituted the first procedure in developing a scientific curriculum. The second step involved "the critical construction of hypotheses on the basis" of these generalization (Rugg, 1923a, 22). This step involved the building of a hierarchical scaffolding of increasingly more general and hence abstract concepts. It required that Rugg and his staff coalesce over three hundred generalizations of problems of American economy, politics, and international relations and over six hundred generalizations of problems about American social life into manageable order. Finally, these generalizations were worked into "great theme-concepts." The theme of human cultures was established as the all-embracing theme-concept, under which were ordered economic theme-concepts, social theme concepts, government theme-concepts, and themes concerning "tolerant understanding through the development of the power of critical judgment" (Rugg and Krueger, n.d., 14). Grouped under these themes were numous subthemes; for example, under the government theme-concept were the subthemes concerning "1.) the gradual but steady extension of the right to vote." and 2.) the increasing use of scientific knowledge in government, and in industry and business" (Rugg and Krueger, n.d.,13-14). The task of working this hierarchy into textual narrative followed.

SCIENTIFIC PSYCHOLOGY AND THE NEW CURRICULUM:

Book VI, Changing Governments and Changing Cultures, of Man and His Changing Society, illustrated how these thematic schemata were combined into a narrative format that conformed to the principles of this scientific curriculum. Subtitled, The World's March toward Democracy, the text focused its lessons upon the rise of democratic governments in Europe and the role of industrialization in this rise; peripheral interests concerned the "new experiments" in Russian government and imperialism.

The concepts of democracy and industrialization provided the central themes of this text. Their manner of presentation revealed the operation of three features of Rugg's scientific program for curriculum, these being the function of the cue word, the construction of meaning, and the importance of repetition.

Confident that concepts in history could achieve a certainty not unlike those in science, Rugg regarded the central task of this text to be the construction of a certainty of meaning for his central concepts. (Rugg and Hockett, 1925, 101) Meaning was the result of a specific set of associations; concepts "are terms which epitomize the meanings expressed in the longer definitions" (Billings, 1929, 38-9). The principle by which concepts acquired meaning was that of the "doctrine of multiple approach" (Rugg and Hockett, 1925, 102), which stated that a term acquired meaning by holding the term constant and varying its associative contexts (Ruggand Hockett 1925, 102).

In the prefatory remarks to Changing Governments, Rugg explained that the text incorporated "carefully planned recurrence[s] of important concepts, generalizations, and historical themes in varied settings" (Rugg, 1932, ix). Examples of this "planned repetition" (Rugg, 1932, ix) for the term "democracy" incorporated its development on an increasing scale, from zero or its absence to its full expression. What made it possible for Rugg to impose an almost quantitative sense to this term was the regularity of the associative ideas by which he established its meaning.

Students met these ideas first in the section on the Middle Ages. Why were these ages undemocratic, the text asked. It answered by explaining that the Middle Ages lacked the " recognition of the common man" (Rugg, 1932, 33). In addition, the physical standard of living was inadequate: "there were no factories, no manufacturing cities, no railroads. . . no macadamized roads, no automobiles, no telegraphs, no newspapers. . .Ways of living. . .were almost primitive" (Rugg, 1932, 33). Also, civilization suffered from a lack of knowledge and their world was small (Rugg, 1932, 35). Unprogressive attitudes comprised the next associative link. Finally students learned that people in the Middle Ages did not think for themselves; they accepted everything on faith (Rugg, 1932, 36).

With this thematic schema, Rugg imparted a hierarchy of increasingly important ideas. Occupying the lower rungs of this hierarchy were concrete examples of a low standard of living and parochical attitudes. Further up appeared more general ideas that occurred throughout the text. For the Middle Ages, negative examples of these ideas were illustrated; these included, the absence of science, which produced superstition and the low standard of living, and the absence of capitalism, also revealed through concrete examples of low living standards. Occupying the highest rung was the form of government, once again, a negative expression of democracy or authoritarianism.

Associative links began to move from negative to positive incidences in the section concerning the seventeenth century English Revolution. Here Rugg wove together the common threads of Western democracy: its associative links with science, capitalism, and resistance to authoritative rule. Thus, students learned that the leaders of seventeenth century English society and industry were the Puritans. They read that the Puritans were also the leaders in science and religion and that, in addition, they led the resistance to the "divine right" Stuarts (Rugg, 1932, 168). This important initial movement toward popular sovereignty, then, was attributed to the efforts of an elite who were scientifically-minded, economically-successful and imbued with a sense of their political rights. They were questioning individuals who sought to better their conditions through science and government. Throughout the text, democracy marched hand in hand with scientific and industrial advances that endowed and strengthened the middle classes. Linked in a dynamic causal network, this matrix of ideas surged through history to appear as modern Western democracy.

In addition to promoting meaning, this reiteration of ideas satisfied two other conditions of Rugg's scientific curriculum. By constant iteration, the ideational nexus promoted a "condensation of meaning" (Billings, 1929, 39) of the associative terms. Any or all of the related terms---democracy, science, industry, middle class---could operate as cue words. These cues functioned in memory recall to provide the interpetative connotations required for deliberate judgments. They helped control against impulsive decisionmaking by eliciting habits of mind---the nexus of associative links that provided conceptual meaning. In this way, reason controlled instinct. Textual reiterations satisfied another requirement of Rugg's scientific program. They obeyed the "fundamental learning principle of repetition" (Rugg and Hocket, 1925, 6; Rugg, 1928,135). Acknowledging the unpopularity of repetition or drill, Rugg asserted that it has nonetheless been scientifically-confirmed as essential to the learning process. Citing Thorndike's Educational Psychology, Rugg insisted that studies of learning and forgetting reveal "the imperative necessity of repetition in learning"(Rugg, 1928, 133). Varying the context in which the central concepts were portrayed provided the "multitude of varied settings, in a constantly changing kaleidoscope of example" for the optimal exercise of repetition (Rugg, 1928, 135). Rugg hypothesized that it would require "nine or ten years of rigourous practice in thinking" for the "rank and file [to]. . .develop tendencies of deliberation which he will carry on through adult life" (Rugg, 1923a,n.1, p. 3).

RUGG'S SOCIAL CRITIQUE AND THE EMERGENCE OF HIS IDEA OF THE CREATIVE PROCESSES:

The first textbook of Man and His Changing Society was completed in 1929, three months before the stock market crash. Within the next decade, over one million copies of the series and over 2.5 million copies of the workbook were sold, bringing Rugg's scientific curriculum into countless classrooms. His objective of inculcating habits of deliberate judgments through a scientifically-constructed curriculum was on its way to realization. Science had joined forces with pedagogy for the amelioration of social ills.

While the Depression had no ill effects upon the fortunes of Rugg's social studies curriculum, the economic hardtimes heightened his social concerns and intensified his commitment to social reconstruction. The fervor that compelled him to repeat his so-called "crisis speech" (Rugg, 1947, 576) was evident in the tenor of his criticisms of the Great Technology. In 1931 and again in

1933 he described an America drunk on the material excesses of a technological culture and compromised by an intellectual elite that sanctioned the status quo.

Rugg decried the pernicious affect of the technological culture upon the "mass mind and characteristic climate of opinion" of the American people (Rugg, 1931, 399) and saw its dangers as manifold and difficult to eradicate; it shaped the "characteristic motor impulses of the people [as well as their]. . .physical attitudes and mental sets" (Rugg, 1931, 399). He blamed this unfortunate state of affairs upon the forces let loose by the Great Technology: "the rush of land settlement, industry, and politics---a movement exploitive,mercenary, unmeditative" that had dominated American life for three centuries (Rugg, 1931, 4-5).

History would reveal the source of this deliterious tradition and, by designating its cause, could point to avenues of change. (Rugg, 1931, 10) Rugg placed the blame upon Puritanism. A singular class of seventeenth century men, the Puritan bourgeoisie gave rise to the features of modern democracy---science wedded to industry and individual rights achieved through popular sovereignty. Having "revolutionized the economic, political, and social mores of the Nordic world," (Rugg, 1931, 27), the British colonist [i.e. the Puritan] came to America essentially an economic man" (Rugg, 1931, 33). The scientific method, which Rugg believed was perfected and applied to industry by the Puritans, spawned industrialization and its attendent amorality of exploitation (Rugg, 1931, 3-4). It also gave rise to the instrumental theory of life and education of the pragmatic philosophers. Rugg applauded this philosophy for its contributions to revolutionary concepts of learning and growth, specifically citing " the active psychology of meaning, the experimental method of knowing, the social molding of individuality, society conceived as democracy, and a dynamic educational system as the instrument of social development." (Rugg, 1931, 399)

However, Rugg also saw the source of the nation's despair in the excesses which the pragmatic philosophy had created. He specifically denounced this philosophy for sanctioning the Great

Technology and enabling the technological culture to control the thought and conduct of Americans (Rugg, 1931, 4-5). "In Charles Peirce," Rugg insisted, "the economic man found his pragmatic philosopher" (Rugg, 1931, 106). Pragmatism sprang out of an exact technology to become "the philosophy of most intellectuals since 1900 " (Rugg, 1931, 104).Rugg traced the emergence of this rational justification of the Great Technology from Peirce to "the radical empiricism of William James. . .and the instrumentalism of Dewey. . .the social efficiency of the professors of education. . .[to] the patchwork, planless curriculum of the American school" (Rugg, 1931, 32, ellipses Rugg's).

He reserved his more strident criticism for Dewey's method of experimental knowing. This method, Rugg argued, represented the apex of an era of technological advances that had the capacity to feed, cloth, and shelter every American; yet, tragically, the result was the Depression with its attendent human suffering (Rugg, 1931, 8). He placed a major onus for this outcome upon Dewey's faith in the social environment. His experimental method of knowing posited the social environment as the source of individual "morality as well as habit, interest, aims, and other attributes" (Rugg, 1931, 132, n.29). It gave rise also to individual "language, habits, manners, good taste and esthetic appreciation (Rugg, 1931, 133). By overevaluating the social environment, Rugg argued, Dewey preached acquiesccence to its formative structures and thereby delivered American society into the jaws of the immoral Great Technology. Dewey's social psychology encouraged Americans to be passive to the cultural controls wrought by the successors of Puritan bourgeoisie (Rugg, 1931, 132-13).

In Child-Centered School (1928, 144), Rugg attacked the psychology of adaptation, but did not criticize Dewey at this time. Three years later, in Culture and Education in America,he elaborated upon Ralph Bourne's criticism of Dewey that had appeared during WWI. Rugg insisted that the "stifling, deadening effect" of Dewey's stress on passive adaptation should be revised according to a philosophy of "intelligent control." (Rugg, 1931, 134) Rejecting

Dewey's revised idea of control, with which he attempted to answer Bourne's and other criticisms, (Rugg, 1931, 134) Rugg called for a solution that would include "a theory of individual life which will plot a clear profile of the integrated personality. . .a theory which will embrace all the 'ways of knowing' to which our seers and singers on every frontier of thought and feeling subscribe." (Rugg, 1931, 10, italics Rugg's) He envisioned this philosophy to be an instrument of change that would "propel as well as orient and guide." (Rugg, 1931,141) Curiously, the work that contained this pointed criticism of Dewey's experimental method lauded Dewey in the dedicatory preface "for phrasing clearly the experimental method of knowing"(Rugg, 1931, Preface).

Rugg's Culture and Education in America developed his idea of the creative process and its saluatory effect upon American thought and culture. His descriptive accounts of the contributions of his three exemplars of American creativity---Ralph Waldo Emerson, Louis Sullivan, and Alfred Stieglitz---underscored his emphasis upon the the dynamism, uniqueness, and synthesizing action of these processes. Rugg was particularly intriqued by the power implicit in the creative act. His critique targeted Dewey's experimental method for lacking a motive force; it was an idea without an impetus. He quoted Bourne's conception of such an impetus as a process where the spirit jumps out of the skin "to go on wild adventures"(Rugg, 1931, 134).

Jumping and leaping---indeed any rhythmic expressions in free play---became incorporated into Rugg's curricular encouragement of creativity. Expressed in his The Child-Centered School, this curriculum embraced "two kinds of effort [that] are required in learning---acquisitive effort and creative effort. There is no essential conflict between the two. Both are necessary" (Rugg, 1931, 144). They are not, however, necessary in all subjects. Indeed, Rugg's curriculum design distinguished the creative from the non-creative curriculum. The provisions "for creative expression [in] the materials of the school curriculum vary from zero in the case of the verbatim skills---computation, writing, spelling, etc. ---to a high maximum in the case of the arts---music, painting and sculpture, literature, etc." (Rugg, 1931, 146). Rugg recognized, therefore, that school subjects described a type of continuum from "verbatim repetition" to "creative self-expression" (Rugg, 1931,146).

To develop the latter, Rugg described a variety of programs that encouraged self-expression through dance, art, creative writing, and theatre. Imperative for the success of this program was the teacher. Rugg insisted that the teacher "practice creative self-expression. . .[he] must paint, mold, write, dance, make music, devise new techniques, originate new plans. It is only through actively passing materials and processes of the creative act through his own body and mind that he will reflect the attitude of the artist" (Rugg, 1931, 389).

In addition to utilizing subjects conducive to developing learner self-expression, Rugg moved beyond the particular features of the discipline to actual situations in which they were taught; here he found a type of creativity in the will to learn (Rugg, 1928, 147). "This will to learn," he explained, "this determination to master the skill, is analogous, but only analogous, to the urge to create, which is the first step of the artist's problem" (Rugg, 1928,147). Rugg defined this will to learn as the child's "felt need" and regarded it as the imperative which the child-centered school curriculum must address. In his social studies series, Rugg addressed this "felt need" through instructional activities that provided learners with "first hand concrete examples" of the institutions and problems they were studying. (Rugg, 1928, 121) These activities included integration of the creative subjects with the social studies curriculum as well as concrete experiences gained by visiting the institutions or industries under study.

The importance of concrete experiences rested not only with their appeal to the learner's felt need. Rugg perceived them as having a more far-reaching significance as the process by which the learner generated personal meaning. Through concrete contacts, learners found personal meaning; they interpreted the experiences of society according to his or her own experiences. Each learner synthesized the elements of the contact according to his or her frame of reference. "It does not matter," insisted Rugg, " if the same act has been performed millions of times by other people, but if it is new to that individual and if it is complete in the sense of being an integration of interdependent elements, it is creative." (Rugg, 1928, 145). Thus, an active synthesis was basic to the creative process of understanding.(Rugg, 1928, 145)

THE CREATIVE PROCESSES CONFORM TO SCIENCE:

Embracing active synthesis as a central component of the creative process, Rugg harnessed it to his scientific psychology. He then dismantled the synthesis into its component elements and described their behavior according to his theory of cognitive association. Refracted into its many units, the meaningful experience acquired in the creative process became the outcome of the association "into intimate relationship of interdependent elements, each contributing its necessary component. " (Rugg, 1928, 145) This process of association assured that the experience was assimilated into the learner's "own nervous life;" (Rugg, 1928, 150) The neurones that dictated Rugg's curriculum according to scientific principles of association still held sway. Associative principles governed the creative processes as they did the habits Rugg attempted to construct out of repeated associations of ideas. Creativity required a different type of stimulus---not the cue word but the felt need. However, both types of associative processes were necessary for learning. "Thinking and conduct are directed largely by cue meanings as well as by the tone of emotionalized attitudes," Rugg explained (Rugg, 1928, 127).

While apparent in his notion of creative synthesis, Rugg's continued commitment to a scientific psychology was more clearly expressed in his explanation of the role of rhythms in the creative processes. Expressed in the late 1920's and early 1930's, these ideas posited a theory of natural rhythms that included explanations from the organic and the physical sciences. The common variable in these descriptions was measurement: all aspects of the rythmic processes could ultimately be described according to number. Rugg perceived rhythm as a type of "fourth dimension" (Rugg, 1928, 157) of reality. He assigned this dimension a formative role in American culture. In his denunciation of the Great Technology, he lamented the alterations in the nation's rhythms---from the "nervous rhythms of the pioneers" to the "staccato time-beat of swift transportation." (Rugg, 1931, 84). Rhythms governed all aspects of life. Individual susceptibility to influences from external rhythms depended upon his/her own rhythmic orchestration, or personality. (Rugg, 1928, 154). Supporting this theory of personality, Rugg marshalled evidence from the cardiovascular system: "the most conspicuous and obvious of these thythmic actions [of personality] is that pulsating throb which sends the blood circulating on its periodic rounds."(Rugg, 1928, 154). Synchronized with the rhythm of the heartbeat was that of breathing "an equally basic periodicity." (Rugg, 1928, 154). Other rhythms appeared in growth, which Rugg defined as "the cumulative integration of a great variety of rhythmic movements" (Rugg, 1928, 154) including walking, speaking, and motor coordination. Rugg's definitions rested solely upon objective indices. Even his analysis of speech gave primacy to objective factors. In his discussion of Dickens, Thackeray, Woodrow Wilson, Jane Austen, and Abraham Lincoln, for example, he stressed the syntax of their speech and ignored its intrinsic meaning. The meter of the sentence, the rhythmic pattern of the paragraph structure conveyed that "fourth dimensional meaning.. . [without which] the reproduction in our own rhythmic system of the author's peculiar accentual phrasings is retarded" Rugg, 1928, 157). Rugg supported his arguments on the primacy of rhythm in textual analysis with results from laboratory investigations of eye movements in reading (Rugg, 1928, 158-9).

Rugg's commitment to a scientifically-developed curriculum was still intact. His idea of the creative process aligned them with rhythms of measurable forces. These rhythms described phenomena in physics, such as the properties of light, in biology, such as, cardiovascular events and in psychology, they defined the creative process of understanding. Rugg did not ponder the substantitive relationship between the rhythms and the creative processes. Elaborating his ideas on the creative process in a series of three works, beginning with The Child-Centered School, and continuing in Culture and Education in American, and The Great Technology, Rugg ignored the issue of how physiological motions gave rise to intuitive judgments and mental actions. In a later work, he acknowledged the existence of controversies over the nature of mind and body, but he dismissed these quarrels as being outside the interests of science. He agreed with C.S. Myers, the British psychology who said that "the notion of any relation between mind and body is absurd---because mental activity and living bodily activity are identical" (Rugg, 1963,129).

RUGG'S CONCEPTUAL SHIFT:

While Rugg's idea of the creative process iterated his basically scientific approach to education and, furthermore, did not challenge his belief that biological and psychical activity were fundamentally the same, it did represent a conceptual shift. It presented psychology from an organic perspective, rather than from the mechanical perspective that supported Thorndike's associative theory. With this organic perspective, Rugg enjoyed the best of both possible worlds: his notion of creativity santioned a reduction of the creative processes into their component parts for the purpose of scientific analysis, but it also recognized the importance of unity. Rugg did not perceive this unity as merely mathematical. Within each individual, this unity emerged organically out of unique merger of the creative processes with those of experimental knowing.

Reflecting in 1955 on developments in psychological thought in the early decades of the twentieth century, Rugg distinguished the "mechanistic and atomistic" (Rugg, 1955,395, italics his) character of Thorndike's psychology from the "organic, homeostatic" nature of the field psychology, which he believed his idea of the creative process reflected.(Rugg, 1955, 395) Rugg lauded James' "synthesis for a biopsychology of experience" (Rugg, 1955, 395) as the foundation of organic psychology and saw this synthesis as Dewey's starting point for his functional field psychology. (Rugg, 1955, 396) In this reflective piece, Rugg pointed specifically to Dewey's central themes of the "living unity of the child" (Rugg, 1955, 397) and his active adjustment to his environment---also the central themes of Rugg's idea of the creative process. Rugg's organic perspective also supported his assumption of mind-body identity, which was illustrated in his idea of rhythms in mental activity. Echoing James, Rugg maintained that the "felt-relations of the body response [are]. . .central in every act" (Rugg, 1955, 396).

Occuring during the late 1920's and early 1930's, Rugg's shift from a mechanistic to an organic psychology proceeded smoothly while his social philosophy entered a period of turbulence. His more disturbing commentaries on society appeared during this period of intellectual transition. These were accompanied by his strident criticism of Dewey for his experimental method of knowing. Could Rugg's intellectual shift be somehow related to these outpourings of disappointment and angst? Was the human suffering resulting from the Depression too heavy a weight for Rugg's social conscious to bear? Was his switch from a mecanistic psychology to an organic one an attempt to disassociate his pedagogy from a type of science that he believed had poisoned the economic and social wells of America?

Writing in the 1921 Yearbook, Thorndike argued that measurement would not "deface the beauty of life and corrode its nobility into a sordid materialism" (Thorndike, 1923, 9). Education's love affair with measurement, however, and its attendent practices of atomizing human nature became inextricably tied to Thorndike's psychology. By the 1920's, according to Rugg, Thorndike's "mechanistic view of human nature and behavior" provided the basis of teacher education while its mechanistic and atomistic principles guided classroom instruction and evaluation (Rugg, 1955,391). Rugg's social criticisms of the 1930s pointedly decried scientific materialism. In expressing these views, he acknowledged that his particular criticisms against Dewey had been raised earlier by Ralph Bourne. In his essay, "Twilight of the Gods," Bourne accused Dewey of stifling society's creative capacities with his experimental method of knowing. "In radiant cooperation with reality," Bourne argued (Bourne, 1917, 132) society had become passive to its environment; it "took what it could get" (Bourne, 1917, 133) rather than seeking creative solutions. "The working-out of this American philosophy [of accommodation] in our intellectual life then has meant an exaggerated emphasis on the mechanics of life at the expense of the quality of living. We suffer from a real shortage of spiritual values" (Bourne, 1917,134). Rugg believed this was the case in the 1930's.

Appearing in October, 1917, "Twilight of the Idols" conveyed Bourne's despair at Dewey's active support for the war effort. Bourne had been profoundly influenced by Dewey's philosophy. He now lamented that Dewey had abandoned his philosophical position on creative intelligence by supporting the war effort; Bourne felt this abandonment was tantamount to abandoning him.

Rugg's decision to iterate Bourne's criticism of Dewey in the early 1930's, over fifteen years after its appearance, is curious. He declined to incorporate this criticism into his early statements on the creative process that appeared in The Child-Centered School. By introducing it into his social critique, Culture and Education, Rugg advanced the creative process of knowing as a solution to society's current ills. This solution, therefore, required a new version of science. It would redress the ills caused by an earlier version of science exemplified by Dewey's experimental method. The juxtaposition and timing of this critique deflected attention from other expressions of this earlier science; Thorndike's associative psychology, for example, or the whole movement of scientific measurement in education.

This argument is not suggesting that Rugg's criticisms of Dewey were disingenuous. Most likely, Rugg was not consciously aware of his continuing debt to Thorndike nor the implications for his own work of his criticism of Dewey. Described as continually disturbed by the suffering caused by Depression, Rugg constructed a plan of action that was consistant with his belief that uncovering the intellectual sources of a problem would lead automatically to its solution. His embracing of the creative processes appeared serendipidously to offer a solution to the nation's ills as well as a rationale for why these had happened. That Dewey served as a type of strawman to enable the argument to catch fire was strangely forgotten by 1955. Here, in the Social Foundations of Education, Rugg praised Dewey's "scientific method of inquiry" (Rugg, 1955, 398, italics his) as the "clear statement of the process of problem-solving thinking" (Rugg, 1955, 396) that had helped unseat "the passive and mechanical conception of the child" (Rugg, 1955, 396).

CONCLUSION:

During the formative period in the development of his social studies series, Harold Rugg exhibited an unswerving faith in a pedagogical reality that was definable according to the tenets of his scientific psychology. Taken largely from Thorndike's thought, this psychology provided the theory of cognition upon which Rugg based his social studies series. This curriculum addressed what Rugg regarded as a social impasse created by a public ill-prepared to handle the responsibilities of democratic citizenship. When democracy then suffered the ill-effects of the Great Depression, Rugg's social criticism acquired a heightened pitch and new direction. He now looked beyond inadequate schooling to explain society's ills. For this economic crisis' painful outcome he sought more radical reasons and solutions. Still believing in the reforming power of the theoretical, Rugg called for an end to the monopoly of the science that had enthroned pragmatism. His solution, however, was not to eliminate this science but to correct its untoward influences by aligning it with the creative processes. The new curriculum would restore the "sense of wholeness of [the] unity of life" lost to Western civilization since the Renaissance rise of science (Rugg, 1931, 28).

Embracing the creative processes as a necessary antidote to science, Rugg moved from a mechanistic to an organic conception of psychology. His particular version of this concept allowed room for a definition of parts according to objective, measurable indices. But it also acknowledged that the unified whole---the individual---was more than the mere sum of his/her parts. Personality and knowing emerged out of this union of the creative processes and the experimental method. Rugg envisioned his new curriculum would produce a "cultured man" who attacked "his problems with the method of experimental inquiry." (Rugg, 1931, 399).

During the 1920's and early 1930s, Rugg's circumscribed odyssey through the theories of mind never lost sight of his original faith in objectivity and measurement. Although his idea of science was somewhat tempered, intellectually, he had not ventured far from the granite hills of New Hampshire.

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(1983)

SO! YOU WANT TO BE A HIGHLY COMPETENT CURRICULUM PLANNER

J. Galen Saylor

I believe none of those high-power consultant firms that advise businesses and agencies on the characteristics and traits of top executive and management staffs and how to select them ever studied the traits of highly competent curriculum planners. I do not propose to set up a consultant firm to do the job, but I am glad of an opportunity to express some ideas on the knowledge and values a top-notch curriculum scholar should have.

Philosophical Views About Education

No one should ever be granted an initial teaching certificate who has not had an introduction to the literature on the purposes, goals and aims of formal schooling, and the role and functions of the school in a democratic society. No professional educator should be granted a master's or doctor's degree who has not studied the following works on the nature and ends of schooling:

1. John Dewey remains the ultimate authority on the nature and character of education. One should start with the following:

   a. My Pedagogic Creed (1897)
   b. The Child and the Curriculum (1902)
   c. Interest and Effort in Education (1913)
   d. Democracy and Education (1916)
   e. Experience and Education (1938)

In addition, the following should be understood:

2. Herbert Spencer, Education (1860)

3. Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy (1937).

The following works deal with the Sociological role of the school:

4. Emile Durkheim, Education and Sociology (1956).

5. Ralph Linton, "Potential Contributions of Cultural Anthropology to Teacher Education," in Culture and Personality, American Council on Education (1941).

6. Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, National Education Association, Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education (1918).

These works by renowned scholars and agencies provide the fundamental principles and understandings on which all curriculum planning, and, in fact, any educational undertaking, should be based. Dewey's philosophy is irrefutably the essential analysis of what should be educational process for all of schooling. His analysis of the fundamental factors involved in the process and how these factors should be correlated in the ongoing program of education and his concepts of the goals of education are basic to any planning. But the planner has to dig deeply and organize and systemize Dewey's concepts thoroughly to provide a complete understanding of a philosophy of education.

One should know that Herbert Spencer, way back in 1860, started the modern approach to curriculum planning. He analyzed the major life activities of people into five categories, and then described the kinds of educational program needed to enable people to fulfill adequately these roles of living.

The place and role of the school in a social group is treated magnificently in the three works by Durkheim, Linton, and the Educational Policies Commission. A curriculum planner must always recognize that he or she is a guide, an advisor, a proposer, and advocate, and a doer for the social group in establishing and carrying on programs of schooling. Ultimately, it is not the planner but the social group, in broad, basic lines, who determines the role, functions, and goals of the school.

In my opinion, the single, most important document in the whole history of education in this country is the statement of the cardinal principles of education.

Scanning the current scene one is shocked by the dearth of significant works on philosophy of education. Sure, there are short things here and there that show insight, but none comes clearly and sharply to grips with the fundamental issues of the purposes, functions, and goals of schools. Goodlad's works reporting his "Study of Schooling" are the best things available, but nevertheless quite inadequate in terms of breadth.

Psychology of Learning

Another prerequisite for a curriculum planner is a thorough knowledge of the psychology of learning and of the nature and characteristics of human growth and development. My choice of books on the former is what I consider to be the classic of the field: Robert Woodworth's Dynamic Psychology, published in . This is a penetrating and thoroughgoing analysis of the personal nature of learning and of the reconstruction of experience in terms of the individual's own actions. This is the revolt against pure connectionism that had dominated the field, and continues to do so even to this day (e.g., Bloom's Mastery Learning). Woodworth's book is said to be the foundation on which Dewey built his concepts of reconstruction of experience as the essence of learning.

The modern statement of this theory is found in the literature of the humanistic/phenomenological psychologists. The best statement I believe is the ASCD Yearbook, Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming: A New Force for Education. Arthur Combs was the editor and chairman; he has other works of his own that deepen the essence of the statement.

As for human growth and development I have no specific title to suggest. There are a number of excellent works available. Here, no earlier classic exists; so much new knowledge has become and continues to become available that one should stay with a modern work that embodies a proper and sensible correlation of the genetic and the environmental factors in determining the nature of personal character.

Structural Organization of the Schools

I think a curriculum worker should have some understanding of the evolution of the organizational plan for schooling that has existed for three quarters of a century, scarcely without change, or even subjected to critical examination. For this background read the reports of committees established by the National Education Association in the late 1800's and early 1900's:

Committee on Secondary School Studies (Committee of Ten) Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies (1893)

Committee of Fifteen, Report of the Committee (1895)

Committee on College Entrance Requirements, "Report of the Committee," in Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting, July 11-14, 1899.

Committee on Economy of Time in Elementary Education, Minimum Essentials in Elementary-

School Subjects--Standards and Curriculum Practices (1915). There were several additional reports of the Committee, but this is the essence of the movement.

Charles W. Eliot, "Can School Programmes be Shortened and Enriched," Proceedings of the Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association, (1888).

These are essentially the documents that established and then froze the whole structural organization of the schools to this day: Rigidity, standardization, precription and line and staff management. Believe it or not, the renowned Franklin Bobbitt, regarded as the father of the whole curriculum planning movement wrote an essay highly recommending use of scientific management and rigid control by the managers of the whole educational process. See his article entitled "Supervision of City Schools," published in the 12th Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education (1913).

James B. Conant, in a report entitled The American High School Today (1959) that received national acclaim and support for a time, stated the case for the comprehensive high school and its place as the basic unit in American education.

I know of no scholar nor of any book or report that raises any serious question, or, in fact, any question at all, about this 70-year old structural plan for organizing the school system. The middle school movement simply proposes some modification of the intermediate level, but no change in overall organization.

The ungraded school plan and the open classroom received some support in the past few years, but neither movement has had any impact on school organization in general. Why doesn't some curriculum leader or agency make a thoroughgoing and penetrating analysis of the whole matter of structural organization of schools. My own opinion is that the "mess" we are in today (1983-1984) in considerable part is due to our organizational plan for schooling.

Factors and Processes in Curriculum Planning

Until the latter part of the 19th century curriculum planning was a very simple process: select the textbooks to be used in the various courses taught in the school. In the 17th and 18th centuries this was largely a decision of the school board for the elementary schools and of the colleges and universities for the high schools.

After state departments of education were established beginning early in the 19th century, their powers and duties were slowly expanded so that by the middle of the century designation of the textbooks to be used in the schools was a quite common responsibility of the state departments.

Then, slowly and in a simple manner, state departments began to set up committees, usually composed of university faculty members and school superintendents, to advise them on the selection of text books. The next step was to have such a committee or subcommittees prepare a syllabus or outline of the course for the teacher to follow. Often the guide was no more than an outline of the textbook selected.

The big move forward was for the National Educational Association to establish committees that saw as their primary function the prescription of the courses to be offered, both in the elementary school and the high school, and then to appoint subcommittees to prepare a syllabus for each subject. Such a planning procedure reached its pinnacle in the work of the Committee on Minimum Essential (elementary) and the subject field committees set up under the (?) of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools to prepare curriculum guides for each subject.

The work of these committees is described fully by Harold Rugg, chairman, editor, and principal author of the first full-blown study of the processes of curriculum planning: The Foundations and Techniques of Curriculum Construction, 26th Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, 2 volumes, (1926).

Early in the 1920's city schools, with Denver the pacesetter, organized extensive, formal programs for curriculum planning. Committees of classroom teachers were established for each subject field, and often one for each level of schooling in the field. A director of curriculum managed the entire program and specialists in a subject field often were employed as consultants. The most extensive of these programs are described in detail in Rugg's yearbook. This is the basic plan of curriculum development used to this day by school systems and state departments.

The Virginia State Department of Education, with the leadership of Hollis L. Caswell, as director, took a much broader and insightful approach to curriculum planning in the 1920's. Caswell insisted that real change, and, hopefully, improvement, in schooling involved every teacher as a curriculum planner. The evidence was accumulating that little real change was occurring in the classrooms of Denver, St. Louis, Detroit, Los Angeles, and other cities as a result of their widespread, highly organized committee plan, EXCEPT in the classrooms of those teachers that had actually served as committee members in preparing the new curriculum guides and courses of study. Hence, Caswell's insight and vision called for the participation of every teacher in the planning process, and continuously so if real improvement were to be achieved. An extensive statewide teacher study program was set up in Virginia and all teachers were urged to undertake innovations that they felt promised better education. The process is described in Hollis L. Caswell's "Current Studies in Curriculum Making," published by the Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Vol. 7, December 1934; and Virginia State Board of Education, Organization for Virginia State Curriculum Program (1932).

A decade later Alice Miel provided the theoretical and practical framework for this concept--every teacher is a curriculum planner—in her book that should be regarded as a classic among curriculum literature: Alice Miel, Changing the Curriculum--A Social Process (1946).

Three decades later, John I. Goodlad and his associates formulated a League of Schools in California that embodied this same basic approach to educational improvement in the planning projects. The whole program, in which 18 schools participated, is described and analyzed in seven volumes and numerous magazine articles. The best single volume is: John I. Goodlad, The Dynamics of Educational Change Toward Responsive Schools (1975).

The foremost recent publication developing fully the whole concept of the teacher as the curriculum planner is the yearbook prepared by Arthur W. Foshay and his committee for A.S.C.D.: Arthur W. Foshay, ed., Considered Action for Curriculum Improvement, 1980 yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum and Development.

One of the members of the yearbook committee, F. Michael Connelly, not only provided an excellent chapter for the yearbook, but in an earlier article wrote the best single short statement on the process of curriculum development that exists in today's literature: F. Michael Connelly, "The Functions of Curriculum Development," Interchange, 3 (1972).

What Went Wrong?

Despite this background, the field of curriculum development has not thrived. Among other things, those who wanted to plan curriculums for the schools disregarded the advice and examples of Dewey. Most basically, the teacher was not involved in curriculum planning. For discussing see Kathrine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, The Dewey School (1936), and John and Evelyn Dewey, Schools of Tomorrow, (1916), and Caswell, and Miel on the role of the teacher in curriculum planning.

The federal government from 1957 to 1975 spent nearly $180,000,000 establishing and sponsoring curriculum planning committees that were going to reform the educational programs of the schools. It was evident, and the research evidence exists, by the late 1970's that practically all of this huge sum went down the drain. "Teacher proof" instructional guides and materials were, of course, just that--of no real impact on classroom practice.

Even professional curriculum directors in the schools reverted to the old Denver plan of setting up a number of planning committees to produce guides that collected dust on classroom shelves. Some did try to carry out "staff development" projects, that usually were the bane of classroom teachers.

An analysis and summary of many of these various types of procedures for planning a curriculum, and a highly opinionated statement on the role of the teacher in education improvement is: J. Gallen Saylor, "Who Planned the Curriculum?" Kappa Delta Pi, 1982.

Factors Considered in Planning and Curriculum Design

In selecting the basic factors to be considered in curriculum planning, and the resultant design of the curriculum, one of course, starts with Dewey's The Child and the School. Then, historically one should be familiar with the first formal works on planning: Franklin Bobbitt, The Curriculum (1918); and How to Make a Curriculum (1924).

For an understanding of later developments it is desirable to understand the life activities and the developmental needs approaches to curriculum planning: W. W. Charters, Curriculum Construction (1929); Daniel Prescott, Emotions and the Educative Process (1938); Progressive Education Association, Commission on Secondary School School Curriculum, Reorganizing Secondary Education (1929).

Ralph Tyler, utlizing these earlier efforts to define factors in planning, puts it all together in a book that remains the basic work on planning: Ralph Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (1950).

The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education is the most authoritative statement on the overall design of the curriculum. Of interest are two plans for a broadly conceived curriculum design that would implememnt the Cardinal Principles: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, Education for All American Youth (1944); Harold B. Alberty and Elsie J. Alberty, Reorganizing the High School Curriculum (1962).

Curriculum workers should be appalled by the absence of any authoritative works on curriculum design in recent years. There, of course, are many books and reports on specific aspects of the curriculum and highly critical studies of the present program of the schools, but no fundamental presentation of an overall design for education in the schools of America.

In fact we seem to be right back in a straight line to the 1890's—Committee of Ten report, James B. Conant's 21 recommendations, to the current National Commission on Excellence in Education's A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational; Reform (1983).

Do you still want to be a top-notch curriculum planner? Good Luck.

(1983)

GLOBAL EDUCATION: HISTORICAL PRECEDENT

Mary Louise Seguel

Several years ago I became convinced that the concept of the nation state was outmoded and that the emerging concept was that of global perspectives. My first thought, after becoming familiar with what I perceived to be the outlines of a global point of view was, as an educator, to study how such a perspective could be developed in children and youth through formal education or schooling. The appropriate instrument for that sort of initiative appeared to me to be the curriculum and I began to canvas mentally the usual channels open to me. I thought of curriculum concept papers to national societies, and curriculum journals, curriculum outlines, curricular materials to be issued by publishing houses, in-service training sessions and the like.

The merit of a global perspective is undoubted. Scholars, statesmen, artists, visionaries, scientists, all unite to suggest that a global perspective is a clearer and truer rendering of the nature of the world today than the now outmoded international perspective, and the thoroughly discredited national perspective. To those of us who perceive this fact, the prospect of tossing this new idea into the seething cauldron of curriculum controversy today is daunting. The determination of what to teach, always a delicate and complex subject, has today become an endeavor so murkey and clouded as to discourage the most hardened curriculum specialist. The prospect of this idea becoming merely one more idea contending for recognition in an already packed curriculum administered by an emotionally jaded teaching corps fighting for mere survival, and unable to rely on any social consensus to support curriculum decisions, is enough to dishearten its advocates.

The standardized curriculum today is a wonderful aggregate lacking any central organizing principle but rather composed of those bits and pieces left from successive waves of challenge and change. As those of us who administer it know, nothing that has even been incorporated in it is ever wholly lost and nothing that has ever been challenged wholly disappears. Like all political compromises it is a patchwork whose contents must be acquired anew by each generation of teachers. Its effectiveness as a centralized instrument of educational control lies not so much in its overt nature as in its covert. The organization of the school itself for which the curriculum was designed, with such aspects as its age-grade specifications, lock-step progresison, normative evaluation, and main-stream representation of culture has a powerful effect on the values, beliefs and goals of youth, often at direct odds with the explicit statement of purpose of the curriculum.

An unexpected apathy and disinterest toward the theme of global perspectives and the prospect of global education became apparent on the part of all segments of the profession with whom I shared it. Although all gave lip service to the worthiness of the theme, it was clear to me that other themes were regarded as so insuperable as to be at the forfront of attention. As my colleagues saw it, among pressing matters of survival were the following:

1. Responses to political pressures: Special interest groups are using the law, the media and votes to secure particular curricular changes frequently supported by funding. Among the subjects of change have been special education, multicultural education and career training.

2. Responses to economic pressures: Local school districts have become one of the few arenas for direct and local control of government. Threats to cut school budgets have often been used as leverage to ease other fiscal budget pressures. As a result of cutbacks, personnel have been eliminated, class size reduced, less has been spent on instructional materials and areas of the curriculum regarded as frills have been neglected.

3. Responses to aspirational disappointments: The widespread disillusionment with all professions which set in in the sixties has become focused on the gap between over-ambitious aspirations and perceived accomplishments in schooling. Among the measures taken to tighten the school's role have been the basics movement, instructional technology and standardized testing.

A generalized wistfulness on the part of school personnel emerged. They contemplated the educational promise they once held as somehow lost in the sheer struggle to survive. The failure of the free school movement of the sixties to alter the public's deep-seated faith in schooling has not been as heartening as it first appeared. Schools appear to be basic to the culture in a way perhaps never anticipated by their founders. In fact, the de-schooling movement effectively demonstrated that the concept of being schooled has penetrated the culture so thoroughly that it has become a basic article of faith. Recent developments of schooling in non-formal school settings confirm their insight. Schooling as a concept is here to stay. Schools, however, do not seem to enjoy their former monopoly over schooling and they do not appear to have the Madison Avenue techniques to meet the new competition in a consumer-oriented context. In contrast to doctors and lawyers, teachers are not independent professionals operating within an appropriate institution, the school, but rather are employees of that institution. Among other things, teachers do not control what they teach, whom they teach, where they teach, how long they teach, nor the sequence of content.

The feelings of helplessness I encountered in relationship to curriculum change seemed inharmonious with my own professional orientation, an echo of Counts' challenge of the thirties *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* Is the climate really so different today? If it is, what has happened to bring about such a change?

I have long been convinced that the use of the article "the" with the word curriculum is not accidental. We do not speak of a curriculum or even of curricula, but rather of *the* curriculum, by which we mean the curriculum taught in the universal compulsory school. That curriculum, however determined, is an inevitable concomitant to the schools in which it is developed and is equally compulsory. We as a profession tend to ignore this fundamental notion, or to accept it as a given without challenge. The free schoolers did not ignore it, but they too were unable to free themselves from its hold on their thinking. I would like to explore this question in greater depth, as a necesssary foundation for considering the introduction into the curriculum of any new content, such as a global perspective.

The emergence in modern times of compulsory universal education clarifies the emergence of the field of curriculum. If we begin with Greek and Roman education, we learn that the deliberate education of the young, as contrasted with the incidental learning or enculturation carried out by the community, may have begun as the task of family members or private tutors paid by fees. The precarious economic situation of such tutors lead in Rome, as it had earlier in Greece, to the establishment of a system of public salaried appointments for teachers who were paid from funds received from either private donations or fixed contributions of the state. This arrangement permitted general access to the services of such tutors, but did not compel such access. When later schools were established with similar funding, attendance at such schools was voluntary not compulsory.

Educational historians point out that whenever one political unity felt threatened by another there was a tendency to establish widespread and compulsory training of the youth usually military, to meet the threats. The Greek city states are examples of this phenomenon. Cicero is said to have criticized this practice, saying

> /he/ did not desire that there should be a fixed system of education for free-born youth, defined by law or prescribed by the state or made identical for all citizens.

The issue of universal and compulsory basic education versus state supported voluntary education is an old one and seems to be related to the power of the political unit.

This arrangement was characteristic of societies until the nation states of Europe were forming, a period crucial to the development of the concept of universal compulsory schooling. Frederick William III, king of Prussia beginning in 1797, is credited with having inherited a kingdom in excessive disarray and with having transformed it into a thriving and important nation. Among signal achievements such as making peasantry freeholders, instituting universal compulsory military training and breaking the power of the hereditary aristocracy, he instituted a system of governmentally controlled and financed elementary schools, attendance at which was compulsory, subject to heavy fines, control of which was in the hands of governmental bureaucracy, and the training of teachers for which was also undertaken by the government in a systematic way. In this same period, French law also made attendance to elementary schools compulsory. As late as 1891 an American observer decried American public education on the grounds that "without legislation insuring a full and regular attendance of the children of school age . . . we shall never attain anything approaching uniformity in the work done in our elementary schools." Further, he said, "under existing laws the pupils of the average New York school district, between the ages of 6 and 14, can not compete with the children of the average school district in Prussia."

We can assume that compulsory universal elementary education became the norm in this country sometime at the beginning of the present century. The curriculum to be taught in that school would inevitably come to reflect the character of compulsion of the school in which it was taught.

Although a compulsory school and a compulsory curriculum may seem basically disharmonious with a democratic republic which was culturally opposed to centralized, inexorable imposition and whose highest value was that of freedom of choice, the founders of the curriculum field appeared to share the common confidence that the compulsory school would reflect the highest values of what was still then largely a consensual culture. They trusted that, although the school was compulsory, what went on in that school represented a social consensus of the good, true and the beautiful. A nation bemused with a sense of a growing national identity would be attracted to a strong initiative toward cultural unity and presence. Today, that consensus is considerably eroded. With that erosion, the trust that state power would be used benignly in the widest possible interest has been replaced by the reality of the power of a centralized state to use law and money to control often in sectarian interests and of the emergence of the centralized state as referee in the conflicts of vested interest groups.

The beginnings of this tension occurred in the era in which Counts presented his challenge. The nation eventually accepted the initiative of the New Deal in response to deep social and economic ills, as an effort on the part of the state to create an improved social order, if not a new one. But the nation did so reluctantly, feeling as always skepticism toward the state and accepting state compulsion unwillingly. Some of the founders of our field of curriculum considered the school as an instrument to be used in this effort to create an improved if not a new social order, although they were not part of the New Deal government. Educators like Counts and Rugg and others of the Social Frontier group proposed that these crises be prevented by shaping the present education of youth toward a better future. The reaction of the nation to this proposal seems to have been equally reluctant. They may well have regarded the crisis and the means to alleviate it as temporary and have expected a return to a previous social and economic normal. What need then to refashion a school? Paradoxically even the founders had faith that although attendance at the school was state compelled, what went on in that school could, and should and would be voluntary to the greatest degree possible.

We must remember that the social reconstructionists who saw the possibility that the school might be used as a fundamental institution of social change, lived in an era when compulsory schooling was still not much more than a generation old, and when the notion of the curriculum was just emerging. The monopoly of schooling by the concept of the curriculum in the decades after the war received a direct challenge from the increasingly pluralistic outlook of the culture and the emergence of interests opposed to any such intellectual monopoly. Parallel to this trend, as a number of studies in curriculum history have pointed out, there has been a gradual assumption on the part of the nation and educators that the centralized state (the federal and state governments) has a logically responsible part to play in managing a compulsory school and administering a standard curriculum. Through legislation, grants in aid, legal decisions, changes in the tax structure, and the threat of withholding subsistence, the state has made its influence felt in the determination of the curriculum. Any history of the curriculum field subsequent to its historic emergence must take into account this change in relationship between the school and the state. The standardized curriculum is the logical focal point for the struggle between centralized imposition, and the ingrained tendency of the culture to hang on to free determination. The most dramatic scenes occur when pressure groups insist on a contrary interpretation of the still vital but increasingly feeble central ethos of the nation, e.g., civil rights issues. In such cases the power of the state on the side of right is clouded by the coercive way in which that power must be used. Less dramatic but equally significant conflicts emerge when even logically compelling ideas appear to be imposed on what are regarded as defenseless youth. My proposal for the introduction into the school curriculum of a global perspective is a case in point. Although this idea is supported by scholars, statesmen, artists, industrialists, and even media personalities, it will remain in the attractive idea stage until a now familiar process of curriculum change is initiated. Steps in that process include but are not limited to lobbying for supportive legislation, and federal and/or state grant money, preparation of instructional materials such as texts, films, and workbooks for all levels from kindergarten to university, and a host of minor activities such as new university courses, new elementary courses of study, teacher training workshops, in-service courses, and the interests of the publishing industry. The apparatus for curriculum change, so sketchily present in Counts' time, is fully developed today and once put in motion, remarkably efficient, especially if it is consistent with the conventional wisdom. The initiative in favor of the education of the handicapped is an illuminating example. Such disinterested plans become transformed into struggles among vested groups operating from varied assumption bases.

One of the most interesting notions current today in intellectual circles is that of the paradigm, or pattern of thinking, common world view, or reality concept which the Tanners have so ably applied to the curriculum. If I understand the definition, a paradigm is a system of thought which is effective in dealing with the problems for which it is accepted as an explanation. The concept of the changing paradigm is particulary appealing as a mental life raft in any turbulent time of social, political and economic upheaval. When there appear more unsolved problems than discoveries, suggests Thomas Kuhn, the originator of this remarkable idea, a new paradigm begins to emerge to challenge the old one. If effective, the new paradigm succeeds with the unsolved problems--in truth, the ideas supporting the new paradigm cannot even be explained or articulated in the language of the old one. Related at least in its generalized outlines to Toynbee's concept of the potential rigidity of the creative thrust of civilizations, to Priogogine's concept of decline as the actual harbinger and stimulant of change to a higher order, and to the brain research of Pribram and Bohm, the concept of the paradigm gives us a model for change, and a light at the end of the tunnel. I would like to suggest that the current survival traumas of the curriculum field are the result of the existing curriculum paradigm's failure to deal effectively with emerging problems. In the spirit of an approximation, I would like to explore some of the features of this existing curriculum paradigm and then suggest the outlines of an emerging paradigm more suitable to today's context. I will offer first, what appear to be some features of the existing curriculum paradigm, second, what are some of the major problems within the existing paradigm that continue unsolved, and third, what a possibly new curriculum paradigm might look like.

There appear to be at least five features of the existing curriculum paradigm worthy of our attention. First, the curriculum paradigm is based on the assumption, arising from its service to the compulsory school, that it is the right, duty and power of all connected with the schools to administer the established curriculum to all free-born youth. The process of establishing that curriculum is admitted to be complex, but there is never any doubt that such a curriculum can ultimately be established, nor that it should be administered. Error lies in imperfect negotiation, or faulty administration, but not in the basic premise itself, that there is a core of knowledge, attitude, skill, and belief which should be inculcated in all youth, whether they will or not. There exists today a field of expertise in curricudangers and inconsistencies of the process and which even dreads the betrayal of the ideals of the democratic republic inherent in the concept. Yet the concept continues to be so basic to the thought of curriculum makers as to be unarguable.

A second aspect of the curriculum paradigm is the ingrained belief that really important education takes place in the institution called the school. School people hold on to this notion in the face of the large numbers who are being schooled in other places: the workplace, before television, in cultural institutions, in recreational institutions, by consumer-oriented initiatives. Although this schooling currently apes instruction in compulsory schools, it is different to the degree that there is *a* curriculum, tailored to the particular goal of the institution, rather than *the* curriculum as previously defined, and the schooled have freedom to choose the curriculum on which they will work.

A third aspect of the curriculum paradigm is that education requires a trained teacher. The deschoolers challenged this idea and organized what they called learning exchanges based on the idea that everyone had something to teach and something to share. Other educational inventions such as the teaching machine, and today the microcomputer suggest that there are a number of areas of learning which require minimal help if any from a teacher present during the act of learning.

The traditional organization of the school is the fourth part of the curriculum paradigm. If the curriculum consists of a heterogeneous collection of knowledges and skills, sequenced in across the board segments, the teacher-generalist is adequate to supervise those segments to an equally heterogeneous collection of students.

A fifth aspect of the curriculum paradigm is the power of the standardized curriculum to determine one's social and cultural fate. The entry into most vocations, careers, professions, or just plain jobs is dependent on having in some manner processed that curriculum. The mechanism for this entry is the school leaving certificate at various levels of difficulty. This phenomenon leads to another characteristic of the curriculum, its heterogeneity and its disjunction with skills and knowledge needed for particular jobs. The curriculum is a collection of a very wide variety of knowledges and skills tied together at each age level in a loose and heterogeneous bundle. Acceptable performance on each item of the bundle is necessary in order to proceed to the next level or bundle.

A sixth characteristic of the paradigm is that education is a social lever for individual and cultural improvement. It is an article of faith that schooling improves one's economic position and social status, and that an educated people enjoy a higher standard of living, and a more cultivated social setting.

The existing curriculum paradigm appears to fail on at least six counts if the measure of the waning of the power of a paradigm is its failure to help solve problems. We are confronted, first, with the paradox that compulsory elementary education is at one and the same time liberating and restricting. It is liberating by theoretically at least providing unlimited opportunities for individual growth and development. In practice, it is restricting. Through a complicated system of hurdles or check points accompanied by a systematic classification of experiences and judgment, the individual gradually is sorted into educational groupings which eventually become vocational, and even social categories. Although the culture itself carries out this process, and for some individuals schooling is a means of escaping inherited social categories, the effect of attendance at the compulsory elementary school is pervasive and inexorable, especially on the less powerful groups in our society.

A second problem arises from the current erosion of the largely consensual culture within which the standardized curriculum emerged. Although the rising of the consciousness of women, racial minorities, and today the economically disenfranchised and politically powerless is salutary for a democratic republic and in complete harmony with the ideals of its founders, that same consciousness raising has resulted in the fading of that sense of social concord and harmony into which I for one remember having been born. Although the curriculum has always been the result of a negotiated settlement between rival claimants to speak for that consensus, today the mere possibility of such negotiating efforts is a battle cry. Agreement on the curriculum has been reduced to some few unequivocal elements, known popularly as the basics. Reading, writing and computation skills are neutral and unassailable in this conflict of interests.

The third problem is the inadequacy of the present school organization to deal with the task of the socialization of youth. The gradual disappearance of the basic socialization of the child in primary settings, such as the family, the neighborhood and the unified community has meant that other settings, principally the school, have either assumed this responsibility or have had it put on them. The organization of students into classes by age in school makes it difficult to provide settings in which older children protect, guide and support younger children, and younger children emulate and respect older children. The limitation of the classroom as the primary location for learning makes it difficult to provide meaningful cultural settings in which to learn about the value of work and the contribution of cooperative effort in industry and management, and about land and animals as a basic productive resource. The presence of one adult for most of the child's waking day, makes it difficult to provide good adult models of success, solution of conflict, and reaction to failure. The classroom setting also limits severely the development of such basic cultural traits as courage, endurance, prudence, and loyalty formerly provided in the more active primary settings.

A fourth problem is that the definition of the teacher as an employee of the state has narrowly limited the professional effectiveness of the teacher. As I have pointed out earlier, teachers do not control a number of fundamental aspects of their work which other professionals do, the what, where, when and whom. Not only do they not control these basic elements of their profession, but often the messages they get from various groups who do control these matters are ambiguous or sketchy.

A fifth problem relates to the challenge of our notion of meritocracy. As a consequence of the existing school and curriculum organization the best student may turn out to be one who is fairly good at the whole bundle of the curriculum but not very good at any one part of it. Conversely, a poor student may be very good at some one aspect, and not very good at most of the rest. In a democratic society which believes or thinks it does, in the meritocracy of individual achievement, this practice appears to close off too many options too drastically and too early.

Sixth, there is an economic problem, first pointed out by the de-schoolers. Although theortically the compulsory school and curriculum hold out the promise of equal educational opportunity, the actual school organization results in an inordinate amount of tax money going to the successes of the educational system, or the educational elite. Even assuming that one third of the money spent on higher education is private expenditure, children of the richest tenth of the population get ten times as much public funds for education as the children of the poorest tenth. These calculations are based on school cost data from the annual reports of the United States Office of

Education supplemented by information from the Coleman Report. The curriculum serves as the fundamental tool for sorting and eventually narrowing the number eligible for higher educaiton, and economic formulas reward the school successes through increased subsidies.

What are the outlines of an emerging paradigm which might be better calculated to deal with these problems, problems which appear to be insoluble within the outlines of the present paradigm of the curriculum so beautifully characterized as a production model by Kleibard? The curriculum has become a balancing act between competing claims, the claims of the child, the claims of society and the claims of the guardians of the fields of knowledge. This balance seemed effective as long as there was relative cultural consensus and the concept of the curriculum was still in its beginning stages.

One characteristic of an emerging paradigm would be its ability to replace the concept of unified experiences with the concept of a unified goal. Democracy flourishes best within a variety of institutional arrangements, created by people who transcend specific cultural limitations. If basic literacy is one goal, the new paradigm would permit all to achieve that goal without submitting to limiting and coercive practices now associated with the standardized curriculum. Initiatives of this kind have not as yet been very successful. Alternative schools, educational vouchers, the proposal that a child may take the high school leaving certificate at any age, the Duke Power suit affirming the employee's right to promotion independent of whether he had a school leaving certificate, are examples of some attempts in this direction.

A second characteristic of the new paradigm would be that new cultural arrangments or even institutions would assume the educative functions of the older primary settings. Such institutions should have basic common goals with diversified changing experiences directed by skilled professionals. Such arrangements may be under state supervision and subject to certain qualifying characteristics, (non-discriminatory, supported by tax revenues, etc.) but they may not be state run, although identical state run institutions may remain as alternatives.

A third possible characteristic of the new paradigm may be that teachers become independent professionals with expertise to offer, on the pattern of lawyers and doctors. Teachers would work in schools, not for schools. They might be supported by tax monies which are issued to their clients, so that they can pay the fees teachers charge. The level of professional expertise in education would have to rise dramatically if this change took place.

A fourth element of this new paradigm may result in replacing school leaving certificates with more precise evaluations of preparation for particular jobs, careers, professions, etc. Tests and televised tapes of performance, coupled with professional judgment are already being tried.

A fifth aspect may be the concept of lifelong learning supported by tax revenues. Several thinkers have suggested that in a dynamic culture there will surely re-occur periods in the individual's life when new chances for enculturation seem needed.

To quote Paul Ortenzio in his careful evaluation of the fate of the Educational Policies Commission, "More than ever, an appreciation for the social ideal and concerned community life for all have become a social imperative. . . . The problem of purpose at present is to reconstruct society for all to share in the good life." If the schools are to have a share in this endeavor, it appears that they will have to undergo a drastic overhauling. Their compulsory nature and the concept of a standardized curriculum at the service of a state-controlled institution of socialization may well be the fundamental concepts which require re-thinking and change.

To extrapolate Counts' belief that all education is necessarily an imposition, educational institutions emerging within the new paradigm will need to be explicit as to the nature of their values and purposes, permitting those who patronize them to make choices. That these choices should be within a democratic framework is the new challenge. A first step might be to free ourselves from the prejudice that the only way to achieve that democratic framework is to perseverate in the existing behavioral and institutional regularities; that to abandon them is to abandon democracy. Democracy surely flourishes within a variety of institutional arrangements.

The new paradigm might free us to consider that the responsibility for building a new social order really belongs with adults who must use their power as members of a democratic republic to effect those social changes which they deem essential. The new paradigm should free these adults to choose varied social, cultural, political and economic orientations for educating their youth, reflecting the varied orientations that now exist in a culturally plural but essentially democratic nation. Methods of social control may have to be devised to deal with all forces who deliberately subvert the values, purposes and ways of a democracy in the education of their children. Methods of social control as effective as those which now guide us must be promoted so that all of us have an increasing awareness of freedom, progress, and the good life coupled with growing awareness of individual and group responsibility for the good life for all. New institutions will surely emerge which are more adequate for the development of the basic democratic convictions and customs which we value.

CURRICULUM RESEARCH IN RETROSPECT

by

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In the years prior to the founding of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History in 1977, it was not common practice in the field of curriculum research to take stock periodically of where curriculum research was in its development, where it was heading, or whether it was going in worthwhile directions. In fact, curriculum research was less a self-conscious field of study than it was a domain of isolated attempts to deal with particular questions of interest to individual scholars. In a 1973 article, I made reference to this circumstance when I stated, "There is clearly a need for the field of curriculum [research] to study both quantitatively and qualitatively its own research productivity and to provide social policy makers [and practitioners] with an accurate picture of its needs and accomplishments" (Short, 1973, p. 247).

In a 1974 talk to Professors of Curriculum in Anaheim, I alluded to the need in the field of curriculum research for clarification of "the nature of the field of curriculum itself--gaining a definition of its boundaries, its subject matter, its major domains of inquiry, its more telling questions and pertinent problems, its key concepts, its generative ideas, and its conceptual systems" (Short, 1974, p. 18).

Mauritz Johnson observed in 1976 that "at the current rate at which we are pursuing genuine curriculum research, our great-grand children in our tricentennial year [of 2076] will know little more [than we do] about matters of curriculum." He gave a challenging appraisal of the field when he added, "Even some of the brighest of the younger curriculum scholars, though presumably better grounded in research methodology, seems to be attracted more to curricular missionary work than to painstaking, rational scholarship on fundamental curriculum questions" (Johnson, 1976, pp. 506-507.

The AERA Special Interest Group that was formed in the 1970s to begin to address the relationship between curriculum research and curriculum practice (SIG on Creation and Utilization of Curriculum Knowledge) has not undertaken to prepare a status report on where we are in addressing that relationship. It has never prepared a summary of what has been accomplished in that regard nor proposed an agenda of future research that needs to be pursued in that area. While individual members of the SIG have made a number of significant contributions to the field of curriculum research, the SIG itself has not attempted any systematic analysis of the problem it was formed to address and remains today relatively indifferent to questions of whether the curriculum research field is going in worthwhile directions or not (Short, et al., 1985, pp. 18-20).

It was about the time of the appearance on the curriculum research scene of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History in 1977 that something of a historical consciousness began to develop among curriculum researchers. (I won't claim that there was any cause-effect relationship involved in this.) This historical consciousness allowed these scholars to ask questions about their collective work that had not been asked before. Bellack and Kliebard opened their 1977 volume of readings, Curriculum and Evaluation, with a section on "How Should Curriculum Problems Be Studied?" and made this introductory statement, "This [section] is, in one sense, a reflection of the continuing dialogue that must exist in any field as to its domain, its heritage, and its ways of attacking problems" (Bellack and Kliebard, 1977, p. 1). Some dialogue was beginning on this subject. Walker soon afterward noted the following:

> "The past few years have seen the publication of an unprecedented number of works inquiring into the nature and fate of the curriculum field itself.... This period of introspection has not yielded a consensus of opinion...about the nature of the field or the nature of inquiries proper to it...[but this] does not imply that nothing of value has been achieved in these writings (Walker, 1977, pp. 299; 302.

Indeed, from the vantage point of 1987, the shape of the curriculum research field looks as though a great deal has been accomplished in the last ten years. It has taken on configurations that could not have been foreseen in the early 1970s and ones that were certainly not projected by any carefully managed collective plan of action. Still, I think we can say in retrospect that curriculum researchers are reasonably satisfied with the developments that have occurred and with the directions that have been taken.

The Strategy and Aims of This Paper

In getting a picture of trends in curriculum research, I have drawn upon the several periodic reviews or summaries of the research literature that have been published over the last ten years rather than upon first-hand analysis of the individual curriculum studies to which they refer, although I am not unfamiliar with most of the citations given in these summaries or reviews. [You have a list of these sources so that you may recognize the confines of my research.] I do not intend to present a systematic review or critique of the actual contents or conclusions contained in these summaries or reviews; my time and purpose here do not permit this. But I will attempt to identify ways in which curriculum research has shifted during this period, make some observations about how the field as a whole sees its work at the present time as compared with a decade ago, and indicate the current situation in the field of curriculum research with respect to certain perennial problems of inquiry faced in any field of study.

General Shifts Noted from Mid-1970s to Mid-1980s

The first thing to be observed is the expansion of the number of individual studies reported and cited in these summaries. Much more published material has appeared in both article and book form, and much more unpublished work has been cited as well. In addition, an impressive variety of types of research has been undertaken, including empirical work of the descriptive and the comparative type to be sure, but an increasing amount of work using historical, enthnographic, humanistic/artistic, interpretive, critical, and other forms of inquiry (Schubert, 1982; Jenkins, 1985).

Partly because of this proliferation of curriculum research reports, the effort to summarize and review the existing studies in the field has become less systematic and more sporadic. Indeed, the state-of-the-art reviews of curriculum research that have appeared in this past decade are fragmented and limited in focus rather than comprehensive and synoptic. The last attempt to review the entire field of curriculum research in a single article of publishable length was made by Decker Walker in 1976 in his review entitled, "Toward Comprehension of Curriculum Realities" (Walker, 1977), and even here Walker admitted he had to slight some of the relevant studies. Other more recent attempts to deal with the field as a whole (Schubert, 1982; Jenkins, 1985) have been even more frustrated in their effort to be thorough and synoptic because they were obliged to cover very long spans of time, as encyclopedia entries must necessarily do. It took a full-length book (Schubert, 1986) to cover the range and variety of curriculum research adequately. Even so, this was done in the context of portraying curriculum as a field of practice and knowledge rather than merely summarizing available research at a given point in time.

What has also contributed to the dilemma of presenting periodic systematic state-of-art-reviews of curriculum research is not only the expanded number and variety of studies being done but also the drying-up of available places to publish such reviews under the control of scholars in the curriculum field. AERA no longer devotes regular attention to curriculum syntheses or reviews, as it once did in RER. While its editors receive and publish such work when submitted, there is no assurance that the field will be covered adequately or often enough because no attempt is made to commission such work on a regular basis. There is one exception. It does so in its Encyclopedia of Educational Research, which is published every ten years or so, but then so much ground has to be covered in so few pages that this effort cannot compensate for the absence of a full range of intervening reviews or summaries.

What has developed in place of truly systematic, comprehensive reviews is an array of specialized and fragmented work that appears in a variety of publications on a very irregular basis. Some domains of the field do not receive continuing attention; some seem to be entirely overlooked, e.g., historical work and empirical work. This was not true a decade or so ago, and the current situation poses special new problems for organizing and managing this facet of the work of the curriculum research field. It is a shift that has occurred almost without being noticed and one which the curriculum historian who attends to the status of curriculum research must bring to light for the sake of the field as a whole.

I turn now to another shift that concerns the general welfare of the curriculum research field, one that is due in part to the growth and specialization that increasingly characterize the field, but one that has been affected by some other developments as well. This is the tendency for curriculum scholarship to coalesce around each new method that has gained legitimacy, sometimes around particular interpretations of a method. The shift from positivistic to a whole range of newer (at least to curriculum researchers) forms of inquiry has occurred in a climate of uncertainty and defensiveness where acceptance has often been problematic. It is understandable why individual researchers would band together in mutual support behind new approaches and behind leading scholars using those approaches, given this climate. But the net result of this situation in many cases has been to work, publish, and discuss curriculum research in isolated enclaves somewhat protected from the interaction with tough critics of an approach or of its use in a particular study. While this isolationist tendency has gradually softened as time has passed (interactions and mutual criticism is, admittedly, more frequent now than they were in the mid-1970s), there still remains what might be called a kind of irrational allegiance on the part of some persons to a particular method or a particular interpretation of a method long after a need to sharpen or to modify or to abandon the method has become clear to others. What at first may look like a promising approach to curriculum research may lose its potential for useful inquiry if it is not objectively appraised. There has been a tendency for persons to be apostles for a particular form of inquiry without regard to telling criticism or the utility of the research results. Here, then, is a problem that rapid advancement of curriculum research has produced and one that needs to be addressed once again.

Contributing to this state of affairs has been a drop in attention being paid over the last decade to the matter of what needs to be studied in the curriculum field and how to conceptualize the problems needing attention. Walker in 1977 summarized a whole series of studies aimed at addressing these matters, while recent reviews (Jenkins, 1985; Short, 1985) reveal very little work being done in this vein. Research topics common in 1977 (McNiel, 1977) had to do with curriculum purposes selection and organizing content, curriculum evaluation and change, and how to study curriculum. Walker (1977) organized the studies he reviewed around these topics: relation of curriculum variables to achievement, maintenance and change in response to social forces, the change process in school and classrooms, and studies of the curriculum field itself. Similar commonplaces, studied within an ecological framework, have become foci for recent research, except that the examination and conceptualizations of the field as a whole has given way to what is known as "curriculum theory" (Benham, 1981; McCutcheon, 1982, Schubert, et al., 1984). Debates persist about what curriculum theory is, what function it performs, how to generate it (in a variety of forms and languages), and what it should address. (See Vallance article, "The Practical Uses of Curriculum Theory," in McCutcheon, 1982. See also Schubert, 1980.) Nevertheless, without some practical conceptual work on what curriculum is or could be and what the elements are on which we need theory and research, theorizing and new forms of inquiry can easily become objects of devotion in and of themselves. There is some evidence from the last decade that some curriculum scholars have fallen prey to this tendency. Creative studies of the field of curriculum as a focus of intellectual inquiry are clearly not as prevalent today as they were in decades past.

One major contribution to rethinking curriculum and its associated conceptual problems has emerged since the mid-1970s, however. It has come into view rather gradually but it has affected the kind of research being done in the field quite radically. Because our conception of curriculum has changed, the kind of curriculum research has necessarily shifted.

We no longer think of curriculum as a deductive science in which curriculum decisions result from some linear means-end thought process. We no longer expect such decisions to follow logically from certain scientifically determined premises or theories, nor do we expect them to be derived from reasoning backward from some predetermined goal or aim to certain technologically tested or proven prescriptions. Rather, we have come to think of curriculum as a practical art in which both ends and means must be negotiated through arguments involving practical judgment and practical reasoning. That is to say, all curriculum decisions, whether policy-oriented ones or ones related to program development, design, and enactment, are essentially moral and political rather than technical and deductive in type, and the arts of deliberation are at the core of this kind of thinking and decision-making.

A strong hint of this shift in our conception of curriculum appeared in Walker's review in 1977. The case for this new conception of curriculum was compellingly and convincingly presented by William Reid in his 1978 book (chapter four), based on the earlier work of Schwab, Walker, and others. Jenkins review of 1985 made clear that that this shift has persisted and has affected subsequent curriculum research. He says, "Curriculum is a practical art rather than a theoretic art, typically concerned with defensible judgments rather than warrantable conclusions" (Jenkins, 1985, p. 1257). The consequence of this view is that curriculum research has come more and more to be aligned with this new conception of curriculum. Reid explained this necessary shift by saying,

> "Curriculum research...should...cultivate approaches other than the scientific to the creation of curriculum knowledge: for the kinds of knowledge required to assist in the performance of curriculum tasks are the kinds that are relevant to public policy-making. Not statements of lawful relationship which might tend to devalue the role of responsible judgment, but data that help us identify and define problems for decision and that increase our capacity for generating alternative solutions and for

> improving the quality of our deliberations about which of these should be adopted" (Reid, 1978, p. 27).

Now, this shift in our conception of curriculum has had all sorts of impacts on the way we do curriculum research and inquiry. For instance, the reviews of research on curriculum and political or economic ideology (Apple, 1979; Giroux, 1979; Boyd, 1979; Schubert, 1982; Jenkins, 1985; Beyer, 1986) clearly reflect that work of this kind assumes a conception of curriculum and of the curriculum decision-making process that embraces judgment and value, deliberation and power. The critical form of inquiry associated with these kinds of studies could not proceed under a highly rationalistic or technical conception of curriculum. Indeed, where empirical work turns up this sort of conception, critical inquiries can be expected to try to reveal the ethical and political contradictions inherent in this concept as well as other kinds of contradictions operating in such settings.

The humanistic and artistic forms of curriculum research (Pinar, 1978; Eisner, 1978; van Manen, 1978; Benham, 1980; McCutcheon, 1982 (b); Schubert, 1982; Jenkins, 1985; Beyer, 1986; Pinar, 1987) also presuppose a conception of curriculum wherein the results of these qualitative types of inquiry may influence values and expectations of various parties to curriculum decision--pupils, teachers, administrators, planners, and the public. If there is no possibility of the various human agents to the decisions being able to present and argue their particular viewpoints, adjudicating their differences through reasoned and judicious procedures, and legitimating their joint decisions, there would be little point in doing most of the humanistic and artistic forms of research. Narrative portrayals, educational criticism, naturalistic and ethnography studies, and interpretative, autobiographical, psychodramatic work--all these have been used and have flourished in a decade when curriculum planning is no longer thought of as the province of a single expert or a small set of authorities who "know" how best to construct curriculum.

Even historical research in curriculum has taken on the flavor of the critical and the humanistic scholars (Tanner, 1982; Kliebard and Franklin, 1983; Schubert, 1986) while embracing the search for school curriculum policies and practices, not just the records of curriculum ideas. Empirical research has taken on naturalistic and ethnographic approaches (Walker, 1977; McNeil, 1978; Eisner, 1978; Schubert, 1980; Kliebard and Franklin, 1983; Jenkins, 1985; Schubert, 1986) rather than searching for law-like propositions or theories (Reid, 1978; Walker in McCutcheon, 1982; Jenkins, 1985; Schubert, 1986).

Whether this dynamic conception of curriculum-making as practical judgement and reasoning will persist and be sustained under future scrutiny and use is, of course, impossible for a curriculum historian to say. But, it is quite possible to say that the greatly expanded and varied research efforts in the field of curriculum over the last decade have been energized by a conceptual breakthrough of considerable proportions in the form of this new normative conception of curriculum. It remains for those intimately associated with this important intellectual shift to articulate for future historians exactly what has changed from the old view to the new.

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Three Chicago Schools

(1980)

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For over a century American educators have been searching, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, for alternatives to the subject-discipline design. Exploring new approaches to curriculum, administration, and methods of teaching and learning has become a time-honored tradition for our schoolmen. Each generation has made its contribution: witness the project curriculum of the 1920's and 1930's, the community school of the 1950's, and the free school and open classroom of the 1960's and 1970's, to name but a few. As a curriculum historian, I find the temptation to join this hundred year old search to be irresistable. But such a commitment must be tempered by the knowledge that while the role call of experimental schools established in America is lengthy, the list of those which may be considered to have had lasting significance is relatively small. The need to analyze the characteristics of successful experimental schools before embarking on new ventures seems quite clear.

The work done in three Chicago schools over a half century ago meets this success criterion, if one judges success by the standards of parental support, student achievement, and professional recognition and admiration. Cook County Normal School, as it existed between 1883 and 1899 under Francis Wayland Parker, served as one of the first visable functioning models of the "new education". Contemporary to it, the laboratory school founded in 1896 by a young John Dewey represented his attempt to discover, in practice, how a school could become a cooperative community while developing in individuals their own capacities and the ability to satisfy their own needs. Two decades later, a man who attended both Cook County Normal School and the Dewey Laboratory School, undertook his work in suburban Winnetka, Illinois. Carleton Washburne accepted the superintendency of Winnetka in the fall of 1919, and during the next twenty years developed a model of individualized instruction which featured promotion by subject, diagnostic testing, and the use of self-paced, self-corrective materials.

This paper examines the work of these three successful experiments in education: Cook County Normal School, 1883-1899, the Dewey Laboratory School, 1896-1904, and the Winnetka Public Schools, 1919-1939. Each represents a unique approach to elementary education, but all share some common characteristics which seem to have contributed to the success each enjoyed.

COOK COUNTY NORMAL SCHOOL
1883-1899

For nearly half a century, from 1853 until his death in 1902, Francis Wayland Parker devoted his mind and soul to a single task: to learn what was the best education for school children and to give it to them (Washburne, 1900). Born in New Hampshire in 1837 into a family of ministers, teachers and military men, Parker assumed his first teaching position at 16, and before reaching the age of 21 headed a grammar school in his native village of Piscatqoug. The following year, in 1858, he journeyed to Carollton, Illinois to accept a post as principal, and he remained there until the outbreak of the Civil War. Returning home, Parker enlisted in the Union Army and in succeeding years earned the rank of Colonel, a title which was to remain with him even in death. After the war, according to biographer Marian Foster Washburne, many avenues were open to Parker, but he remained devoted to his chosen profession (Washburne, 1900). By 1868 the Colonel was once again a principal, this time in Dayton, Ohio. Within a five year period he was promoted twice--first to the head of the Normal Training School in Dayton, and later to Assistant Superintendent of Schools for the City.

During his five year stay at Dayton, Colonel Parker found himself at the center of many controversies. He disliked the accepted mode of education intensely, and refused to believe that schooling should consist of teachers hearing recitations memorized from textbooks. Opposition to the new ideas he introduced materialized quickly, and though he continued to be supported by the Board of Education, Parker felt he lacked the knowledge he needed to back up his innovations. In 1872, following the death of his first wife, Parker journeyed to Europe on a legacy left by his aunt. Entering King William's University at Berlin to study philosophy, psychology, history, and pedagogics, he reportedly declared he was "working not for a degree, but for the children of America", (Sandison, 1937, p. 309). By the time he returned to the United States two years later, Parker had many of the key ideas of his "new education" clearly formulated. During the next three decades, first in the public schools of Quincy, Massachusetts and later at the Cook County Normal School in Chicago, Francis Parker implemented and popularized concepts of teaching which altered the character of the American elementary school.

The Cook County Normal School, which Parker eagerly journeyed to Chicago to head in the Fall of 1883, was scarcely an educational prize. Having received nationwide attention and acclaim for his work in Quincy (Adams, 1879; Hall, 1927) some years earlier, only the challenge of the task and the chance to work directly with young children once more could have persuaded the Colonel to accept the Normal School as his next post. For though it had been in existence for some fifteen years, the Normal School in 1883 was a near disaster. Housed in an ill-arranged dilapidated building, with a dorm in similar shape, the school had no library, no science laboratories, no study, and no gym. The school, in fact, consisted of one class of forty teacher-trainees, a two-room practice school, and a single grade teacher. It's first and only principal, D. S. Wentworth, literally died of overwork (Sandison, 1937), and the Normal School itself would undoubtedly have died a slow death had it not been for the persistence and tenacity of its citizen-supporter, Dr. Champion. As it was, Colonel Parker would spend much of his time in the next fifteen years fighting a conservative and hostile Board of Education for nearly every improvement and advancement proposed for the Normal School.

Much of Parker's trouble in Chicago would stem from the contrast between the system of "new education" he advocated and the type of instruction employed in most elementary schools of the time. The latter were, in the words of contemporary critic Joseph Mayer Rice, "boring, unhealthy, and depressing". Following a five month first-hand study of elementary schools in thirty-six cities, Rice had concluded that most American schools were "still conducted on the antiquated notion that the function of the school consists primarily in the crowding into the memory of the child a certain number of cut and dried facts, ignoring the modern view that the aim of the school should be to develop the child in all his faculties, intellectual, moral, and physical" (Rice, 1893[a], pp. 507-8). With the exception of Cook County Normal School, which Rice lauded (Rice, 1893[b]), most American schools exhibited teaching techniques consisting of group recitations and verbatim memorization of facts and figures. Teachers generally used no objects in teaching and devoted a good deal of time to drill. Rice found most children simply called off words during reading class, with little expression, inflection, or understanding of what was being read. Like most proponents of the "new education", Rice also deplored the lack of drawing, art, and nature study in most of the schools he visited.

The vast majority of American elementary schools, then, were havens of skill, rote repetition, sheer memorization, and boredom, with the curriculum limited to the 3 R's. Physically, many of the rural schools built in the 1840's and 1850's had fallen into disrepair, and city schools, according to historian Lawrence Cremin, were often "badly lighted, poorly heated, frequently unsanitary, and bursting at the seams" (Cremin, 1961, pp 20-21). Thousands of teachers had only a high school or elementary education, with the average teaching career being four years, and at least a quarter of the teachers being under the age of twenty-one. The textbook reigned supreme, with few teachers interested in, or prepared well enough, to consider deviating from it. Thus when Francis Parker refused to use textbooks, added new subjects, and advocated teaching techniques which involved active student participation, it was not surprising that he faced some opposition. In his pursuit of quality education Colonel Parker was also willing to try anything, an attitude not always shared by the Cook County Board of Education. The latter took exception to many of his ideas, particularly when the price for Parker's quality education seemed to be rather high.

Cook County Normal School was, of course, a teacher training institute-one which Parker had vowed to make the best in the nation. His innovations in teacher training included stiff entrance requirements, with high school graduation as a prerequisite; daily teacher-trainee participation in the practice school; careful selection of highly qualified grade teachers and institute faculty; and graduation only upon demonstrated competence. These features of the Normal School received much attention from other professional educators, but it was the work of Parker and his faculty in the practice school which led to the popularization of the "new education". Parker looked upon the practice school as a laboratory or an educational experiment station which should lead to the improvement of all education and educational thinking. He felt the practice school could function as an object lesson for city and county teachers, as well as showing parents and the general public what could be done in education. By means of careful study and investigation, he hoped to prove that there was a science of education. Far more visible to the public and to teachers than the Dewey School would be , Cook County Normal School succeeded to a great degree in serving as a change agent for local schools. Indeed G. Stanley Hall, it is said, liked to visit the laboratory school each year "to set his educational watch" (Sandison, 1937).

The difference between the type of schooling provided in the Normal School and that provided in most of the surrounding public schools must have been clear, in fact, to even the most casual observer. A most visible and unique aspect of the Normal School, for example, was the kindergarten. Considered by Parker to be a model or ideal for the rest of the school, the Kindergarten Department was headed by a disciple of Froebel, Alice Putnam. Putnam, like Froebel, felt that education meant education for complete living. It was not enough to simply attend to the intellectual side of the child--physical and moral development must also be nutured. The child was seen as a social being who could be influenced by others and who could influence others in turn. The teacher's role was to organize community life so that each child had the opportunity to do good and fulfill his/her potential. In the kindergarten and throughout the elementary grades, children participated in another unique aspect of the school--manual training. First introduced into the elementary level by Parker in 1883, manual training drew on the child's natural desire to construct and create. Involving the children in projects related to their work in the academic areas would, Parker believed, lead to improved manual coordination. Both he and Dr. George W. Fritz, head of the Manual Training Department, also believed that manual training, when carried out properly, helped to discipline the mind.

Much interest and excitement was added to the traditional elementary curriculum when Colonel Parker and his faculty illustrated ways in which art could be correlated with traditional subjects. Under the direction of Ida Heffron, art became an integral part of the studies in geography, history, literature, science, and math. While commonplace now, in the late nineteenth century ideas such as having children illustrate stories, or make three dimensional maps, were distinctly unusual. In most public schools drawing had only recently been introduced, and it consisted mainly of having children copy models or forms in drawing books. Heffron's aim to arouse, in her pupils, the desire for self-expression, (Heffron, 1934) was a novel approach to art education, and her inspired use of modeling, painting, and drawing to enhance instruction in the traditional subjects became fundamental to the success of the school. Music, too, was given a new role, with children involved in creative movement to music, and often in the study of the violin and piano. Simple melodies were composed, and singing was an integral part of the daily school assembly. Even dramatics took on a new form at Cook County Normal School when Parker eliminated the recitation of set pieces, and instead encouraged a more vital acting role for the children.

Probably the most famous innovation at Cook County Normal School, however, was the introduction of nature study into the elementary curriculum, and the concurrent development of a twenty acre plot of land into the school's natural science laboratory. As a child, boarded out to relatives on a farm, Park had come to deeply appreciate the importance of being near nature and the natural interest which growing children had in studying animals, plants, and the world. Under the direction of Dr. Wilbur S. Jackman, who later became Dean of the College of Education at the University of Chicago, nature study became an important part of the Cook County Normal School curriculum. The twenty acre plot of land available to the school soon sported a man-made pond, trees, a garden plot, beehives, and gymnasium apparatus. All kinds of pets--turtles, rabbits, doves, squirrels--found suitable homes in the park. On their daily excursions to the park, the children made and recorded observations, and set up numerous experiments. Nature study, as conceived by Parker, was a broad field including such topics as food, clothing, shelter, and transportation, as well as the growth and development of all types of animal and plant life (Parker, 1902). It played a key role in the education of the youngest children, in particular, because Parker felt that of all the subjects, nature study was naturally of the most interest to very young children.

Even the more traditional subjects in the curriculum were infused with new life under Parker's direction. In geography, textbooks were discarded and first hand knowledge sought through observation and experimentation. Classes were taken to observe river valleys in the making, as well as the characteristics of dunes, glaciated regions, and nearly every typical geographic form near the school. Erosion was studied through experiments with a hose, running water, and pile of dirt, while field trips were arranged to industrial sites so students could see the vital link between geography, industry, and history. The study of history was modified as topics were chosen on the basis of children's interests, rather than on the basis of chronological order. The youngest, for example, began studying the homes of primitive peoples as they participated in the building of Indian tipis, igloos, and log cabins. In reading, Parker dispensed with primers and first readers, dismissing them as being meaningless repetition and a combination of silly sentences. Many decades before the "experience chart" was developed, Parker was teaching beginning reading from a leaflet printed in the school which contained the children's own experiences, observations, and stories.

If there was a single theme which characterized the many innovations developed or popularized by Francis Parker, it was a concern for the child. Evidence for his belief that education should be centered around the child and not around subject matter was seen in the aims of the school, the teaching techniques employed, and the roles assigned to the teachers and children. The aim of the school was to promote the growth of the child--physical, moral, and intellectual. Parker believed each child had good within him (Heffron, 1934), and that the school should adapt itself to the needs of the individual so that no child would ever consider himself a failure. In the selection of teaching methods and materials, Parker's concern for the child was just as evident. He believed a school should have an informal atmosphere and that learning should be an adventure. Thus he added supplementary material from contemporary authors to reading lessons, eliminated isolated drill in the skills areas, based language lessons on first hand experience with objects, and emphasized experimentation in the sciences. Uniformly, throughout the entire curriculum, children were to be actively involved in learning, often to the extent of planning and carrying out their own learning units. The teacher had a key role in selecting and arranging materials, and setting up a good environment for learning, but it was the child who was to be the center and active participant in the learning process.

The curriculum of the Cook County Normal School also reflected Parker's focus on the child. It was expanded to include new subjects of interest to children such as art, music, manual training, physical culture, nature study, and play. As Dewey would in his laboratory school, Parker selected topics for study in history, geography, and science which he felt would most interest children. Rejecting the traditional approach to schooling-separate study of each subject in an orderly fashion--Parker additionally wished to see subject matter integrated or correlated. In one of his more coherent explanations of this complicated theory of correlation, Parker (1902) noted that before a child entered school, he learned all of his "subjects" together. Parker felt schools should continue this tradition by relating all skill and subject instruction, rather than by teaching each in isolation. Thus the 1896 outline of the work of the Cook County Normal School, for example, shows the second grade, in October, to be studying the Spartans and Greece. History for that month included stories of the Spartans, in connection with the natural science lessons on muscle, stories of Greek art, and information on the use of clay in the arts. Geography was correlated to the latter topic by focusing on the study of soils, while literature included stories from the Odssey. The printed lessons for reading were also adapted from the

Odyssey and included selections on the Spartans. The arts areas tied much of the work in history, geography, literature, and reading together with the drawing of clay vessels and learning how to mold clay vessels in sand (Cook County Normal School, 1896).

At Cook County Normal School, then, attention to subject matter was clearly tempered by the desire both to correlate information and to respond to the natural interests of the child. While the development of basic skills was scarely ignored, Frances Parker made a definite attempt to eliminate the meaningless repetition, drill, and memorization of facts which characterized most of the elementary schools at the turn of the century. But perhaps the most important fact about Parker's focus on the child in education was that it was balanced by an equally great concern that the child fit into and contribute to a democratic society. An avowed aim of the school, Parker wrote shortly before his death in 1902, was to encourage the child to work for a feeling of responsibility, the dignity of belonging in a community, and the desire to be personnally recognized as being of some use and value to the community (Parker, 1902). The teacher's goal was to help each individual to be useful and happy in his environment (Heffron, 1934), with the school serving as a model home, a complete community, and an embryonic democracy. When the pupils grew strong and skillful in body, helpful in habit, thoughtful in their help, trustworthy, and refined in taste, moral, and mental power, then Parker felt the true value of schooling had been found (Parker, 1902).

Francis Wayland Parker remained at Cook County Normal School for sixteen years, resigning in 1899 to take advantage of the opportunity to head his own privately endowed teacher training institute and practice school. His death three years later not only halted the development of the institute, by then affiliated with the University of Chicago, but also set in motion a series of events which led to the closing of the Dewey School in 1904 (McCaul, 1961). Despite his inability to see all of the plans for the Chicago Institute of Pedagogy fulfilled, however, Francis Wayland Parker had made a discernible impact on American education. He had introduced, developed, or popularized a lengthy list of innovations: the kindergarten, manual training, nature study, the integration and expansion of the role of the arts in the school, and the concept of correlation of subject matter. He had founded the first PTA, been active in the child study movement, and pioneered work with mentally defective children. The practicality of active student involvement in learning had been demonstrated by his faculty through the introduction of instructional techniques such as experimentation, investigation, observation, field work, first hand experiences, and the use of real objects in teaching. Most importantly, though he left no published work which did justice to his ideas, he had trained some 6,000 teachers, and reached thousands more in workshops with his ideas. On the occasion of his death in 1902, John Dewey would observe that "the things for which he then stood are taken today almost as a matter of course, without doubt, in all of the best schools in this country" (Dangler, 1942, p. 614).

THE DEWEY SCHOOL
1896-1904

In 1894, the man destined to become America's foremost philosopher of education moved to the city of Chicago. Just thirty-five years old, John Dewey had taught for several years in village schools, taken graduate work at John Hopkins, and served as a professor for ten years at the University of Michigan. He thus came to Chicago well prepared to head the new Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy at the University. He joined a faculty which included some of the leading academicians of his time, and institution which was in its first decade of existence. Headed by a dynamic young President, William Rainey Harper, the University of Chicago would prove to be a stimulating setting for John Dewey's work. Within the first two years of his stay at Chicago, Dewey created the entire department of pedagogy and founded a laboratory school designed to test the sociological implications of his educational theories.

The University Elementary School, as the Dewey laboratory school was officially named, opened its doors in 1896 to sixteen students including Dewey's children. Dewey reportedly told Harold Rugg that he joined in the organization of the laboratory school mainly on account of his own children. According to his biography, he wanted to release his children from the intellectual boredom of his own schools days (Sequel, 1966, p. 48). The immediate stimulus for the development of the laboratory school, however, appeared to be the availability of funds from the University of Chicago (McCaul, 1961). The sum of $1,000 had been appropriated for a psychology laboratory, but could not be used for that purpose. Rather than let the funds revert to the trustees, Dewey persuaded President Harper to allow the money to be used for a laboratory school in education. Neither a model school, nor a teacher training institute, its purpose would be "to exhibit, test, verify, and criticize theoretical statements and principals, and add to the sum of facts and principals in its special line" (Mayhew and Edwards, 1936, p. 3).

The principals which were to guide the development of the laboratory school were based on Dewey's views of the child, society, and the educational process. Dewey believed that each child had four natural instincts--social, constructive, expressive and investigative. The social instinct manifested itself in the child's desire for communication with others, and it was this instinct that Dewey felt was the greatest educational resource of the school. The existence a constructive impulse was seen in the child's desire to do, to make, to arrange, and to shape material into a tangible form. The expressive instinct manifested itself in play, movement, and make-believe, and the desire to express oneself through a variety of mediums; the investigative instinct led the child to inquire, experiment, and discover how things work. Rather than ignore or attempt to suppress these instincts, as often happened in traditional schools, Dewey wanted the staff of the laboratory school to use the social, constructive, investigative, and expressive instincts to stimulate interest in learning (Dewey, 1899).

The stages of growth and development in children postulated by Dewey provided another set of broad guidelines for the laboratory school. The first stage of development spanned the years from four to eight, and was characterized by an interest in doing, telling, and active participation. Dewey believed that these were the natural modes of learning for young children, and that the curriculum for this age group should emphasize learning by doing. The second stage of development included the ages of eight to ten, when Dewey observed that acquiring the ability to read, write, and use numbers became intrinsically important to children. A special focus for this age group was the mastery of these skills, with this mastery accomplished naturally, through projects and activities, rather than through isolated instruction. By the time children reached the third stage of development, ages ten to thirteen, Dewey felt they were ready to develop skills in investigation, reflection, and generalization. Through a study of selected areas of history and science, the children at the Dewey School were encouraged at this stage to gain specialized knowledge in the major disciplines.

From Dewey's concept of education as a growth process came further guidelines for the development of the laboratory school. Like Francis Wayland Parker, Dewey rejected the traditional notion that education should consist of the memorization of a set body of knowledge. He saw education instead as a process that occurs in connection with needs and opportunities for interaction. The mind, he observed, does not develop alone, but needs the stimulus of first hand experiences, contact with other minds and social agencies, and recourse to the accumulated knowledge and past experiences of the race. The mind responds to a genuine need for information and skills; true intellectual development, Dewey felt, was not possible if attainment of knowledge was separated from its application. In developing the curriculum of the laboratory school, Dewey wanted to select material that was of direct and immediate interest to the children, so they would want to learn the information. He also sought material which would encourage the children to relate to others, allow for first hand experiences, lend itself to application in their daily lives, and provide a natural access to the basic disciplines of knowledge (Mayhew and Edwards, 1936).

Dewey found the subject matter which would meet those criteria in the study of what he termed the "occupations". Cognizant of the many changes caused by the ongoing industrialization and urbanization of America, Dewey was particularly concerned about the effect of the loss of the home as the center of industrial production. At one time, he noted, nearly everything worn or eaten was at least partially made in the home. The entire process was revealed, from production on the farm of raw materials, till the finished product was put to use. Nearly every member of the family had his share of work; discipline and character were built in that type of life, children were trained in habits of order and industry, and all members of the family out of necessity made a real contribution to life. With the home now removed as the center of production, Dewey felt that something of this old side of life should be introduced into education. His solution was the active participation of the children in the central occupations of life--food, shelter, and clothing. By involving them in projects that revolved around these basic human needs, Dewey felt the children would learn how society has progressed through the ages.

Participation in the central activities of life became the focus of the developing curriculum of the Dewey School, with the work in cooking, textiles, and shelter, providing a core around which all other studies could revolve. The seven year olds, for example, began their fourth year in school by imagining all of the conveniences of present day life gone. They found themselves reduced to water and such food as could be gathered, and faced with the necessity of providing protection for themselves from the elements and wild animals. The children imagined themselves to be a primitive tribe, and in the early weeks of the school year they "rediscovered" fire, learned how to construct fires, and how to cook over one. They examined types of food which could be gathered, and on their own, "invented" various weapons. Later they would make bows and arrows, construct and improve caves, rediscover the domestication of animals, learn how to make and fire pottery, discuss the location of ores, and construct and operate an oven to smelt metal. Much of their work focused on advances in clothing and textiles, as they reinvented primitive techniques of spinning, weaving, and dyeing cloth made from wool. Eventually they formed separate tribes, each excelling in a particular mode of making a living (fishing, sheep raising, metal work), and developed system for bartering and trading.

As these young children "evolved" their primitive tribe from prehistoric times to an early stage of civilization, ample opportunities arose for the faculty to draw on the instinct to construct, investigate, do and tell. The work in the basic skills was naturally introduced through their activities and projects: cooking called for the learning of numbers and fractions; the construction of caves for work in addition, subtraction, and measurement. Dictating, and later writing, the continuing history of their tribe led naturally to the reading of their own written records. There was no need for special lessons in vocabulary development, for the subject matter they were studying provided an abundance of concepts for the children to learn to use in their oral and written work. Dewey's concern that the acquisition of the basic skills not be separated from their application was easily alleviated in this type of curriculum, and the central core of the occupations also seemed to provide the sought after need for the chidlren to learn the basic skills. The active participation of the children in discerning how man has met his needs for food, clothing, and shelter, also led the children to draw on the accumulated knowledge of the race in history, science, and literature.

The occupations not only provided a core around which current work could revolve, but also lent continuity to the curriculum from year to year. While the themes changed for each age group, the central focus, regardless of historical setting, remained on how man has met his food, clothing, and shelter needs. There were actually three cycles in the study of the occupations, with the entering four year olds beginning with the study of the occupations they had the most experience with and were most interested in--occupations which served the household (iceman, grocer, coalman). During the next two years, these young children remained in the household/present day occupations cycle, but the focus of the work moved from the helper (milkman) to learning about or actually participating in the production of the product itself (milk). The second cycle included the transition years of seven and eight, and focused on the historical development of the fundamental occupations, with an emphasis on progress made due to invention and discovery (seven year olds) and migration and exploration (eight year olds). In the third cycle, attention was again turned to the home and neighborhood, as the nine year olds embarked on an historical study of the development of Chicago. The examination of how people respond to their environment then moved back again in time, with the ten year olds focusing on the occupations in Colonial America, and the eleven year olds examining how the European ancestors of the colonists had met their needs in medieval Europe.

The occupations component of the Dewey School served additional functions valued by John Dewey: it brought about a close relationship between the school and home and neighborhood life; it led to activities which the children was as worthwhile doing, and just as interesting, as things which occupied them at home; it allowed the introduction of history, science, and art in such a way that even the youngest child saw them as something worthy of study; and it provided a mechanism whereby the intelligent mastery of reading, writing, and computation could be accomplished through other studies. Most importantly, however, the occupations component helped make the school a geniune form of community life. For Dewey, the key problem faced in education was to attempt to harmonize individual traits with societal ends and values, to help integrate the individual into society. He felt this aim could best be accomplished by providing the children with a broad range of social contacts and extended experience in working with others. Education, he felt, could prepare the young for future social life only when the school itself was a cooperative society on a small scale. The occupations accomplished this task because they demanded cooperation, division of work, and mutual communication. While they allowed each child to develop his own individuality, the occupations were performed in a social setting. Because the occupations represented society's answers to social needs, they provided a constant illustration of man's interdependence, and the need for cooperation if progress is to be made.

Working in the Dewey School required considerable flexibility on the part of the staff, as not only the curriculum but also the administrative structure and organization of the school were under constant experimentation. The early years, in fact, were quite difficult, with expanding enrollments, staff increases, financial problems, and three different moves in two and a half years adding to the confusion. It was not until October of 1898 that the school achieved physical stability, moving to its fourth and final location on Ellis Avenue. That year also saw the adoption of a departmental organization form, reflecting both the University structure, and the decision to employ subject matter specialists, rather than generalists, on the staff. The children were now grouped by age, the previous multi-age concept having been tried and abandoned, and the development of the curriculum was well underway. The next three years were ones of real growth for the school, as the number of children reached 140, the age range expanded to include pre-kindergarten through age fifteen, and the staff increased to twenty-three teachers and ten part-time assistants. By 1901, the Dewey School was still in financial difficuluty, but it had a curriculum and organization that had stablized, and only the course of study for the oldest children remained in the experimental stage.

The year 1901, however, proved to be a fatal year for the Dewey School, as the University of Chicago that year acquired another elementary school--this one endowed with a million dollar grant. The decision by the University to accept the affiliation of Francis Parker's Chicago Institute seemed to President Harper to naturally lead to the concept of a merger of the two schools--a plan which was met fierce opposition. Apparently unaware that Parker's ideas differed from Dewey's, and that each had a faculty extremely loyal to their respective philosophies, Harper eventually succumbed to the overwhelming protests of the Dewey School faculty and parents and allowed both schools to remain open for the 1901-1902 school year. Colonel Parker's death in 1902, however, ended that uneasy compromise and by 1903 the schools had been combined, with John Dewey as Director and Mrs. Dewey holding the post she had held at the Dewey School since 1901--that of Principal. The 1903-1904 school year was at best uneasy, as the two faculties found it difficult to work together, and when President Harper in the Spring of 1984 indicated to Mrs. Dewey that he was expecting her resignation as Principal at the end of the term, the fate of the school was sealed. Within ten days both Deweys had resigned their positions at Chicago, with John Dewey in his letter of resignation accusing Harper of using Mrs. Dewey's position to embarrass him and hamper his work (McCaul, 1961).

The laboratory school founded by John Dewey would be worthy of study regardless of the years in which it existed. John Dewey was the leading American philosopher in education for nearly a half century, and any foray of such a leading scholar into the real world of education would be worthy of careful attention. Moreover, the Dewey Laboratory School was based on a clearly defined and well-articulated philosophy of education. Relatively few experimental or alternative schools in American education have had such a clearly delineated curriculum, and seldom can actual learning experiences be traced to a stated philosophy of education. Finally, in a decade of immense social change, the Dewey school reflected, accepted, and adapted to this change. The Dewey curriculum neither rejected an examination of the past, nor avoided confronting current needs and problems. As he balanced the needs of the child and the needs of society, Dewey also strove for a balance between study of the past and making the school relevant to the present. The Dewey experiment remains unique in the history of American education.

The Winnetka Public Schools
1919-1939

The October, 1918 article in School and Society was entitled "Breaking the Lock-Step in Our Schools," but it had the flavor of an evangelistic crusade and the tone of a want ad. Penned by a young man named Carleton Washburne, it detailed the evils of an instructional and promotional system which required that all children learn at the same pace and be promoted at a uniform time. This type of system, the author charged, slowed down the progress throughout the school. Most children could go faster if allowed to learn at their own pace, and those that were slower anyway were further retarded by the "inane device" of making them repeat a whole term's work if they fell behind somewhat. The latter practice also caused overcrowded classrooms through unnecessary retention of pupils, and led to discipline problems as fast children became bored, and slow children were nagged by teachers (Washburne, 1918).

A far better form of instruction and promotion was what Washburne termed individualized instruction: a form of instruction whereby the rate at which a pupil advances in certain school subjects depends solely on his own ability and work in that subject. Such a system took into account that children vary in their natural rate of progress in school subjects, their future work and native interests, and their heredity and home environment. This type of system gave thorough work to each child, and avoided the waste and discouragement of grade repetition. Individualized instruction, Washburne believed, would also increase the rapidity of progress of most children, result in fewer students in each class, avoid much of the current friction between pupils and teachers, and encourage habits of concentration, self-reliance, and effective use of time. It was furthermore a system well-suited for a democracy: it would train men and women capable of regulating their own lives and helping to govern others.

The system of individualized instruction described by Washburne had, in fact, been tried on a small scale in the laboratory school associated with San Francisco State Normal School. Under the direction of Frederic Burk, Washburne's mentor, a system had been developed which made use of self-instructional bulletins in connection with texts. Each individual was allowed to work at their own pace, and promotion occurred at any time of the year when an individual had finished half a grade's work (Burk, 1915). However, despite the success of the San Francisco State Normal School program, individualized instruction had failed to gather momentum because critics felt it was not easily adapted to public schools. "The only adequate solution to the problem of installing a successful individualized system in a city school system", Washburne wrote in his article, was "for some man or woman, possessed of the clear vision, of the ability, and of the necessary opportunity, to sweep obstacles aside and put the system into effect where others can see it" (Washburne, 1918, pp. 397-398). That Washburne was seeking to be the person who accomplished this feat there could be little doubt.

Fortunately for Washburne, a group of Winnetka, Illinois parents had heard of Frederick Burk's work with individualized instruction and sought a person who could institute a similar program in their schools. By the Fall of 1919 Washburne found himself installed as Superintendent of this suburban Chicago school system, with a virtual carte blanche to revise the educational programs of the three elementary schools and one junior high school that composed the Winnetka System. He began to individualize instruction almost immediately, starting with one grade at a time, and one subject at a time. After less than a year of individualized instruction, he would claim 57 children (5 percent of the enrollment), had been saved from grade repetition, with a resulting savings of $5,000.00 to the Board of Education. Eighty-seven additional children, he reported in the Elementary School Journal (Washburne, 1920) had been saved from going to higher grades with weak foundations in one of three subjects. The individualization of instruction in oral and silent reading, mathematics, and handwriting was well underway, with further work in social sutdies yet to come.

By 1926 the Winnetka system was well established, with the curriculum composed of two parts--common essentials, and group and creative activities. Taught in the mornings, the common essentials were skills and knowledge which Washburne and the faculty felt everyone needed to learn. Common essentials were identified in arithmetic; reading (speed and comprehension);

punctuation and capitalization; writing legibly and with reasonable speed; spelling; knowledge of common places, persons, and events; and the ability to discuss intelligently the outstanding civic, social, and industrial problems confronting the American people. For each of these areas, objectives were set and then organized into a continuum of difficulty. Materials and activities were gathered, organized, and written for each level of achievement, with all practice materials being self-instructive and self-corrective. Diagnostic tests to measure achievement were designed for each unit of instruction, and individuals were promoted by subject only when the designated achievement level in each unit had been reached.

The skills and information to be learned in each unit of instruction were, for the most part, determined through a variety of studies which Washburne described as "scientific". Though Walter Monroe and others decried this scientific label (Monroe, 1923), the results of the Winnetka studies were reported almost yearly in the Elementary School Journal and the Journal of Educational Research. The Winnetka curriculum planning process was often a laborious one: to determine the common essentials in history and geography, for example, the Winnetka staff, assisted by research specialist Dr. Charles S. Pendleton, examined periodicals and newspapers for allusions to historical and geographical facts. Their original list contained 81,434 allusions, which they trimmed by excluding those that had not been mentioned for at least six years. The final list of allusions nevertheless filled ten pages, three columns to a page, all of which were then categorized into thirty topical lists (such as "ancient history"). The Winnetka Social Science Seminar next collected and organized incidents and information about each outstanding person, place, or event; graded each resulting unit for difficulty; and finally field-tested the instructional materials in the Winnetka schools.

In addition to testing each component of their program, the Winnetka staff also evaluated the entire curriculum. A Survey of the Winnetka Public Schools, published in 1926 by Carleton Washburne, Mabel Vogel, and William Gray, reported the "Results of Practical Experiments in Fitting Schools to Individuals". One of only a handful of design studies published during the years of the scientific movement in education, the Winnetka study was simple, but impressive for its time. Most questions asked by the faculty focused on a comparison of the results of standardized achievement test scores in oral and silent reading, capitalization and punctuation, spelling, and arithmetic. The scores of the Winnetka children were compared with three other schools--a public school in a neighborhood of the same social composition and population as Winnetka, a progressive experimental school, and a laboratory school at a huge university (presumably the University of Chicago). Some 28,000 tests were given in the Winnetka and comparison schools, with the children tested in September and again in February so that their progress could be measured.

Having determined by the administration of the National Intelligence Test that the median IQ for the Winnetka children was not significantly different from the suburban comparison school, and was lower than that found in the experimental schools, three comparisons of the results of the standardized achievement tests were made: 1) Winnetka was compared, grade by grade, in each subject, with the other schools studied and with published norms as existed; 2) Winnetka children of various mental ages were compared with children of the same mental age in the different schools, subject by subject, regardless of school grade; and 3) the progress of the Winnetka children from September (1923) to February (1924) was compared with that of the children in the other schools, in each subject area. For the latter study, the pupils were grouped according to their starting point in Septmeber, regardless of mental age, and their rate of progress then compared. In computing the results of the study, the gain for each child was computed, followed by the median of gains found for each school at each grade level. The average of these gains was used to compute a norm, and the overall gain of each school reported as a percentage of the norm.

Perhaps because of the simple measures used in the Winnetka Study, the results of the tests between the schools were quite close. Overall, however, the Winnetka schools excelled in formal language, and arithmetic speed and accuracy; appeared to be about equal with other schools in reading; and fell below the achievement levels of the comparison populations in spelling. The most interesting result, however, was that involving the retardation rate (percent of students below grade level) for each school. Only .04 percent of the Winnetka children were retarded more than two years, while 1 percent of the children from other schools fell into this category. The Winnetka schools had a lower retardation rate in the category of one to two years (2.4 percent versus 3.9 percent), and whereas 11.6 percent of Winnetka children were retarded by a year or less, 17.3 percent of the children of other schools were so retarded. On the average 14.4 percent of the Winnetka children were below grade level in terms of overall achievement, while the rate for the three comparison schools was 22.2 percent. Other positive results were seen in a small follow-up study of Winnetka graduates. Sixty graduates of Winnetka's three elementary and one junior high school were compared with graduates from other suburban schools. Examining the students' grades in high school, the researchers found that in three of four main subjects, the Winnetka students made better records in high school and had a higher overall grade average than the students who had come from the other traditional suburban schools.

The Winnetka study also focused on evaluating the working of the curriculum: did the Winnetka program provide for individual differences; did it impose a greater burden on the teacher than regular classroom teaching; was it responsible for the higher per capita cost of Winnetka Public Schools? Examining the progress reports of the children, the wide distribution of progress rates seemed to the authors to indicate that there was a real attempt on the part of the staff to adapt the school to individual differences. The writers did note, however, that there still appeared to be a tendency on the part of the teachers to regard a grade a year as the right amount of progress for each child. This often resulted in pushing the slower children, and slacking off on the normal and superior children once they had reached grade level with respect to the other questions, the researchers found that the Winnetka program did require more work for teachers, but there was no evidence that the method added to the expense of the schools.

In his twenty year tenure at Winnetka, Carleton Washburne accomplished his task of demonstrating that individualized instruction could be successfully implemented in a public school system. Through the publication of numerous reports, and the training of hundreds of teachers during summer seminars, Washburne also became the national spokesman for a philosophy which empahsized the mastery of common essentials much as some present day educators focus on mastery of minimum competencies. The system which he developed--promotion based only on demonstrated achievement; individualized, self-instructional materials; diagnostic tests to determine areas of weakness--continues to hold much appeal for these educcators who are concerned with the thorough mastery of defined minimal essentials or competencies. Washburne also demonstrated at Winnetka that widespread invovlement of public school teachers in the curriculum planning process was feasible, and that developing a curriculum which responded to the needs of a local system was possible. Leaving Winnetka only when World War II broke out, Washburne's presence in that suburban school system was futhermore an outstanding example of the positive effect that parents and a community can have on the progress of public schools (Washburne and Marland, 1963).

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

Cook County Normal School, the Dewey Laboratory School and the Winnetka Public Schools differed in their educational philosophies, curriculum, organization, enrollments, facilities, and funding patterns. In each of the three schools, however, certain factors were present which seemed to have led to their success:

1. Strong, continued autonomous leadership of a single individual over an extended period of time.

During the period of experimentation, each of these schools was headed by a single individual who either naturally possessed autonomous leadership, as Dewey did by virtue of the laboratory school funds deriving primarily from private sources, or who was granted such autonomous leadership. Washburne was blessed in his years at Winnetka with a Board of Education which supported his philosophy; Parker spent a good deal of his time defending his actions to an often hostile Board, but in practice made his decisions first and justified them fait accompli.

2. Extensive participation of teachers in the development of curriculum plans and/or materials suited to that particular experimental approach.

Cook County Normal School published the courses of study developed by its staff nearly every year; the Winnetka teachers through their seminars were similarly engaged in writing materials appropriate to self-paced instruction. The Dewey School Curriculum was under continuous development, as the faculty attempted to translate Dewey's ideas into actual practice. In all three schools, the curriculum materials used were developed to implement the philosophies of the Director or Superintendent.

3. A well-developed, carefully articulated, shared philosophy of education.

Dewey's philosophy of education, reflecting his views on the child, society, and the educational process, was communicated to his faculty through frequent speeches and conferences. Parker's theory of correlation and concentration was taught in the teacher-trainee segment of the curriculum, while Washburne defined his model of individualized instruction to his staff within his first year at Winnetka.

4. Continued strong support from the parents and the community at large.

The Dewey School relied on such support for financial solvency; Parker retained his position despite strong opposition from Board member Charles Thorton in large part due to support he received from parents and the general community. Carleton Washburne was hired by a group of parents interested in his approach and enjoyed their strong support during his tenure at

Winnetka.

5. A concept of curriculum planning which included the notion that it is a continuous process occurring on a weekly basis.

Parker and Washburne met with their faculty regularly one night a week in their homes; the Dewey School conferences were more flexible but just as frequent.

6. A well-qualified faculty, hand-chosen by the administrator, given sufficient authority and responsibility to make a real contribution to the school.

The faculty of these schools included several people who were later to distinguish themselves in American education: Wilbur Jackman (Dean, College of Education, Chicago), Flora Cooke (Head, Francis W. Parker School), and Ella Flagg Young (Superintendent, Chicago Public Schools). Dewey naturally selected his own faculty; Parker and Washburne both established early in their tenure the right to remove faculty unable to adapt to their approach. The authority and responsibility, and resultant contributions, made by each faculty are well-documented in accounts of the schools.

7. A close working relationship between the faculty of the School and academic scholars in a University or Normal School.

Mayhew and Edwards (1936) have recorded the contributions of University of Chicago scholars such as George Herbert Mead to the Dewey School; Winnetka employed on a regular basis university based consultants such as William S. Gray; Cook County Normal School, as a practice school, had continual input from the faculty of the teacher-training institute.

8. Attention paid to the overall development and achievement of the individual child.

Each of these three schools tracked the progress of the individual child in some way, and accounts of all of the schools are replete with references to the importance of the success of each child. Each was also concerned that every child learn the material and skills in the curriculum thoroughly.

9. Freedom for both administrators and faculty to engage in experimentation with new ideas, balanced by a responsibility to look at and carefully examine the results of that experimentation.

The Cook County Normal School, the Dewey Laboratory School, and the Winnetka Schools were involved in almost constant research and experimentation, but such activity was always accompanied by formal or informal attempts to evaluate the new developments. At the Cook County Normal School faculty were routinely asked to defend their work and justify the inclusion of their subject area in the curriculum.

10. A balanced curriculum, with attention paid to the needs of the child and the needs of society, as

well as to the importance of obtaining organized knowledge.

Throughout published works by Parker, Dewey, and Washburne, there are references to this theme of responding to the specific needs and interests of the individual, while at the same time recognizing the necessity of integrating that individual into a community and encouraging him to obtain the information needed by a citizen in modern society.

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Country School Curriculum and Governance:
The One-Room School Experience in the Midwest to 1918

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Country School Curriculum and Governance: The One-Room School Experience in the Midwest to 1918

The urban school experience in America has often been critically appraised through historical examination. Special education, vocational education, tracking, testing, and other urban curricular issues have been shown to possess rather dubious histories as sorting mechanisms. Even conservative historians admit that, taken together, these experiences typify a great deal of the schooling treatment received by most Americans. In the backdrop, however, are the rural schools. Some recent historians seem to take solace in the belief that while the urban school was corrupted, the rural school has stood as a shining example of quality American public education. Governed democratically, these schools have been thought to possess no agenda other than to educate all neighborhood children. The image of the Midwest one-room country school is that of a harmonious educational setting within which the children of a homogeneous population played, studied, and learned. As a further example of their untarnished image, some point out that from these rural schools came the "majority of the Midwest's political and professional leaders."[1]

Rural education in America has not been subjected to the same critical analysis as urban education. To address this shortcoming, I began this essay as an attempt to look behind the appearance of democracy and homogeneity in the rural school experience to either verify or reject conventional wisdom. The results seem to indicate that the story of rural schooling is every bit as complex as the urban story, and that there is much hidden behind appearances in the history of rural education. I will argue that our historical understanding of the country school experience in the states of the Middle West prior to

1918 have been diminished by our inability to gain historical leverage over the dynamics of social, political, and economic existence in Midwest farming neighborhoods.

The Rural Context

To begin, it should be stressed that this essay is a discussion of the Midwest country school experience in these farming neighborhoods. There is no attempt made to extend the analysis to rural mining, mill, or lumbering villages. With one-room schools as the focus, it seems prudent to ask certain contextual questions regarding the experience of farming in the Midwest. Such questions include: How did a person obtain a farm in the Midwest? What was involved in successfully operating a farm? What happened to a farm upon the death of the farmer? The relationship between formal education and industrial workplace needs is generally well-documented and difficult to refute. Since rural America did not share these industrial needs, it has been easy for education historians to separate rural schooling from the urban schooling that evolved, arguably, to faciltate the workings of the larger political economy. Indeed, some early education historians like Cubberly chastised rural schools for their inability to support or implement industrializing mechanisms like testing, tracking, and vocational education. Some recent education historians, like Wayne Fuller, have praised rural schools for this same inability.[2] However, in both instances, I would argue, there is a significant failure to expose certain elements of an *agrarian* political economy. In light of this failure, it has been difficult to assess whether rural schools have worked--in a fashion similar to urban schools--to facilitate the workings of the larger political economy. Even nonacademics are aware of the pervasiveness of industrial tenets on the urban school experience; without exploring analgous agrarian tenets there is no way to assess whether a similar dynamic has been at work in the countryside. With this in mind, an examination of the rural context seems merited.

The settling of the states of the Middle West was marked by an extraordinary degree of transience. The explanation for the high degree of mobility among farm families typically suggests that something like an epidemic of "land fever" had a hold of America's pioneers. After farming in one location for a time, they moved to another believing there would be greater opportunity further west. This explanation was strengthened by the assumption that there was a great deal of speculating going on. According to this theory, farmers bought land cheap on the frontier and sold it at dear prices when settlement caught up to them.[3]

The work of other rural historians, however, shows clearly that such interpretations are not accurate. In fact, historical analysis of agrarian political economy all the way back to colonial America indicates that obtaining title to a viable farm has always been a difficult proposition.[4] Analyzing circumstances in nineteenth century Massachusetts, historian James Henretta put it this way: "The ownership of a freehold estate was the *goal* of young male farmers and their wives; it was not--even in the best of circumstances--a universal condition among adult males at any one point in time (his emphasis)."[5] Indeed, the difficulties encountered by New England farmers as they tried to "land" their children--that is, set them up on a farm of their own--led many parents to delay the marriage dates of their children or to pre-arrange these marriages to maximize their chances of coming to own land.[6]

Historian John Mack Faragher echoed Henretta's theme in his history of nineteenth century Sugar Creek, Illinois.[7] Analyzing a farming neighborhood some thirty miles from Springfield, Faragher found that land tenancy rather than ownership was the typical experience of those who came to live in the Sugar Creek vicinity. Historians since Frederick Jackson Turner have recognized that decennial persistence rates were very low across the Middle West. As previously noted, the traditional explanation for this has been that our pioneers remained true to a uniquely American individualism and moved whenever they thought they saw a better opportunity for profit. Faragher looked behind this explanation, however, at the material and financial realities in the lives of the steady stream of tenant farmers who came to Sugar Creek, farmed for a few years, and moved on. There he found families locked into tenantry with very little hope of obtaining a farm. The conditions that Faragher and other recent rural historians describe sheds new light on the role of community institutions.[8]

In answer to the question of what was involved in obtaining title to a farm in the Midwest it appears that the most accurate answer includes an extended period of labor as a tenant farmer. Operating and maintaining a farm, particularly during the antebellum years, involved the utilization of a network of extended family relations and neighbors with similar aspirations. The church often became the focal point of these networks. Religious groups settled in the same neighborhood, banded together, and helped one another as they were able.

The third contextual question, what was to be done with the farm at the death of the farmer, was perhaps the most troublesome for those who settled on Midwest farms. Landing the next generation almost always entailed more than dividing the inherited farmstead. Such a process would have simply reduced the likelihood that any of the children would receive a viable piece of property. As aging farmers surmised the opportunities available for their male heirs, they worked hard to position them for farms in the immediate vicinity.[9] Part of this process often involved encouraging daughters to marry into the right families. According to Faragher, "intermarriage [between landed families] facilitated the retention and concentration of family property."[10]

Throughout the history of the rural Midwest, tenants have outnumbered landed families. An attempt by a tenant to acquire a farm was often in direct competition with the efforts of a landed family to set up a son on a neighborhood farm. It is at this point where one may most easily see the utility of local control over local institutions. With this competition between landed and tenant farmers in mind, certain kinds of maneuvering by the local board of education become less "hidden." At this point we are better equipped to explore the realities and ramifications of what was learned in country schools and how they were governed.

Common School Curriculum

Conventional wisdom, at least, suggests that country schools were bastions of "basic education." One would expect to find no curricular frills in small country schools--just basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. Yet because nineteenth century faculty pyschology suggested recitation pedagogy, instruction in America's small rural schools was even more tied to textbooks than it is today. Of course Ruth Miller Elson, Barbara Finkelstein, and others have looked within the world of nineteenth and early twentieth century texts. As a result of their efforts we know that through practice paragraphs, sentences, and words, millions of rural schoolchildren recited a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant world view daily to their teachers. We know that the classroom lives of rural schoolchildren were dominated by such nonbasics as religious instruction, value clarification, character building, and racial ability assessment. Ostensibly designed to teach reading and grammar, schoolchildren were often taught about the deficiencies of native Americans, blacks, and sometimes Catholic Americans.[11]

Beyond providing the rationale for the status of various ethnic and minority groups in nineteenth and early twentieth century America, however, these books explained the presence of so many poor tenant families in the states of the Middle West. Reverend McGuffey referred often to "stations in life," and he prescribed the proper behaviors and attitudes of the poor rural boy, "When he sees little boys or girls riding on pretty horses, or in coaches, or walking with ladies and gentlemen, and having on very fine clothes, he does not envy them or wish to be like them."[12] And the poor girl was not left out. In a passage called "On Different Stations in Life," McGuffey's poor child asks her mother why she cannot have nice things like a coach or other "accoutrements of wealth." The mother replies, "Everything ought to be suited to the station in which we live, and the wants and duties of it."[13] For McGuffey, the poor are rich because they have nature to admire, as well as eyes to see and ears to hear. His lessons drove this point home ceaselessly, not only so that the poor should be content with their station in life, but also so that the wealthy might see this as legitimate.

The patriarchal elements of an agrarian society were also passed along in the curriculum of the country school. The same 1908 version of Webster's speller that required students to recite the practice sentence, "It is almost impossible to civilize the American Indians," also required the recitation of such sentences as, "Ladies should know how to manage a kitchen," and "A good mistress will keep her house in order."[14]

But efforts to separate the sexes went beyond the textbooks. Until very late in the nineteenth century it was common practice to seat the female students on one side of the room and the males on the other. It was considered a severe punishment for a misbehaving boy to be made to sit on the girls' side. Often there were two recess periods, one for boys, the other for girls. Academic competition between the sexes was often very keen. One rural Minnesota teacher broke down the results of every test he administered by gender and recorded them in his diary.[15]

Most agrarian societies developed patriarchal, patrilineal systems where ancestral lands passed to male descendants. To legitimize the undemocratic nature of this practice, women were directed away from market place relations. They were given the responsibility of the home and children and were discouraged from taking part in public debate. With property passing to male heirs, women became little more than property themselves. To make the system work, of course, it required that differences between males and females be emphasized and rationalized at the earliest possible age. Rural schools played their part in this socialization process.

The sexism of the curriculum, however, was complemented by rather overt sexism in the governance of the local district. To keep women excluded from economic market relations it was necessary to downplay the value of their labor. This was done, of course, by paying women much less than men doing the same job. This was a major selling point of Horace Mann's call to feminize the teaching profession. Local districts took it quite literally at their annual meetings. Often, by vote of the male, tax-paying residents, boards were instructed to hire a woman teacher "if we cant (sic) get a man teacher for a reasonable price."[16] Another district moved "that the board be authorized to hire a first class female teacher for the winter school unless they can get a male teacher for nearly the same wages."[17] While such remarks are plentiful in the rural school records of the Midwest, this one is particularly telling. Note that it was necessary that the woman be "first class" while the male, on the other hand, could apparently be quite ordinary and yet still more desirable.

Throughout the nineteenth century and in some cases into the twentieth, rural schools held two terms: winter and summer. While female teachers were considered highly desirable for summer terms when older male students typically stayed home to work in the fields, it was often deemed quite necessary to hire a male teacher for winter terms. With no field work to do, older male students attended more regularly. It was commonly thought that a male teacher was needed to keep order in a school with several large boys in attendance. The board clerk in District #3, Township #11, of Clark County, Illinois, kept a record of every teacher hired between the fall of 1862 and the spring of 1879. During the seventeen year period there were two terms each year, thus there were thirty-four teacher contracts signed. Of these, twenty were signed by males, fourteen by females.[18] All fourteen female teachers taught summer terms. No females were hired to teach a winter term during this seventeen year period. Twenty-one of the teachers taught one term and never returned to teach in the district. Four males and one female taught more than one term, but none of these teachers taught two terms in succession. Over the seventeen year period, the average monthly salary for male teachers was $33. Female teachers over the same years averaged $17 per month. In this particular district there is no record of debate concerning the gender of the teacher to be hired. Records in other districts suggest that such debate was common.

Classroom management in rural schools typically revolved around the proper use of what came to be known as the "switch." Indeed, it is nearly impossible to find a reasonably rich diary account of a country teacher that makes no reference to corporal punishment. Anna Webber, a Kansas country school teacher in 1881, began her first teaching position in early June vowing in her diary that she would not strike her students. Needless to say, before the term was over, her position on this issue had changed. On June 22 she wrote that she "had to keep two scholars [after school] this evening, and that is not all I did for them, the little rascals." A week later she confessed that she "had the pleasure of giving one little chap a whipping."[19] One rural teacher cut switches of various thicknesses and hung them from his desk. The severity of the offense dictated which switch would be used on the offender. Another teacher removed a slat from the Venetian blinds to use as a tool to discipline students. Minnesota teacher James Shields remarked to his diary that "the ruler was wielded lively this afternoon." Much to his dismay Shields came to school one day and found that his ruler was missing. It reappeared on his desk the next week in tiny pieces.[20]

Sometimes teachers went too far in their efforts to discipline students. The extant records indicate that many teachers were dismissed for overzealous corporal punishment. Teaching in rural Richland County, North Dakota, Elmer Thompson found himself dismissed for raising an iron stove poker over the heads of a few of his students.[21] In Sangamon County, Illinois, in 1838 a community meeting was held to discuss the whipping administered to a student by the local teacher. One person in attendance at the meeting wrote that the boy's "back, sides, and hips, exhibited incontrovertible proof that he had been placed under the tuition of one who knew how to torture as well as to teach."[22]

In some cases, rural students reacted to this form of discipline by striking back at the teacher. In rural Buffalo County, Nebraska, a female teacher was attacked by two male students after they had been dismissed by the teacher for throwing cartridges into the stove. In Guernsey County, Ohio, a male school teacher stabbed two students to death after they attacked him because he insisted that they study their grammar lessons.[23] While these cases are obviously extreme, the amount of violence reflected in the record of Midwest rural schools presents one more interesting dimension that is largely hidden from conventional wisdom concerning the one-room school. Of course the violence within the classroom was often transferred to the schoolyard. Once again it is difficult to find diary accounts of rural teachers that do not speak of fights among the scholars.

The activities of the schoolyard have significance that goes beyond the prevalence of violence as a means of solving differences. Although games like crack the whip, anney-anney-over, and kickball were always present, there was a darker side to the games played by rural schoolchildren. While their texts might tell them that the Indian Removal Act sent Cherokees to "a fine country west of the Mississippi," Indians were still "hostile to progress," "uncivilized," and required "quarantine on reservations."[24] It was perfectly legitimate, therefore, that make-believe cowboys would shoot make-believe Indians at recess.

There were other pastimes. To choose sides for a ball game it was often necessary to "catch a nigger by the toe." One popular schoolyard game made the "nigger" do the catching. There are references to the game "black man" all across the Middle West. A tag game, the person who was "it" received the status of "black man," ostensibly to increase her motivation to catch someone and the motivation of others to resist.[25] Schoolyard games sanctioned the subordinate role of minorities in American culture. While the children of tenant farmers were spared this type of intolerance, there is no evidence to suggest that tenant families were content with being a cut above racial minorities in the eyes of landed families.

Country School Governance

The common school concept reached all Midwestern states before 1870. Because, generally, there was a great deal of resistance to the idea in rural neighborhoods, historians have hypothesized that it was the centralized nature of the institution, the state department office in particular, that bothered local farmers. They resisted, the argument continues, in the name of democracy.[26]

To be sure, there was a great deal of rural resistance to state department initiatives. Whether or not it is accurate to interpret this resistance as allegiance to local democracy, however, as so many have done, is another question. To explore this issue, it is helpful to consider what type of educational system pre-dated common schools in the Midwest's farming neighborhoods. Subscription schools had a few interesting characteristics that seemingly made them well-suited to the rural environment. First, parents paid the teacher "by the scholar," which meant they paid for the days their children were in school. Because of the exigencies of farm life and the value of child labor, rural children were often doomed to irregular school attendance. With the subscription system, parents paid for no more education than their children received. Secondly, subscription schools were usually tied closely to a particular religious denomination, so that a small country school might come to be known as the "Methodist school" or the "Baptist school." Thus it was closely tied to the network of like-minded neighbors that pulled together during emergencies or periods of peak labor demand. But the subscription system had other qualities as well. For example, poor tenant families without the money to pay the teacher were at a disadvantage in such a system. As well, belonging to the wrong religious denomination could mean that no schooling was preferable to receiving what parents might consider heretical views.

Another point worth considering with respect to subscription schools is the fact that whomever controlled the affairs of the local church also controlled the affairs of the local school. As a result, the school building was very often placed so that certain families might take greater advantage of schooling opportunities than others. Schools thus facilitated the cultivation of neighborhood networks consisting of like-minded families.

It should not be surprising that there was resistance to the system that would remove most of the amenities of subscription schooling. One newly elected school board member in a newly formed district in Wisconsin in 1851 wrote to the state superintendent to complain that

> at the present time [there is] considerable difficulty in regard to the District School, much of the wealth of the district is in the hands of individuals, who have no children to send to the School, these men are endeavoring to have the school supported by paying by the scholar and are endeavoring to make the people believe that such may be done . . . there is a great struggle between the two classes of individuals, and what we need is a decisive voice from you.[27]

This is a typical description of a case where subscription schools served some in the community very well and they were therefore reluctant to change. Yet many areas in the rural Midwest had no opportunities for formal education, subscription or otherwise. Even in these locales, however, resistance to common schools was often quite vocal. Much of this may have been due to the fact that often common school crusades in Midwestern states were led by clergy from Calvinist traditions. Of all the ministers who became influential common school advocates in the Midwest, and there were many of them, only a handful came from the ranks of Baptist or Methodist clergy.

Traditional education history too easily skims over the Midwest nineteenth century religious scene by suggesting that a noncontroversial Protestant *paideia* was generally acceptable to most Americans. While this may have been true for urban dwellers, it was much less the case for the Midwest's rural population. The highly sectarian nature of the various Protestant denominations in the states of the Middle West partially explains resistance to Horace Mann's curriculum of noncontroversial Christianity. Subscription schools, locally controlled, served religious and secular needs of the landed families in rural neighborhoods well. The common school concept, controlled by an urban, centralized, and often Calvinist authority, presupposed the forfeiture of some of this control. When the Franklin, Indiana, *Jacksonian* reported in 1890 that "there are strong indications that a Presbyterian will be chosen [as state superintendent of Public Instruction]" the reporter also found it necessary to add that "there is more than half concealed kicking from other denominations."[28]

Because Midwestern farmer enjoyed considerable political clout at the state level, the architects of common schools were forced to leave a great deal of decision-making power in local hands in order to get the common school system off the ground. Even with this concession, however, the battle was not easily won. Michigan, for example, did not adopt a common school system until 1869, well after the younger states of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

Speaking before a large Calvinist congregation in St. Paul, former Minnesota territorial superintendent of schools Reverend Edward Neill stated that, "though the common school is important, it is of no great moral efficiency unless there is a Sunday

School entirely distinct from the State in operation by its side."[29] The American adaptation of the Sunday School concept freed the local rural school of its denominational duties. Tax-supported common schools, as a result, became more palatable in the rural Midwest. With the sectarian element of schooling covered by Sunday Schools, a major hurdle toward the acceptance of common schools was crossed. Still, common school proponents left a great deal of control in the hands of white, male, property-owning residents.

Initially, women were not allowed to vote in school district elections or on school issues. As the teaching profession feminized, their enforced silence on educational issues became a paradox increasingly difficult to rationalize. Frontier regions were the first to extend to women the right to vote at school meetings. Dakota Territory provided for this in 1879 and two years later made it legal for women to hold the office of county superintendent of schools. Wisconsin extended the right of women to vote at annual school meetings in 1885, Kansas followed in 1889. However, Wisconsin denied the right of women to vote in these elections if they were classified as paupers.[30]

Generally, the states of the Middle West first made provision for women to become a board member or a county superintendent, and then debated the pros and cons of extending the right to vote at school elections. Indiana provides a good example. In 1891 a law was passed making women eligible to hold school offices. However, the state superintendent of instructiuon doubted the constitutionality of this law. He wrote that a female county superintendent "will find herself confronted by our state constitution" which indicates that one may not become a county officer if he is not an elector. Women were not electors. In general, the older states of the Middle West were the slowest to move toward democracy in the local school district. Illinois made provisions to include women in 1891, Ohio in 1904. However, several states, including Ohio, limited the voice of women to the election of board members and restricted their voting privilege "on such questions as special tax levy, bond issue, erection of buildings, etc." Michigan first extended the vote to women on school affairs in 1893. However, a year later the law was found unconstitutional. It was 1909 before another bill of this sort was passed and allowed to stand.[31]

Women were not the only excluded population. Tenant farmers were similarly disenfranchised with respect to the school. Iowa Territory's 1840 school law clearly specified the qualifications for voting in the local district: "Every white male inhabitant of the age of twenty-one years, residing in such district, liable to pay a school district tax, shall be entitled to vote at any district meeting."[32] Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois had similar qualifications during the antebellum years. Though the rhetoric of school legislation during the 1870s and 1880s began to sound more democratic, state governments exercised caution in extending a school voice to the mobile of Midwestern society. In 1873 Wisconsin opened up the vote at school meetings to anyone who had the vote in general elections, but they also added that in the case of school elections, the prospective voter needed "a fixed and permanent abode as contradistinguished from a mere temporary locality of existence." The status of tenant farmers was subject to the correct interpretation of this clause.[33]

Michigan retained the property qualifications through the 1870s, dispensed with them in the 1880s, but stipulated, as was often the case for women, that "a person who has no property within the school district liable to assessment for school taxes has no right to vote when raising of money by tax is in question." Minnesota extended participation in school district affairs but kept a few key provisions reserved for "freeholders, or those holding real property" beyond the turn of the century. "These only are authorized to call special meetings; to sign petitions for change of district boundary; to sign petitions for rehearing in change of district boundaries, and to sign petitions to consolidate districts."[34] In creative ways, a small minority of those who lived and worked in the rural Midwest kept the institution of schooling theirs to manipulate. The appearance of democracy in local rural district, then, seems to have hidden some uncomfortable realities.

As Midwest states adopted common school plans, small school districts were created by the thousands. Parents or other interested parties came together and petitioned the state office of education for the creation of a legal school district. Elections were held among the property-owning white males in these newly created districts. Three officers, generally, were chosen to serve for three year terms. If no school as yet existed in the area, the first order of business was to build one. Those who resisted the common school concept to the bitter end surrendered their school taxes only after threats from the county sheriff. The idea of paying a tax for the education of someone else's children was a difficult one for many in the rural Midwest.

Assuming the newly elected board members could keep costs low, through the construction of a log structure, for instance; there was still the sticky question of where the schoolhouse would be built. One location would serve some families better than others. Often land-owning farmers would donate an acre or two of their land to the district in order to insure that the school would be built in a favorable location. In the spring of 1868 in District #3 of Blooming Grove Township, Dane County, Wisconsin, school board chairman George Nichols donated an acre and a half for a schoolhouse site. A few district residents, led by Alexander Campbell, opposed the new location and petitioned for a special meeting to reconsider the issue. The special meeting was held in the Nichols' home. There the motion to reconsider was rejected.[35] It is likely that Campbell was so enraged at this decision that he vented his frustration by breaking down the schoolhouse door. At the next annual meeting the board voted to "prosecute Alexander Campbell for trespas on school house for breaking in door and entering same (sic)."

The placement of the schoolhouse might mean that the children of certain families had to cover longer distances to reach the school. But often there was more to it than this. For some the trip to school entailed crossing through dark stands of timber, or over dangerous creeks, streams, or rivers. The discussion that took place between March 31 and April 7, 1868, in District #2, Oronoco Township, Olmsted County, Minnesota, is a good example. This district was divided north from south by the Zumbro River. Spring floods washed away the bridge connecting the two parts of the district, and the respective parents wanted the new school constructed on their side of the river.[36]

The extant records indicate that surprisingly often schools were placed on land donated by a school board member. While this created a great deal of turmoil that came to be reflected in district records, it should be kept in mind that until very late in the nineteenth or early in the twentieth century, landless tenants had no voice at the district meeting. Their objections to the school location were seldom heard. A district in western Minnesota provides a rare exception. Here the board "moved and carried that those present who are not legal voters of the Dist. be admitted to a seat in the house and allowed to take part in the debate."[37] While the records in this instance are too sparse to determine if an equitable location was chosen, a similar circumstance in Iowa reflects the usual treatment received by tenant families.

In 1889 a group of fifteen parents confronted their board about the long distances their children were forced to travel to school and requested the creation of a subdistrict. The board responded that the complaints were exaggerated and that the petitioners were "merely transients anyway."[38] One historian of Midwest rural education admitted that "many a small schoolhouse came to sit where it sat not because it was centrally located but because of other considerations, which frequently delayed the building and led to fights that left bitter memories long afterward."[39]

The schoolhouse location was not the only matter frequently solved according to power dynamics in rural neighborhoods, however. The recitation pedagogy of nineteenth and early twentieth century rural schools was invariably tied to textbooks. If children could not bring a schoolbook to class, they often simply did not attend. As a result, there was significant agitation for free textbook laws in all states of the Middle West. And rural resistance to this issue took on a pattern similar to giving women and tenant farmers a voice in school affairs. Rural districts in the older states of the Midwest, such as

Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, resisted supplying free textbooks for all students until well into the twentieth century. Younger states, such Nebraska and the Dakotas, by contrast, led the way with such legislation much earlier. Using specific decisions concerning free textbooks in the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Nebraska as examples, the trend toward earlier equity in the newer states is immediately and rather strikingly apparent.

It was common in rural Wisconsin districts for the voters to decide "not to furnish free texts." Requests came as early as 1889, but such motions inevitably failed. It was not until about 1920 that a few Wisconsin districts began to acquiesce on this issue. The very earliest district records found indicating a willingness to supply free textbooks in Wisconsin was 1909.[40] In Minnesota it is possible to find records that indicate an earlier acceptance of the free textbook issue. It is common to uncover information on districts that adopted a plan outlined by the state legislature in 1893. However, as was the case in Wisconsin, it was left up to the local districts whether or not to adopt the plan. In Isanti County, one district "voted not to inforce (sic) the Free Textbook Sistem (sic)." Still, districts in Minnesota appear to have been more willing to do this.[41] Even before Nebraska's legal mandate for free textbooks in 1897, some local districts had earlier made provisions to supply them. District #35 in Harlan County "voted to supply the district with textbooks" at its annual meeting in 1880. This is far in advance of any such action in Minnesota or Wisconsin.[42] The large amount of Nebraska land protected from taxation by homestead law makes this action in Harlan County even more significant.

The trend toward greater equity in schooling concerns in the newer states may have been due to the strength of the Farmers' Alliance in these states, as this organization saw free textbooks legislation as an ethical necessity. The Alliance-supported Mandan, North Dakota, *Pioneer* claimed that "many of the children of the state are kept from schools because of the cost of books."[43] A rural Michigan teacher remorsefully commented in her class register in 1908 on the progress of one of her students, "she is a 'fair student' but 'she lacks the necessary books.'"[44] The pervasiveness of recitation pedagogy meant that without books there was little or no schooling.

Conclusion

Going through the class registers and records of country schoolhouses, one cannot help but be struck by the number of students who "removed from the district" a few weeks into the term. Rural school registers confirm what census records tell us of low decennial persistence rates. When the opportunity to own a farm failed to materialize after a few years in one location, tenant farmers moved west. In political discussions, they spoke of free government land, something that became a reality in 1862. Of course, homestead farms were predominantly filed in the states of the trans-Mississippi west, states like Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Kansas. It was in these states that tenant farmers ended their westward movement, for they had reached the very limits of consequential rainfall agriculture. On the treeless, dry prairie they created homes, schools, and churches that were often little more than holes in the ground. There should be little wonder that these states led the way extending a voice in school affairs to women and tenant farmers, that they were the first to supply free textbooks to all district children, that they should flock to the Farmers' Alliance and demand equity and justice from rail and warehouse interests, credit firms, and the insurance dealers who were extracting great profits while causing great hardship.

The history of rural schooling fits well with the history of the larger Midwest political economy. Whether one examines the "nonbasic" curriculum of Calvinist text writers, the informal or "hidden" curriculum of the schoolyard, or debates over school governance issues; the utility of the country school experience for those with power is readily apparent. If, indeed, "the majority of the Midwest's political and professional leaders" are the products of this experience; then we are, perhaps, a step closer to understanding contemporary attitudes concerning race and gender issues.

Still, things have changed drastically in the countryside. After 1918 the number of country schools and students began to decline. This trend never stopped and, as a result, there are fewer than one thousand one-room schools in existence today. In 1918 there were very close to 200,000.[45] Rural depopulation eased tensions in the small rural districts. The children of tenant farmers, once looked on as a threat to intergenerational stability within the community, soon became a valuable commodity as state funding formulas aided districts based on the number of schools attending. With rural areas experiencing steady population decline, the difficulties inherent in landing the next generation eased somewhat. As a result, battles over the school diminished. The living generation of country school graduates who look back on their experience will likely recall little of the institutional maneuvering discussed here. Yet they may recall lingering elements of recitation pedagogy, a teacher or two who seemed overly disposed to corporal punishment, or schoolyard fights or games that promoted various intolerances.

As with other human institutions, rural schools appear to have been open to the agenda of those with the ability to control them. The lesson here, of course, is that while centralization of schools turned out to be no panacea, the contemporary trend toward local control will not make schools more democratic simply because power is returned to the local community. Indeed, it was often the failure of local districts to govern schools democratically that led to increased centralization in the first place. Given the fact that the rural schooling experience in America was most typical for most of our history as a nation, it is surprising how understudied this experience is. This essay is an attempt to address this shortcoming.

1. Wayne E. Fuller, The Old Country School: The Story of Rural Education in the Middle West (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), vii.
2. Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920.
3. See Gilbert C. Fite, The Farmers' Frontier 1865-1900 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 19; and Drew McCoy, The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 252.
4. Stephen Innes, "Land Tenancy and Social Order in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1652 to 1702," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 35 (1978): 33-56.
5. James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 35 (1978): 9.
6. Ibid., 25-26. The disproportionate number of marriages occurring while the bride was pregnant in Puritan New England becomes more easily understood if this was the only way sons and daughters were allowed to marry the partner of their choice.
7. John Mack Faragher, Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).
8. Similar analyses may be found in Richard S. Alcorn, "Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town," Journal of American History 61 (1974-75): 685-702; Donald Harrison Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); and Peter J. Coleman, "Restless Grant County: Americans on the Move," Wisconsin Magazine of History 46 (Autumn 1962): 16-20.

9. See Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Peasant Pioneers: Generational Succession among German Farmers in Frontier Minnesota," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America (Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1985) 259-292.

10. Faragher, Sugar Creek, 145.

11. Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of American Tradition: Textbooks in the Nineteenth Century (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954).

12. William McGuffey, McGuffey's Newly Revised Eclectic Fourth Reader (Cincinnati: Winthrop B. Smith, 1844), 247-248.

13. Elson, Guardians of American Tradition, 269-270.

14. Noah Webster, The Elementary Spelling Book (New York: The American Book Company, 1908), 65.

15. For an excellent example of the separation of girls and boys in a country school, see the James Shields Diary, especially the entry for 9 January 1887, James Shields Papers, MHS. For another reference to separation and to punishment of boys forced to sit with the girls, see R. Carlyle Buley, The Old Northwest, reprint, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 1:381. Also, good recollections of the separation of boys and girls may be found in the transcribed interview of Winifred Guthrie Erdman, 11 November 1980, box 2, University of North Dakota Library, Country School Legacy Collection, Grand Forks, North Dakota. Hereinafter cited as UND-CSLC.

16. Clerk's Minutes, 10 July 1882, District #8, Freedom Twp., Sauk County, WSHS.

17. Clerk's Minutes, 30 September 1872, Joint District #8, Marcellon and Buffalo Twps., Columbia and Marquette Counties, WSHS.

18. See District #3 Record book, Twp. 11, Clark County records, Manuscript Division, Illinois State Historical Library. Seven of thirty-four postions were filled by individuals bearing only first and middle initials. Other records confirm that three of these were male. It seems likely, judging too by how much they were paid, that other four were male as well.

19. Lila Gravatt Scrimser, ed., "The Diary of Anna Webber: Early Day Teacher of Mitchell County," The Kansas Historical Quarterly 38 (1972): 331.

20. James Shields Diary, 25 February 1886, James Shields Papers, MHS. Also see the transcribed interview with Suzette Rene Bieri, 22 November 1980, box 2, UND-CSLC.

21. Elmer Thompson vs. W. M. House, Appeals Case Files, series 1176, box 1, North dakota State Historical Society, Bismarck, North Dakota. Hereinafter cited as NDHS.

22. Faragher, Sugar Creek, 122.

23. For references to the incidents in Nebraska and Ohio, see Fuller, The Old Country School, 209.

24. Elson, Guardians of American Tradition, 78-80.

25. The popularity of this schoolyard game is cited in Edward E. Dale, "Teaching on the Prairie Plains, 1890-1900," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 37 (1946-47):

302. Other references may be found in Fuller, *The Old Country School*, 22; Scrimser, "The Diary of Anna Webber," 334; and the transcribed interview with Suzette Rene Bieri, 22 November 1980, box 2, UND-CSLC.

26. See, for example, Fuller, *The Old Country School* and David B. Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution: Urban America and the Industrialization of Agriculture, 1900-1930* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979).

27. J. S. Brown to Eleaser Root, 16 December 1851, Azell Ladd Papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. Hereinafter cited as WSHS.

28. Patricia Albjerg Graham, *Community and Class in American Education, 1865-1900* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), 40.

29. Edward Neill, *The Nature and Importance of the American System of Public Instruction* (St. Paul: Owens and Moore, 1853), 8. Anne M. Boylan's *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution 1790-1880* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) represents perhaps the best single source on the Sunday School movement in America.

30. Bertha Palmer, "A Brief History of the Department of Public Instruction, 1860-1932," unpublished manuscript included in Superintendent's Files, series 386, box 1, NDHS. For reference to Wisconsin school statutes regarding women and school districts, see Oliver E. Wells, comp., *Laws of Wisconsin Relating to Common Schools* (Madison: Democrat Printing Co., 1892), 15. For Kansas, see Frank Nelson, comp., *Laws for the Regulation and Support of the Common Schools of Kansas* (Topeka: W. Y. Morgan, 1899), 26.

31. The quotation of Indiana's state superintendent can be found in Hervey D. Vories, comp., The Laws of Indiana (Indianapolis: n.p., 1891), 154. Other information concerning the issue of including or excluding women can be found here as well. The quotation from Ohio school law can be found in Edmund J. Jones, comp., Ohio School Laws (Columbus: F. J. Herr, 1906), 64. Also see The Illinois School Law 1889-1893, n.a., (Springfield: H. W. Rokker, 1893), 95; and Frederick C. Martindale, comp., State of Michigan General School Laws (Lansing: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford & Co., 1913), 20. It should be added that women who owned taxable property had the right to vote at school elections in the Middle West. It was only upon marriage (or remarriage in the case of widows) that this right was forfieted.
32. Clarence R. Aurner, History of Education in Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914), 2:360.
33. Samuel Fallows, comp., Laws of Wisconsin Relating to the Common Schools (Madison: Atwood & Culver, 1873), 23.
34. David Kiehle, Education in Minnesota (Minneapolis: H. H. Williams Co., 1903), 1:34.
35. Clerk's Minutes, 17 April 1868, District #3, Blooming Grove Twp., Dane County, WSHS.
36. Clerk's Minutes, 31 March 1868, District #2, Oronoco Twp., Olmsted County, Olmsted County Historical Society, Rochester, Minnesota.
37. Clerk's Minutes, 14 December 1889, District #34, Chippewa County, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota. Hereinafter cited as MHS.

38. Fuller, The Old Country School, 129.

39. Ibid., 61.

40. For an example of early requests for free texts in Wisconsin denied by local district board men, see the Clerk's Minutes, 1 July 1889, Jt. District #8, Marcellon and Buffalo Twps., Columbia and marquette Counties, Columbia County Series, WSHS; and Clerk's Minutes, 7 July 1890, Jt. District #9, Sun Prairie and Bristol Twps., Dane County, WSHS. For examples of the earliest acceptance of free textbooks in Wisconsin, see the Clerk's Minutes, 5 July 1909, Jt. District #3, Center and Porter Twps., Rock County, Wisconsin, Rock County Historical Society, Janesville, Wisconsin. Also, Clerk's Minutes, 1 July 1912, Jt. District #1, Lodi and West Point Twps., Dane County, WSHS.

41. Some examples of districts adopting free textbooks considerably earlier than districts in Wisconsin include Clerk's Minutes, 21 July 1894, District #72, Winfield Twp., Renville County, Minnesota Historical Socierty, St. Paul, Minnesota. Hereinafter cited as MHS. The quotation indicating an unwillingness to provide free texts can be found in the Clerk's Minutes, 15 July 1893, District #3, Cambridge Twp., Isanti County, MHS.

42. Clerk's Minutes, 5 April 1880, District #35, Harlan County, Nebraska, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.

43. Mandan Pioneer, 23 January 1891, scrapbook series 394, box 1, NDHS.

44. The quote is taken from Fuller, The Old Country School, 209.

45. Ivan Muse, Ralph B. Smith, and Bruce Barker, The One-Teacher School in the 1980s (Las Cruces: Eric Clearinghouse, 1987), 1.